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Lower	Luggage in Kgs.	Earning Cash				Earning Recoverable				TOTAL		Earning per Kilometer on Earning K. meterage	
		By Luggage		By Passengers		By Luggage		By Passengers		Earning			
		Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.

Date of submission

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C. S. R. No.	Duty Slip No.	Buses No.	Name of Route		KILOMETERAGE					No. of Single Trip	Consumption		
			From	To	Earning	Dead	Relief	Deptt.	Total		M. Oil	D. Oil	Petrol

Signature of D.V.E. Clerk

Signature

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UNITED EMPIRE

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE JOURNAL

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1916.

THE flame-lit clouds shut out the singing stars;
Earth quails beneath the thunder strokes; outflung
In burning hail the molten gouts destroying fall;
The furnace roars.
"What do you forge, O Fate?"
"I weld new worlds; I break to knit anew,
"Crushing to re-create, bending to bind.
"Ruthless I beat out dross, burn up the waste,
"Form the deformed, forge the disparted into one."

A little Island in the northern sea,
So far away!
Her names were our names, her richest blood
Pulsed in our hearts, we were England's brood,
Though far away.
But oceans swung between us, wide the earth
Stretched her vast distance, making dearth
And disarray
Of ties and tribute. Round the world we caught
The thrilling trumpet's clamour—every thought
Turned England's way—
Old Mother England in the grey North Sea.

* * * * * *

Thine, where the deserts burn,
(Ever our blistered feet press on to thee, O Mother);
Thine, where the great tides turn,
(Ever our plunging prows rush on to thee, O Mother);
Thine, in the sodden trench,
Thine, in the battle stench,
We are bruised and broken and tortured and slain,
But England, dear England, we turn home again!
O Mother,
We were far away,
Though hearts ever beat for thee,
Though thoughts ever turned to thee,
We were far away,
O Mother,
Living and dying, we are home again!

COURTENAY GALE.

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

New Year Prospects.

THE New Year finds the Institute, both at home and overseas, full of activity (as the supplement which we print this month abundantly shows) and advancing boldly on the lines marked out for it by our progressive Council. In the United States, thanks to Mr. Brittain's energy and initiative, its prospects are exceedingly bright, and in Scotland Mr. Boosé's successful tour has largely increased its membership. The Travelling Commissioner is now in the West Indies, a promising field hitherto unvisited by him, from which satisfactory results are expected. The War, so far from diminishing the roll of Fellows, is constantly adding to it; and we finish the year with a net increase—in spite of a certain number of resignations—of considerably over a thousand. To those of our Honorary Corresponding Secretaries who have contributed to this success, the Council's sincere acknowledgements are due. One of them, Mr. Warden in Buenos Ayres, has done magnificently; several others have done well; and we look forward to the coming months of 1916 with confidence that their efforts will be emulated by those who, for one reason or another, have been less conspicuous in the matter of recruiting. The Bristol Branch, which we owe to Mr. Lennard's munificence, has had an excellent season, with many good lectures, and more to follow. Would that some similar benefactors might arise in other large cities that we could name! The Imperial Studies movement, which originated in the metropolis, has taken firm hold, by the fostering care of Dr. Newton, in the University centres of the provinces. Much else might be mentioned, but we refer our readers to the pages of our supplement, which it is hoped will become a half-yearly, if not a quarterly, feature of UNITED EMPIRE. To all the Institute's supporters, far and near, we send the heartiest of greetings for the year that is just beginning. It opens in war; may it end in peace!

Sir Rider Haggard's Mission.

WHEN the Deputation from the "Empire Land Settlement Committee" (as it is now called) was received last July at the Colonial Office by Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Selborne, one of the suggestions (made by Sir John Taverner) was that a Commissioner should be sent to the Overseas Dominions to confer with the local authorities as to the possibility of settling ex-service men from the United Kingdom

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on the land in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand at the conclusion of the War. The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, who have kept in close touch with the proceedings of the Committee since it was appointed by them in March 1915, have now started a special fund for the purpose, which has already received liberal support. Sir Rider Haggard, who is a leading authority on the subject of Land Settlement, and is well known to the statesmen of the Dominions, has undertaken the important duty of acting as the Institute's representative, in an honorary capacity, and will leave England, in a few weeks' time, for a tour of several months' duration. He proposes to call at Cape Town, on the way to Australia, though it is recognised that South Africa does not, for various reasons, afford the same openings for the settlement of ex-service men as other parts of the Empire. He will visit all the States of the Commonwealth of Australia, and then proceed to Canada, after completing the first part of his mission in New Zealand, and the scheme initiated by our President, Earl Grey, and so ably developed by Lord Sydenham and his Committee, will, we trust, stand a good chance of realisation. The importance of the subject has already been realised in the Dominions, as is proved by the appointment of the Hon. J. C. Watson as a Commissioner in Australia and of a Government Inquiry in Canada.

Voluntary Enlistment.

The period allotted for the final trial of voluntary enlistment under the system known as Lord Derby's scheme closed on December 11, but at the moment of writing the actual results of the campaign have not been divulged. The Government, however, has asked the House of Commons for credits for an additional million men, making four million in all serving with the colours, and thus far the voluntary system may well claim to have achieved the unexpected. But as it is impossible to fix the figure which is necessary for victory, the question is not whether voluntary enlistment has done well or badly, but whether every eligible man is serving the country in one capacity or another. The voluntary system must stand or fall by that test. There will be loopholes enough when the question of the nature of the capacity comes to be considered. Within certain limits, service in the Army and Navy and munition work may be classed together; but care should be taken that the scope of recognised war work should not be extended so as to encroach upon the prior claims of the Services. Mr. Asquith's definition in his speech in the House of Commons on

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December 21 may prove to be susceptible of too wide an interpretation. "I think", he said, "we should aim at getting potentially every man of military age and capacity, not disqualified by physical or domestic conditions, who is available, consistent with making provision for our other national necessities." Much, however, depends, as Sir Edward Carson insisted later in the debate, on whether the object in view is to carry on the national necessities and give the surplus to the army, or to make provision for the army and give the surplus to the national necessities.

Lord Derby's Scheme.

THERE can be little doubt that the number of attestations under Lord Derby's scheme will show a large total. "The task", Mr. Asquith has said, "of classifying and tabulating the figures from every constituency in Great Britain has been one, I do not exaggerate when I say, of stupendous magnitude and complexity." Reports on the subject are already current; but the Premier rightly uttered a warning that "nobody must be misled by gross totals, whatever they amount to, into imagining that such a total affords any concrete measure of what, after the necessary deductions, will be found to be the recruitable reservoir". In the early stages of the Derby campaign munition workers were attested and will have helped to swell the total. To arrive at an accurate estimate of the results of the voluntary system we require, in addition to Lord Derby's figures, a statement of the number of men between the ages of eighteen and forty already serving in the Army and Navy. The difference between these totals and the total number of men in Great Britain between these ages at the present time would still leave room for further analysis, in order to eliminate those engaged in recognised war work from those who are holding back. Although the actual figures of the Derby campaign have not been revealed, it is generally accepted that they point to a by no means negligible residuum of unmarried eligible men who have not been attested. It was to meet such a case that Mr. Asquith gave his pledge to married men who attested, that they would not be called up "unless and until—I hope by voluntary effort, and, if not, by some other means—the unmarried men are dealt with first". After a few critical days at the end of the year a majority of the Cabinet appears to have decided that circumstances have arisen to render the redemption of that pledge obligatory; but whether compulsion is to be limited to single men or whether, the principle having been accepted, it will be introduced with a wider scope remains to be seen.

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Overseas Recruiting.

EITHER some system of compulsion or a clear statement on the position of recruiting in Great Britain is required to remove a number of misconceptions which have arisen in foreign countries and in the Overseas Dominions. Too much, perhaps, has been heard of the "slacker". It is natural that some reluctance should be felt in the Dominions to respond to the Empire's call, if it be the case that large numbers of eligible men are holding back in the Mother Country; but it is not always fair to regard the man who has not enlisted as a slacker, without further evidence on the subject. Even as things stand to-day Great Britain can point to the fact that one out of every eleven inhabitants is serving with the colours. Canada with a quota of a quarter of a million has a proportion of one in every twenty-eight inhabitants. There should, however, be no need for these comparisons. What is not understood outside these islands is the peculiar combination of a devotion to the voluntary system, and the resort to frantic appeals for more men. The two, it is felt, do not run logically together in harness. Again, many eligible men might be forthcoming among the British subjects in the United States, if less contradictory leads could be given them. The American press has devoted so much space to the subject of recruiting, "written up" according to the predilections of the author, that a Briton whose lot is cast in the United States may feel that, as he has no means of deciding whether he is really wanted or not, he is entitled to the benefit of the doubt, which he gives himself by remaining there. It is true that the laws of the country will not permit direct recruiting, and that monetary considerations will often debar a man from offering himself; but as it is now better known that a would-be recruit can rely upon assistance directly he reaches Canada, the desideratum is that the Empire's need of the whole of its manhood between the ages of nineteen and forty should be brought home to every eligible British subject wherever he may be domiciled.

The R.C.I. and National Service.

THE very fact that various devices—aggressive advertisements, moral suasion carried almost to the extent of cruelty, far-flung appeals—have to be adopted at great expense to bolster up voluntary enlistment is a confession of the inherent weakness of the system. If the nation wishes to be logical, it is perforce compelled to admit that the only solution of its difficulty is to be found in national service. The subject, as our readers are aware, is one that makes a special appeal to the Institute,

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and the resolution passed unanimously on November 30 by the Council follows as the natural corollary to the views it has previously held. The resolution ran: "Supplementing the resolution of the Council passed on August 25, 1915, the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute desire to record their further unanimous opinion that the fundamental object of the Institute, as expressed in that resolution, viz. the Unity of the Empire, would be greatly and permanently furthered, if the principle of training for National Service, which has already been put into practice in some of the self-governing Dominions were adopted throughout the Empire, so that it might be universally recognised that it is the duty of all adult British subjects to be qualified to bear arms for the defence of the Empire in time of need; and that, as a step towards the attainment of this object, all boys and young men who are physically fit should be trained to drill and shoot; and that all school children, of both sexes, should be educated to fulfil their obligations as citizens of the Empire." The lesson of this War, which will have had to drag on its terrible length until the manhood of Great Britain has been trained in order to be able to play its part on the battle-field, ought to make further arguments in favour of National Service superfluous. It would, if the bogey of conscription had not been allowed to obscure the issue. The Council do well to embody in their resolution a reference to the need for youthful training; and in this connection we are glad to see that the Lord Mayor of London proposes to call a conference on the question of the cadet movement. His desire is to see this movement, hitherto local in character, placed on a national basis with a central organisation—on the lines, in fact, adopted in Australia.

Serbia in Extremis.

DECEMBER saw the discomfiture of the Serbians completed. The sudden advance of a Bulgarian column to the south of Monastir cut off the retreat of the Serbian army in that direction and compelled the southern force to withdraw to the west. Thus all that was left of Serbia's fighting men—still a force to be reckoned with when re-equipped and re-armed—was driven to take refuge in Montenegro and Albania. How they have fared since is not accurately known. The enemy are reported to be pursuing them; but the country does not lend itself to the movement of large bodies, and unless the Bulgarians are engaged upon a concerted movement with the Austrians to surround Montenegro, the bulk of the Serbians ought to be able to reach the coast. Not only have the Entente Powers sent provisions for their relief, but the

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Italians have landed in Albania, it is said at three points. If they are at Durazzo as well as at Valona, their numbers ought to suffice to turn the scale in favour of the Serbians against any forces that the Bulgarians can send through Albania. Meanwhile the centre of interest in the Balkans is at Salonika. The inability of the Serbians to withdraw into Greece, where they could have joined up with the Allied forces, left the latter in a critical condition on the Krivolak-Strumnitza line. Their numbers were not sufficient to withstand the whole weight of an Austro-German and Bulgarian attack; and things were not far enough advanced, even if they could have held their ground, to allow their position to be used as a jumping-off spot for a general offensive. The decision was, therefore, wisely taken to withdraw the line to Salonika. In spite of the fiercest attacks by the Bulgarians, who by all accounts lost very heavily, this movement was carried out with comparatively few losses, the total Allied casualties on Serbian and Greek soil up to December 11 being 32 officers and 1,246 other ranks, of whom 1 officer and 85 men were killed.

Greece and the Grand Alliance.

After a period of uncertainty, due, it must be inferred, to reluctance on the part of the Entente Powers to exercise adequate pressure at Athens, the situation at Salonika has been regulated to the satisfaction, more or less, of the Allies. Consistency never did find a home in the Balkans, and the recent course of events has not been troubled by it. The Entente Powers acquiesced in Greece's betrayal of Serbia, but held on to one small piece of the broken treaty which gave them some right to occupy Salonika for Serbia's benefit. Until force was threatened, the Greek Government cherished the hope that it would still be able to use its neutrality card against both the Grand Alliance and Germany. The rashness of a couple of Ministers in hinting at the possibility of Greece disarming the Serbians and Anglo-French troops in the event of their falling back on Greek territory roused the British and French Governments to action. Greece was not only obliged to give assurances that no such course was contemplated, but had to go further and leave the Allies in undivided control of Salonika and the frontier district. The stronger the pressure exercised by the Allies at Athens, the more friendly has the Greek Government become. Even King Constantine recalls the fact that he generally spends his holidays in England, and feels aggrieved that he should be so misunderstood by the British people. At this point, however,

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pressure comes from another direction. Germany was prepared to recognise the awkwardness of Greece's position, but was not inclined to acquiesce without a challenge in active friendliness towards the Entente. This aspect of the situation is Greece's particular trouble. Being in no way concerned with ideals, she has embarked upon a policy of "no fighting at any price." Now that such a policy threatens to leave her territory to be overrun by Bulgarians and Turks she begins to have misgivings. Well she may. It is to be hoped that the Grand Alliance, mindful of Serbia, has resolutely refused to offer the Greek Government any compensation for the occupation of Salonika, or for the effects of any fighting there may be on Greek territory.

Italy and the War.

THE adherence of Italy to the Allies' pact—the agreement of the five Governments of Britain, France, Russia, Japan, and Italy by which they mutually engage not to conclude peace separately during the War, and undertake that, when terms of peace come to be discussed, no one of the Allies will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other Allies—is something more than a mere act of formality. It makes for Italy the crossing of a second Rubicon, hardly less important than the one she crossed when war was declared on Austria. At the beginning of the European struggle the country was at one in deciding that the Italians had no lot nor heritage under the terms of the Triple Alliance in the aggression of the Central Powers. Subsequently, however, the nation became divided on the question of neutrality or intervention. When intervention won the day, it was only for the settlement of the long-standing differences with Austria-Hungary. War was not declared on Germany, and Italy, though seemingly taking her stand with the Entente, remained absorbed with her own campaign in the north. Even the declaration of war on Turkey had more in it of the nature of a formality than of a practical contribution to the Allies' cause. The adherence to the pact, however, indicates that the scales have now fallen from the eyes of the Italian nation; the Government no longer hesitates to throw in its lot unreservedly with the Triple Entente and to accept the wider issues involved in the War. It has hitherto been understood that the price of Italy's adhesion was to be paid at the expense of Serbia's legitimate aspirations in Dalmatia. The sympathetic references made by the Italian Foreign Minister to Serbia, at the time when he announced that Italy had signed the Allies' pact, have led some people to hope

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that any tentative understanding arrived at, when Italy made war on Austria, is to be revised in the light of fuller knowledge on the part of the Entente Powers. There remains the formal declaration of war on Germany, which Italy has still to make, if only with a view to discountenancing any unpatriotic attempts to pass goods into Germany by way of Switzerland, which will help to prolong the resistance of the Central Powers.

Anzac.

The heroism of the Australians at Gallipoli has been recounted already many times, but the story can never be repeated too often, and it is still possible for new witnesses to bring home more vividly to the reader details which others may have failed to emphasise. A brief description of the landing which has reached us from the pen of a young English officer seems to fall within this category and is worthy of reproduction. "A handful of Australians of such fighting stamp as the world had never previously seen made an attack upon what were in the nature of impregnable positions, more appalling than the Heights of Abraham. That they should have been taken in the teeth of most strenuous opposition will ever remain one of the wonders of the world. Succeeding generations will visit that spot and say 'The men who could have done that were not men of flesh and blood like ourselves; they must have been supermen, demigods, demons'. These men did not capture only the ridges and precipices constituting the Anzac position; they did more. Taking the bit between their teeth, they fought their way over ridge after ridge for four miles, streaming down the deep gorges and up the steep precipices, until they had won the heights. Nothing could stop them. Hill 971 was theirs, the Dardanelles lay below them. They were within the ramparts of far Constantinople. The world was conquered by their rush! All that was needed were good men and true, and we had them in splendid abundance—to back them up, to reinforce them, to keep tight hold of the positions gained—positions that with but a containing—even a skeleton—force must be impregnable." But the reinforcements, as we know, were not there. In August an attempt was made to turn the Turkish line confronting Anzac, by a landing at Suvla Bay. The plan miscarried, as the attack was not pressed home. Four months later, when the fact could no longer be ignored that these positions must become untenable in the event of the enemy receiving adequate supplies of munitions, they were evacuated. The withdrawal of the large force on shore was effected with the loss of three men wounded—a wonderful feat in

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itself, but one which served to emphasise the tragedy of the whole episode connected with the name of Anzac.

Canadian Trade.

CANADA has passed a notable milestone in 1915. For the first time her exports have exceeded her imports. Three years ago she finished the financial year (March 31, 1913) with an adverse balance of £60,000,000; in 1914 the adverse balance was £36,000,000; on March 31, 1915 it was still over £7,000,000. But for the first eight months of the current fiscal year her exports amounted to £83,800,000, her imports to £59,600,000. The change is significant; but the fact will not be lost sight of that the War is responsible for the satisfactory state of affairs. It is all to the credit of the Dominion, however, that it has been able to reap the full benefit of abnormal war conditions. Thanks to the measures taken last autumn there has been a record wheat crop, while a general feeling of confidence, in spite of the economic difficulties of a few years ago, has put the country in a position to take up all orders for munitions and war supplies that came its way. For the first time, Canada has floated a domestic loan. The success attending it has prompted the Government to increase the amount from £10,000,000 to £20,000,000, and to set aside half the amount to Imperial credit. It is hoped that the firms which have benefited by war orders will be induced to invest their profits in Imperial Exchequer Bonds, with a view to attracting additional orders. Not the least satisfactory feature of the situation is the evident intention of the Government to use Canada's present prosperity in the best possible way for the future, in order that she may suffer the less from a sudden cessation of war orders when peace comes.

The Late German Colonies.

THAT the new administration of the late German colonies in the Pacific and in Africa is now in satisfactory working order is indicated by the appearance of Government Gazettes, which are reaching the Library of the Institute. In South-West Africa the Gazette, which was first published in September, bears the title of *Official Gazette to the Protectorate of South-West Africa in Military Occupation of the Union Forces*. For the time being, therefore, South-West Africa has become a military Protectorate in which the work of civil administration will gradually supersede the military régime. Thus Mr. E. H. L. Gorges, previously acting as Chief Secretary under the Military Governor, has already been appointed Administrator. The new territory, however, is divided

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into seven chief districts with Military Magistrates (the incumbents, even when civilians, holding for the purpose the military rank of Major), and eleven minor districts controlled by Detached Assistant Military Magistrates, holding the rank of Captains and Lieutenants. The administration at Rabaul, under an Administrator appointed by the Commonwealth of Australia, includes the whole of the German Pacific Colonies, with the exception of Samoa, which remains under the New Zealand Government. The Gazette published at Rabaul is entitled *Government Gazette, British Administration (late) German New Guinea*. As was to be expected, the names of the islands Neu Pommern and Neu Mecklenburg, in the Bismarck Archipelago, have reverted to their former English names, New Britain and New Ireland, a change which will have given great satisfaction to the old colonists who remember the earlier régime. The extent to which the new order has already reached settled conditions may be inferred from the appearance in the last *Gazette* from Rabaul of a proclamation rescinding martial law. Togoland and the occupied portions of the Kamerun are divided into British and French spheres of administration; the former into two distinct spheres, the latter according to the military exigencies which have brought a British or French force to the district occupied.

The Danish Agreement.

THERE has been very considerable and by no means favourable comment on what has become known as the Danish Agreement. This instrument, the bare bones of which were made public on November 29, 1915, concluded an agreement between the British Government and representatives of the Merchants' Guild of Copenhagen and the Industrial Association of Denmark. These two organisations represent practically all Danish trade interests, on whose behalf they gave guarantees to the British Foreign Office for the due performance of the undertaking. The object of the Agreement was to facilitate trade in Denmark by removing doubts as to the destination of imports to be sent into that country, and it was further stated that "the document specially lays down that commodities may be re-exported from Denmark to neutral or belligerent countries, if those to the latter be not contraband". It has been said by the critics of the new Agreement that it is fundamentally contrary to Order 3 of the Reprisals Order in Council of March 1915, which declared that "every merchant vessel on her way to a port, other than a German port, carrying goods to an enemy destination, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or Allied port". No official answer has been made to this criticism. On the contrary

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the Government refuses to publish the details of the Agreement or to give them to the British House of Commons, notwithstanding the fact that the Agreement in question is textually available to every member of the two Danish Associations (which comprise practically every Danish merchant of any standing in his own country), and through them to German merchants and consequently to the German Government.

Expert Advice.

In taking full responsibility for the Danish Agreement, Lord Robert Cecil has admitted that the whole question of foreign policy in these matters of trade and the Navy requires restating. The sooner it is restated the better for the nation. Nothing could be more regrettable than that occasion should be given for a series of attacks on the policy of the Foreign Office during the War. In the present instance the Government's insistence upon secrecy inevitably arouses suspicion and causes the agreement with Danish merchants to be classed in the same category as certain other measures, such as the Declaration of London, abandoned piecemeal through force of circumstances and progress of the War, the permission to German reservists in neutral countries overseas to return to Germany after the outbreak of war, and the handling of the questions of contraband and of German trade generally. In this somewhat strained atmosphere, the possible merits and probable demerits of the Danish Agreement have tended to become obscured. But it is too late in the day, it must be regretfully admitted, for the Government to expect the House of Commons to be content with its *ipse dixit* on debatable questions. Its good faith is not impugned; but the War has brought to the front a variety of subjects apparently outside the knowledge of Ministers, who seem unwilling to place themselves in the hands of experts. Consequently they are apt to make statements or to evolve a policy based on erroneous ideas. There can be little doubt that the question of contraband would have been handled differently, if the Government had availed itself more fully of the knowledge of experts.

The Declaration of London.

The unhappy Declaration of London has this month been officially admitted in the House of Lords to be moribund, if not actually dead. It will be remembered that this Declaration was the considered policy of the British Foreign Office in the years after the Russo-Japanese war, of which it was the outcome. It was in no sense a party measure, having

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found critics and supporters among both the great parties in England; but it was drawn up on the unfortunate assumption that Britain would be neutral in the next great war, and, therefore, that it would be to the interests of Britain to enlarge the privileges of neutrals at the expense of belligerents in every way possible. Germany not merely acquiesced in this view, but applauded it, on the assumption (*a*) that Britain would be neutral, and would, therefore, be able to supply Germany with goods uninterruptedly in war time; or in the alternative, (*b*) that, even if Britain were a participator in the war, for which Germany was then making her final preparations, the goods of other neutral nations would pass through the British fleet unmolested for Hamburg and Bremen. In addition, those who now look back upon the history of the Declaration of London cannot rid themselves of the suspicion that Germany did her utmost to cramp the British fleet in advance by legal fetters. Clearly she believed that once the British Government had put its name to the Declaration its word would be its bond —a touching admission of faith on the part of the Germans in the proverbial honesty of the British Government. Unfortunately for the enemy, the Declaration of London was never ratified by Parliament; it passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. At the outbreak of war, therefore, the Declaration of London was not an instrument; and its provisions have since proved entirely impossible of fulfilment. One by one they have been abandoned, to the decorously concealed delight of the British Admiralty, but to the ill-concealed chagrin of others who naturally objected to see even the least well-favoured of their children hacked limb from limb. Now that the miserable corpse has been exhibited to all men it may be hoped, that all alike will give it decent burial, and that no more will be heard, for many years to come, of any attempt to hamper the sea power of an Empire that rests upon sea power.

Public Thrift.

In the second week of December a number of members of Parliament formed themselves into a Committee to discuss the preaching of thrift to the British people (who notoriously are not a thrifty race), and on the same day the Prime Minister announced that members of Parliament would continue to draw their salaries as usual. On the same day also, the British public decided to draw its own conclusions. It must be admitted that the British Government and the House of Commons have lost a unique opportunity of setting a moral example to the people on the practice of economy, and none of the laboured excuses that have been

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set up on their behalf has had the slightest weight with the growing body of public opinion, which rightly insists that it is indecent for a man to vote himself an income which is not obviously too well earned, while he is preaching thrift to the taxpayers who have to pay his salary. The amounts involved may be small; the principle at stake and the example set are large.

War Finance.

So far as the general finance of the War is concerned there have been certain fresh steps taken. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced a new system of War Bonds for the working classes under a scheme of voluntary purchase, the bond being always redeemable at par, but bearing no interest during the first six months. This scheme, which had the extraordinary defect of displeasing both the financier and the working-man—two beings who do not as a rule think alike—proved to be still-born, and it is clear that the method of inducing the working classes to invest their surplus wages in the War Loan will have to be reconsidered. It is possible that something may be done by means of the Post Office Savings Bank, an established institution to which they are much more accustomed than to bonds, which may be lost or destroyed, and which appeal to nobody but the man who has a bank or a private safe. In the meantime the Finance Bill has gone through without substantial alteration, despite certain protests in the House of Commons against the Excess Profits Tax. The next War Budget may not appear before April 1916, as the yields from the new taxes cannot be adequately estimated before the close of the financial year on March 31, 1916. As far as things have gone, it would seem that the novel taxes on imports which Mr. McKenna has imposed have been more successful than was thought probable, and an extension of these may be anticipated. The increased income-tax has not yet begun to be paid, and the yield on what are known as the breakfast-table duties continues high, a proof of national prosperity, high wages, and the large demand for labour. On the other hand, a reduction is certain in the yield of the liquor duties, owing to the very stringent liquor regulations which have been imposed during the last few weeks. The issue of the next British War Loan, which will be unlimited in amount and presumably a 5 per cent. issue at par, is expected next February. For the present the British financier has the opportunity of subscribing to what is popularly known as the French Loan of Victory, a very attractive stock issued at 88 per cent. and yielding rather more than 6 per cent. In spite of the intricacies of

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the Exchange, which have ruled out many small investors, it is understood that there has been a good response to this loan, the proceeds of which are to be used entirely in paying off French Government debts in Britain, and which will, therefore, have the effect of postponing for a short time the issue of the next British War Loan. On the whole, although the financial situation is strained, it is sound, and it may be contrasted with the situation in Germany, where the exchange has again fallen nearly 10 per cent., and in spite of the boasts of Dr. Helfferich the economic and financial situation becomes steadily more grave.

Double Income-tax.

An important meeting was held on December 10 at the Bank of Adelaide, for the purpose of focussing opinion on the subject of the double (and sometimes treble) income-tax payable by persons belonging to the Overseas Dominions, but residing in the United Kingdom. This question has already occupied the attention of the Council of the Institute, which recently supported the action of Sir Westby Perceval in addressing a memorandum to the Chancellor of the Exchequer praying that relief might be given in such cases, which are often of considerable hardship. At the Bank of Adelaide meeting, which was convened by the Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Sir Westby Perceval was in the chair, and explained that it had been found impossible to obtain any amendment to the Finance Act for the present year, but that it was hoped that something might be done before another Finance Bill was introduced. He gratefully acknowledged the support given by the Institute to his memorandum in a closely reasoned letter which was forwarded by the Council to the Chancellor. Several speakers followed, and by the moderation of their language made it plain that they were actuated by no unpatriotic motives in pressing for remission of what, on the face of it, seems clearly to be an inequitable mode of taxation. A temperately worded resolution was unanimously passed, and a representative committee appointed to take such action in the desired direction as may be found possible.

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LOWER MESOPOTAMIA.

I.

Until General Townshend, finding himself confronted by an enemy overwhelmingly superior both in numbers and in heavy artillery, was compelled to fall back from Ctesiphon upon Kut, the record of our Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force had been one of unbroken success. The reduction of Fao, the capture of Busreh, the brilliant success at Shaiba, the steady advance up the Euphrates and the Tigris, together with the effective handling of what threatened to become a dangerous situation on the Karun, go to the making of a page in the history of our Empire-building of which every member of the Indian Expeditionary Force D, from highest to lowest, may well feel proud. The reports of the Force's doings that were vouchsafed to the public at home were few and far between, and sometimes much belated; but they were uniformly favourable, and accustomed us to think that whatever news we might receive from other theatres of the war, that from Mesopotamia was almost sure to be good.

In spite of these facts—or, perhaps, because of them—the achievements of General Nixon's gallant little force had hardly been appreciated at their true value. It is characteristic of us as a nation that we have heard more of them since the set-back than ever we did before. Fortunately for the interests of the Empire, it is equally characteristic that upon the whole the determination to "see the thing through" appears to have hardened as a result of the check. Formerly there was some doubt as to the possibility, or at any rate the wisdom, of pushing on beyond the Shat-el-Arab. To-day it appears to be generally recognised that, if only for the sake of our prestige, we must pursue a bold policy. The importance attached by the Germans to keeping us out of Baghdad provides us with a strong incentive for pushing on; and what has been achieved already by a small force serves to show that the task should not be beyond our powers. Here, as elsewhere, we can afford to wait. The Turks and Germans cannot. Sooner or later, therefore, we may reasonably hope, the Union Jack will fly over the City of the Khalifs. And once planted there, there—let us hope—it will remain.

That our occupation of Busreh and the region of the Shat-el-Arab is intended to be a permanent one can hardly be questioned in view of the statements made by the Viceroy of India to the British colony at Busreh, when he visited that place in February last. Our interests, political and commercial, in the region of the Persian Gulf and in the Middle East generally, demand that much at least. But to those best acquainted with the country it seems almost inevitable that, in order to make our occupation of Busreh effective, and to avoid constant trouble with the lawless and treacherous Arabs to the north, we shall have to occupy Baghdad also, and to assume control of the whole region watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates after they emerge from the hills. Just where the frontier line may best be drawn is a question for

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the future to decide ; but if we are to have any prospect of introducing settled conditions into the country, it is certain that we must control the whole of that plain which in ancient times was known as Babylonia.

It may be said at once, without fear of contradiction, that as far as the people of the region referred to are concerned the only possible sufferers by such a change of rule would be the Bedouin, who would doubtless be gradually dispossessed of some of their camping and grazing grounds. But while we may sympathise with them on sentimental grounds, we cannot but recognise that it is not in human nature to allow them to occupy indefinitely such rich lands as those between the Tigris and the Euphrates, when they will neither turn them to account themselves nor allow others to do so. Ground that is capable of producing heavy crops of corn, rice, sugar, and cotton is not to be spared as grazing lands for camels ; and the Beni Shammar, the Anazeh, the Muntefik, and the rest of the picturesque Bedouin must either withdraw to their own deserts, to the west and the south, or learn to adapt themselves to the new order of things. The latter alternative is not quite the impossibility that some people affect to consider it ; and should we make good our occupation, it is permissible to hope that we should show all possible consideration towards the important Bedouin tribes. For the Bedawi is a much more likable and infinitely more reliable character than his half-settled and degenerate brother, the *Ma'dan* Arab, and, handled judiciously, he might make a valuable asset in the development of the country. As to the *Ma'dan* Arabs, who probably constitute the most numerous portion of the population, they cordially detest the Turkish rule, from which they say—very truly—they have derived no benefit at all ; and though they would, doubtless, prefer to be left entirely to their own devices, the more intelligent amongst them would certainly welcome us in place of the hated Osmanli. So, too, would the better-class town Arabs and all the Christians. And finally it may be pointed out that, since the Turk is an intruder in this region, his disappearance from it would in no wise compromise that Principle of Nationalities which is so much to the fore to-day. Indeed, our presence at Baghdad would almost certainly mean that the Arabs of Irak would gradually be trained in the arts of self-government ; and though the process would necessarily be a slow and difficult one, Baghdad might once again be made a centre of Arabic learning and Arabic culture, as it was in the days of the Abbasside Khalifs.

II.

For practical purposes we may regard our title, Lower Mesopotamia, as embracing the country lying south of Hit on the Euphrates and Samarra on the Tigris, and stretching from those points between and along the two rivers to the head of the Persian Gulf. In the east it is bounded by the newly demarcated Turco-Persian frontier. The western boundary is a rather uncertain affair, which has in the past depended on the willingness or otherwise of the Arabs to recognise Turkish authority. The region is marked somewhat vaguely

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on most maps as Irak Arabi, and comprises the greater part of the two Turkish vilayets of Baghdad and Busreh.

In remote times a great part of this area was under water, being, in fact, part of what we now call the Persian Gulf, known to the Babylonians as the Nar Muratti; and the Twin Rivers emptied into it through two distinct embouchures. Gradually, however, the silt brought down by them filled the shallow head of the Gulf, as it is actually still doing; what was sea became salty marsh; the salty marsh in turn became more or less solid ground; and the rivers, working their way towards one another, finally united to form the fine waterway that we call the Shat-el-Arab, into which the Karun also now pours its stream.

The whole of the plain thus built up on the old bed of the sea is formed of silt brought down by the rivers, to the chemical composition of which it owes its extremely fertile character. From the Armenian mountains come washings of gneiss and granite, limestone and sandstone; farther south are added gypsum and mica, feldspar and chalk; the whole combining to form an extraordinarily rich alluvium. To-day, however, owing to the neglect of irrigation and cultivation, much of this valuable plain is rendered unfit for use by the presence of salts in excessive quantities.

As we should expect, the country is extremely flat. Between Fao and Baghdad there is not a single natural rise, and it is not until you reach the foothills of the Hamrin range on the Tigris, or until you are in the neighbourhood of Ramadieh on the Euphrates, that you find anything remotely resembling a natural hill. The greater part of the region, however, especially towards the north, is crossed and crossed again by lines of ancient canal banks; and here and there are mounds—many of them of imposing appearance—that indicate the sites of former towns, cities, and villages. Such are the mounds of Warka, Telloh, Nippur, Fara, Mugheir, and those in the neighbourhood of Hillah, which mark the site of the "once great Babylon" itself. Though close examination shows these mounds to be thickly strewn with fragments of pottery, brick, and other indications of their human origin, their appearance from a distance is such that any uninitiated observer might well be pardoned for regarding them as Nature's handiwork. Indeed, man has had but small part in their making. As a rule the greater part of their mass consists of sun-dried brick—mud, scraped from the plain and moulded to his purpose by man, which, having served its purpose for a span, is now in process of being washed back into the dead level of the plain once more by winter's rain and flood, in readiness for a fresh transmogrification.

Occasionally the traveller comes across ruins that more obviously suggest human purpose, such as the black mass of Akkerkuf, the twisted pile of Birs Nimrud, or the still-imposing great arch of Chosroes' palace at Ctesiphon. But save for these and the sherd-strewn earthy mounds and long lines of canal embankments, there is little to break the monotony of the scenery—if scenery it can be called—throughout the greater part of the plain. Modern villages are few and far between, and as a rule their appearance is such as to cause the

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traveller who beholds them for the first time to wonder how any human beings can be content to drag on an existence in such surroundings. A few low booths of palm-frond mats stretched over hoops of reeds, a mud hovel or two, a slightly more pretentious mud house that marks the dwelling of the local sheikh, and one or two small mud towers—not unlike miniature martello towers—known locally as forts (*mefteel*), make up a typical village of the poorer class. Such a village is almost as easy to move as is a Bedouin camp ; and as a matter of fact they often are moved, owing sometimes to fear of floods, sometimes to the exigencies of a blood feud, sometimes even in the hope of baffling an invasion of too active and too aggressive fleas !

In better-class villages the reed-and-mat huts are generally fewer and larger, the mud huts are more numerous, the sheikh's " castle " is more imposing, possibly running to two stories in parts, and nearly always boasting a guest-house (*muthif*), in the hoop-and-mat style of architecture, beside it. Thus, ascending the scale, we come to the glories of " towns," such as Kut, where there are houses of real brick—sometimes modern, but much more often plundered from the old Babylonian ruins—with a " bazaar," a " Governor's residence," and all the other signs that the progressive Turk is making good the glorious promises of his famous Constitution. But such luxuries must, of course, be paid for, and the Arab, having learned that it is he who has to pay for them in the long run, fights shy of them. For this reason modern " towns " are rare indeed in the land, which, meant by Nature to be one of the most fertile, is still the pitiful wilderness that it was reduced to by the Mongol invaders and the subsequent neglect of the system of irrigation that alone could turn to account the gifts of Nature. Apart from Baghdad and Ḅusreh the only places worthy of the name of town are Nejef and Kerbellah. Hillah derives a certain importance from its proximity to the ruins of Babylon, which the Germans have been excavating for the past fourteen years ; Kurnah, as every-one in England has read of late, is regarded by the Arabs as the site of the Garden of Eden—though, as mentioned above, the position it occupies was under water even in early Babylonian days ; Kifil, Kufa, and one or two other places are of some interest on account of historical associations attaching to them. But such places as Amarah, Kut—or Kut-el-Amarah, as it is called in our official statements, though seldom or never in the neighbourhood—Sook-es-Sheyukh, Lemlun, Diwaniyeh, and a good many more that figure prominently on maps appearing recently in all kinds of journals and magazines in this country, are hardly worthy of even such mention. In a word, the entire plain, which disputes with the Nile Valley the right to the title of " The Cradle of Civilisation," is to-day little better than a vast wilderness. But we know that formerly, in the days of the Babylonian kings, and again in the times of the Abbasside Khalifs, it was almost incredibly fertile and prosperous ; and should Great Britain, as one result of the present War, make herself responsible for its future, there can be no doubt that it would once more return to its former state, to the great gain of its inhabitants, of ourselves, and of the world at large.

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III.

When, how, and by whom the so-called Baghdad Railway will be completed it would be rash to say at the present time, though we may safely conclude that its construction as far as Baghdad will be completed at no very distant date. It is a grandiose scheme, extraordinarily dear to the Germans, and claimed by them, of course, as a purely German conception. The fact is that the project was originally a British one ; and the Teuton took it over and spoilt it, by endeavouring to turn it to his own advantage, regardless of the interests of the country it was supposed to benefit. As M. Jean Finot pointed out quite lately (in the *Athenæum*) this trick of claiming, as the products of German genius, plans, ideas, and inventions that have been really "lifted" boldly from more civilised nations is an old one of the Germans ; but it has taken the War to open the eyes of some people to the fact. Now that it is realised it is to be hoped that it will not soon be forgotten. Meantime we may remark that many competent judges are of opinion that the Baghdad Railway, even if it should be carried on to the head of the Persian Gulf, would find it impossible to compete successfully with river- and sea-borne traffic. Be that as it may, it is tolerably sure that for some time to come Busreh will remain what it is to-day, the principal gateway to Lower Mesopotamia.

At present it is not such a convenient gateway as one could wish. In order to reach it from the Gulf, vessels must first cross the bar ; and it is in this process that the traveller receives his first impression of the size of the Twin Rivers and of the vast quantity of silt they bring down from the mountains. For the bar is some five miles in width, and is so far from the low-lying coast that you might imagine yourself a hundred miles from land, unless you happened to have a keen scent for a land breeze. Steamers of any size have usually to discharge part of their cargo into lighters before they can cross ; and even so, the way in which their screws stir up the mud, in which, on occasion, they bump and sometimes stick fast for hours at a stretch, suffices to show the most inexperienced traveller how desirable it would be for dredging to be undertaken systematically and on a larger scale than any Turkish—or Persian—Government is likely to contemplate. Dredging, buoying, and lighting are all called for, if Busreh is to be developed. Up to the present—or at any rate until recently—such buoying as has been done has been done by the British India Line, while dredging and lighting appear to have been entirely neglected.*

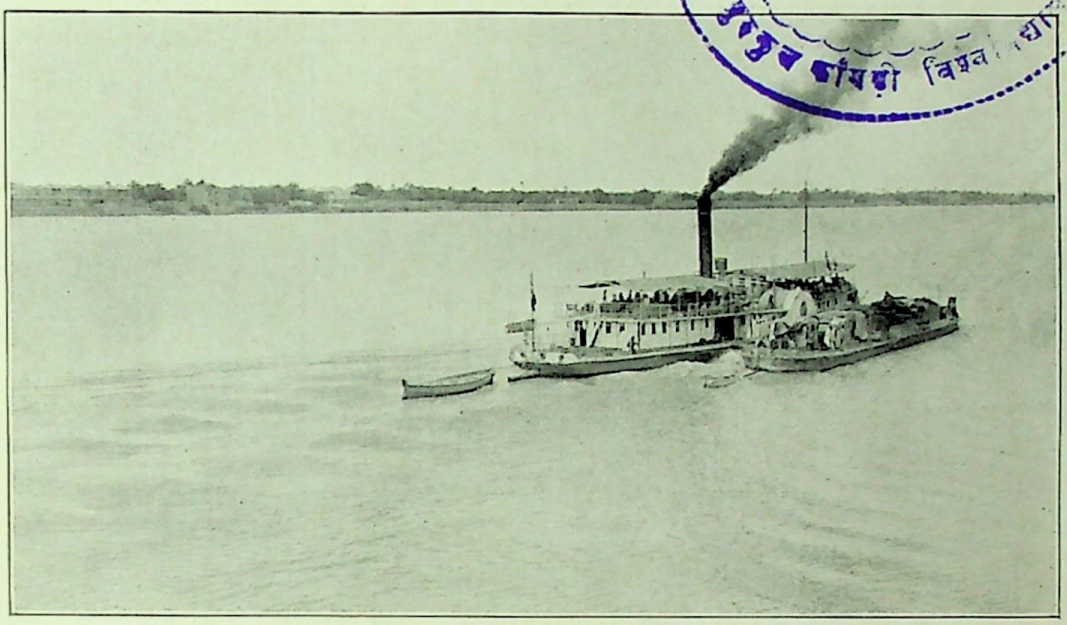
Once across the bar, the steamer soon begins to pass between low, feverish-looking banks, lined with date palms, which seem to become more and more numerous the farther you advance. At Fao a halt is made, to drop the mails. It was here that, prior to the War, the cables of the Indo-European and the Turkish telegraphs had their termini ; and, as the incident does not appear to have been mentioned elsewhere, it may not be out of place to add that here,

* Since these lines were written it has been announced that Sir George Buchanan, M.I.C.E., Chairman of the Rangoon Port Trust, has been placed on special duty for dredging operations in Mesopotamia.

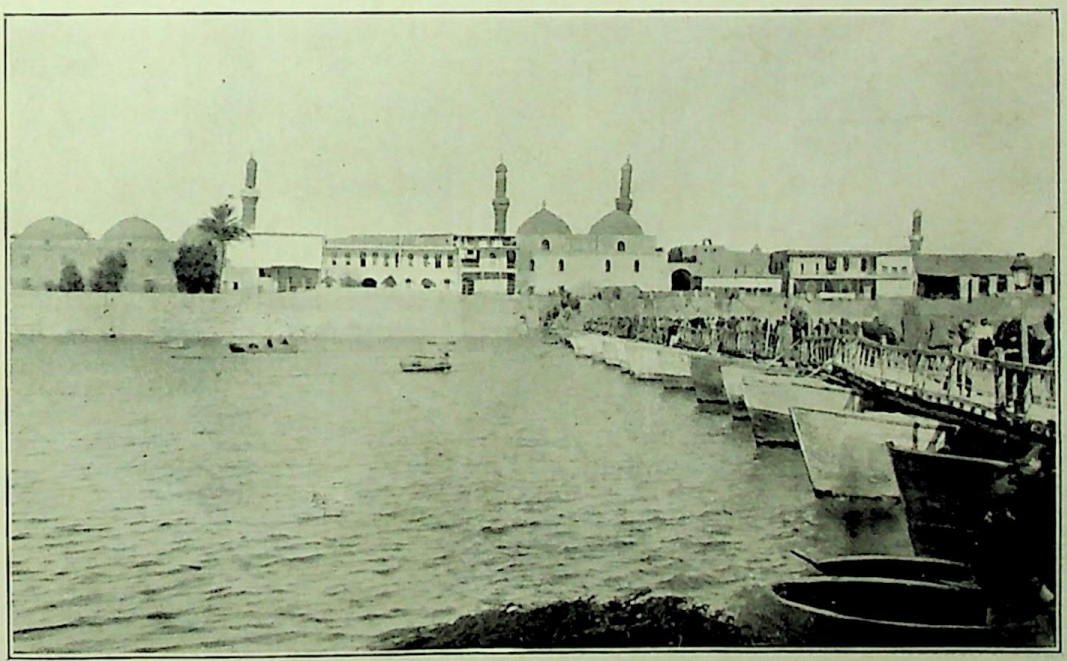
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UP THE TIGRIS TO BAGHDAD. A TURKISH STEAMER.

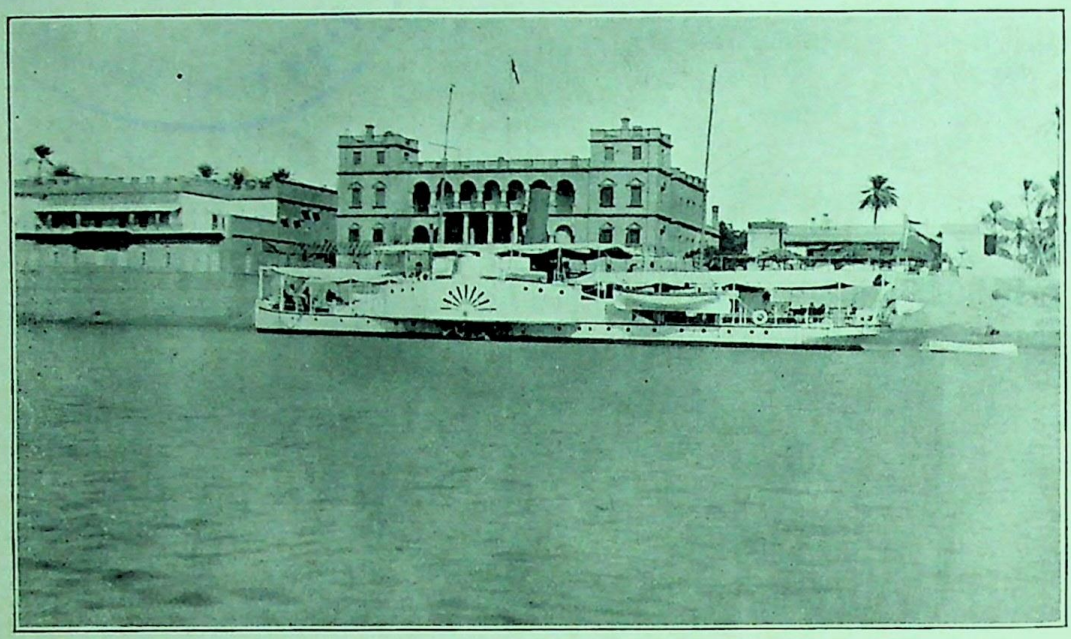


THE BRIDGE OF BOATS, BAGHDAD.

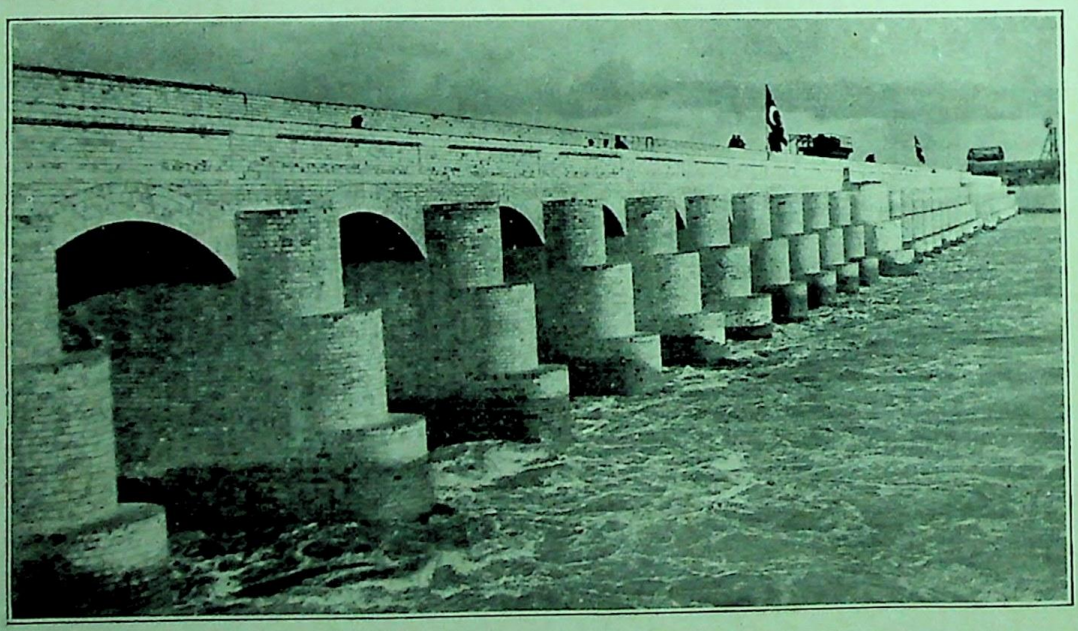
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THE BRITISH RESIDENCY, BAGHDAD. THE GUARDSHIP R.I.M.S. "COMET."



THE HINDIEH BARRAGE: THE EUPHRATES RIVER.

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when our Expeditionary Force was forcing the mouth of the river, the British telegraphists at Fao pluckily stuck to their posts to the last possible moment, though constantly threatened by Turkish troops. Eventually they were arrested, and forced by their captors to trudge all the way to Busreh on foot.

The next point of interest is Abadan, where the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. has its storage tanks and depot; and then comes Mohammerah, on the left bank of the river and at the point where it is joined by the Karun. Thanks to the development of the oil industry, Mohammerah has grown considerably in recent years; but to Britons its chief interest lies in the fact that its ruler, Sheikh Khazzal Khan, K.C.S.I., has always been a warm admirer of the British, and that at the outbreak of hostilities with Turkey he "played the game" loyally by us.

After the rocky scenery of the Persian Gulf, Busreh impresses the new-comer rather favourably. The abundance of its palm orchards, its picturesque creek and network of little canals and irrigation channels, and, above all, the great river on to which it fronts give it a pleasant appearance, and its best buildings, which lie along the right bank of the river and are mainly occupied by the Europeans and Government officials, look quite imposing from the steamer's deck. But like most Turkish, Arab, and Persian towns, it loses—or did lose, before the British occupation, which has already resulted in great improvements, especially in regard to sanitation—much of its attractiveness on closer inspection. The streets, such as they were, were narrow and bad, the houses huddled together and often in a terribly tumble-down condition, while drainage and lighting were—well, let us say, in the experimental stage. Even the Ashar Creek, which formed the most popular means of communication between the river and the native town, some mile or thereabouts inland, became a place unspeakable at low tide; for it served not only as a main thoroughfare, but also as a main drain—or the nearest approach to one that Busreh possessed. The bazaars, however, are clean, and compare not unfavourably with those of the Persian and Arab ports; and the grain market presents a really busy scene at times. For though the export of grain is less important than that of dates, owing to Turkish indifference to agriculture and to ridiculous restrictions on exports, it is not an entirely negligible factor in the trade of the place. The date packing, it may be of interest to note, is done chiefly in the gardens, not in the town, and its centre is at Abu Khassib, a little way down the river. But in the season signs of this, the chief industry of the place, are visible in the bazaars, in the form of stacks of baskets and bags piled up in many stores, ready to receive the golden fruit. When boxes are used for the packing they are usually imported from Europe in sections, ready for nailing together.

A great feature of the life of Busreh is the constant use of the *bellum*—the local form of *caïque*—to which the town undoubtedly owes the name frequently given to it, "the Venice of the East." These craft are much in evidence both on the river and the Creek. In build and appearance they are particularly graceful, and although they are not nearly so easy to handle as

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they look, being generally extraordinarily heavy for their size, their Arab *bellumjis* manage them with skill and put them along at a great pace, generally by means of poling, though they can if required be either paddled or rowed.

Regarding the trade of the place nothing need be said here, since anyone desiring to study the subject can do so in the Consular reports. The bulk of the import and export business has been in British hands for many years, and despite the systematic efforts of our German rivals to capture it, with a free use of subsidies and all the rest of the elaborate machinery employed by politico-commercial gentry of the Wonckhaus type, our countrymen were still holding their own before the War broke out. The British colony was easily the most important of the foreign communities ; and its members, a hospitable and sportsmanlike set, contrived to make the best of the surroundings in which they were placed. They have long had their own Club, a highly popular institution ; and besides riding, golf, and shooting, in the desert and on the marshes, they never failed to put a good cricket eleven in the field to meet the representatives of our gunboats that called at the port. Within the last eighteen months a British firm opened a picture palace in the town ; and since the arrival of our Expeditionary Force, one gathers from the *Busra Times*, at least one "music-hall"—with all the "stars of the Aleppo world"—has made its appearance, in the neighbourhood of the Ashar Creek !

IV.

In normal times two lines of steamers ply between Busreh and Baghdad, one owned by the Euphrates and Tigris Steamship Co., the other a Turkish concern. The journey takes from four to six or even seven days, according to the state of the river. In time of flood the boats frequently find it difficult to make any headway at all against the strong current, especially if, as is very often the case, they happen to be taking up a barge lashed alongside. In the dry season, when, for want of a little care in protecting the banks, much of the water that should be kept in the river is allowed to run to waste in the marshes, they not infrequently run aground on mud-banks, and sometimes experience considerable difficulty in getting off again. Another difficulty lies in the extraordinarily sharp bends made by the river, round some of which it would appear to the ordinary man quite hopeless to get the boats. As a matter of fact, some of these "devils' elbows"—as they are feelingly called by the British skippers—can only be negotiated by jamming the steamer's nose into one bank and scraping the other with her stern. The fact that the river is so much narrower and more difficult to navigate below Kut than it is above is due to two causes : at Kut much of the water finds its way into the Shat-el-Hai, an old canal, which follows the lines of what was formerly the Tigris ; while between Kut and Kurnah there are four branches, the Bitera, the Chala, the Majar Kebir and, the Machera, which serve still further to draw off the waters from the main stream. As a result of these conditions, while the Tigris is a broad and splendid river above Kut, its width varying between 300 and 500

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yards, below Kut it dwindles down to barely fifty yards in some reaches ; and while at Baghdad the depth of water is never less than twelve feet, there is sometimes a depth of barely three feet, in the dry season, in the lower portion.* Sir William Willcocks has pointed out that, with the river in its present state of neglect, Baghdad may find its water communication with Busreh entirely cut off at practically any time. As he estimates the cost of the works necessary to remedy this state of affairs at under £50,000 (at L.T. 48,380, to be exact) it is safe to prophesy that as soon as any enlightened Power takes over the control of this region they will be put in hand without delay—even before further irrigation projects are embarked on.

Of the journey up-river little or nothing need be said, recent events having produced a plentiful crop of descriptions and illustrations of the region traversed. It is worth pointing out, however, that the trip is much more enjoyable in the winter than it is in the summer ; for quite apart from the absence of the excessive heat and the freedom from insect pests that make the marshy region well-nigh insupportable in the hot weather, at the time of low water the traveller has fewer opportunities of observing what little life there is to observe on the banks. After leaving Kurnah, the first point of interest is Ezra's Tomb, which stands on the right bank, at a spot still known as Ozair or Irza. The tomb itself is a small but not unpleasing structure, and there is attached to it a large caravanserai, which, when the writer visited the place, was full of Jewish pilgrims. After leaving this point the only places worth mentioning in passing are Amarah and Kut ; and the traveller finds his chief interest in the occasional Arab villages, such as have been described above, and the much more attractive encampments of tent-dwelling Arabs. Ctesiphon affords a welcome break in the monotonous scene of deserted mud-plain, bare of vegetation save for the spiky *arid*, the caper, and a few stunted willows here and there. Beyond a portion of the great vaulted hall and a portion of one wing wall, little is left of the palace of the great Chosroes. It is enough, however, to give one some idea of the building in its prime, and to help one to understand the awe with which Omar's victorious general, Said Ibn Abu Wakkas, regarded it when it fell into his hands after Yezdigird's flight. Seleucia, on the opposite bank of the river, is marked now only by a number of low mounds.

In the neighbourhood of the larger villages passed there are signs of attempts at cultivation, but as a rule they are pitiful attempts of the most primitive description, and on a scale that indicates the difficulties under which the agriculturist labours. It is not until you approach Baghdad that you see evidence of any real effort to make the best possible use of the rich soil. There, during recent years, many oil engines have been introduced by the leading British firm ; and these, replacing the old-time *churds*, have made it possible to carry cultivation far back from the river's banks. Here, too,

* The worst part of the river is that between Kaleh Saleh and Ozair, at which point much of the water that has run to waste finds its way back to the stream again. The whole subject is fully dealt with by Sir William Willcocks in "The Irrigation of Mesopotamia" (Spon) paragraph 16, Navigation on the Tigris.

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the date palm, which has been conspicuous chiefly by its absence since Kurnah was left behind, begins to reappear once more, while willow and tamarisk thickets lend some variety to the scene. High mud walls, capped with thorns, enclose gardens that look quite attractive from the distance, and decent houses—in which the well-to-do Baghdadis spend the summer months—begin to be numerous on the east bank of the river. *Sefinahs* and *gouphas*—those quaint, pitch-daubed coracles that are to Baghdad what the *bellums* are to Busreh—pass up and down the stream. Many minarets and a dome or two peep up above the tree tops. The bridge of boats comes in sight. Your steamer journey is over.

V.

It appears to be an established fact that a city of some importance existed on or about the site now occupied by Baghdad at least as early as 2000 B.C., for such a one is mentioned—and under the name of Baghdadu—in inscriptions of that date. The Arabic city, however, was founded by the Abbasside Khalif Al Mansur (Abdullah Abu Jaafar) about A.D. 760. It is interesting to note that Mansur's city stood on the Mesopotamian side of the river, and that its extension on the eastern bank was due to his son and successor, Al Mahdi, after whom it was named Mahdieh. The place soon sprang into prominence; and what it was in the days of "the glorious Haroun" (er-Rashid) we all know from the wonderful tales of the "Thousand Nights and a Night." It remained a fine city, the centre of a prosperous region and a flourishing commerce, until the irruption of Ghengiz Khan and his freebooting hordes swept Saracenic culture almost off the face of the earth. Baghdad itself was sacked by Hulaku amidst scenes which, according to the Arab historians, must have strongly resembled those lately enacted in Belgium and in Serbia. After many vicissitudes, which cannot be traced here, it was conquered by Murad IV. in 1638, and it has been under Turkish rule ever since, though it long formed a bone of contention between Turkey and Persia. It is almost superfluous to add that as a result it has been in a state of gradual decay, varied by occasional brief spells of attempted "improvements" undertaken by *valis* of exceptional energy, such as Midhat Pasha and Nazim Pasha.

To-day little or nothing remains to tell of the city's former splendour, but it is still picturesque, with an old-world charm that will not be denied and a distinctly Oriental character. Its bazaars are extensive, comparatively well built—though *not* well paved—and in certain sections, such as the *sook e'-nahassin* (coppersmiths' bazaar), unspoilt by too many Western innovations. Its public buildings are hardly impressive, though it has one or two fine mosques with really magnificent tilework; save for one road, which was made by Nazim Pasha, and runs from the North to the South Gate, its streets and thoroughfares are as narrow, as ill-kept, and as uninteresting as those of most Oriental cities; and while many of its houses are handsome enough once you are in their courtyards, their exteriors are usually bare and unprepossessing

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to the last degree. Architecturally the mosque of Abd-el Kader (Bab-es-Sheikh), the Tomb of Zobeide, and some fragments of the old city wall are worthy of note ; while the Mosque of Kazimaim, on the right bank of the river and a little to the north of the city proper, a great place of pilgrimage for the Shiahs, is a really fine building.

The city is divided into two parts by the Tigris, which is crossed by a bridge of boats, just below which lies the Custom House and steamer landing. The Serai lies above this bridge, near the North Gate, on the left bank of the river, where most of the business of the city centres. The British Consulate—or The Residency, as it is always known, as a result of our Consul-General being appointed by the Indian Government—is on the same side, but far down-stream ; and all the other European consulates and most of the finest houses, native and European, are also to be found on this bank. Here, as at Busreh, the British colony is the leading one of the European communities, though of late years the construction of the " Baghdad " Railway has resulted in an influx of Germans ; and prior to the War our Consul-General was a personage of great importance in the place. He had charge of the interests of a very large number of British-Indian subjects, and the presence of the Residency guard-ship, the *Comet* of the R.I.M., was a constant reminder to the Bagh-dadis—and to the *Vali* also !—that Great Britain was not forgetful of what she had done in the way of developing trade in Mesopotamia. And if, latterly, the Turks listening to evil counsellors, were inclined to resent the presence of the *Comet* and all that it signified, the Arabs and the numerous Christians at Baghdad certainly did not share that resentment.

The city depends for its existence largely upon its trade with Persia, which, when the road through Khanikin to Kermanshah is not " closed " by brigands, is very extensive. It also serves as a distributing centre for a great part of Irak and Mesopotamia proper ; its caravans go out to Mosul, Aleppo, Damascus, and other places in the North, as well as East and West ; and it derives much profit from the thousands of pious pilgrims who pass through it on their way to the shrines at Nejef (Meshed Ali) and Kerbellah (Meshed Hussein). The import business is carried on chiefly by three British firms, though here again subsidised Germans have made great efforts to oust us from the field. Baghdad Jews, too, with connections in Manchester, have lately shown themselves quite formidable rivals in this import business. The latter competition is, of course, legitimate ; but in the future, if German traders are to be backed by their Government as they have been in the past, British firms will certainly be justified in looking for more support from our own Government than it has heretofore accorded them. Increased shipping facilities, as between Busreh and Baghdad, are also imperatively called for, freights having been before the War ridiculously high, owing to the limitations placed on the number of British boats allowed to run on the river. To discuss such subjects while the fate of Mesopotamia hangs in the balance would be perhaps a waste of time. It is to be hoped nevertheless that they will not be forgotten, and that when the moment arrives to place them on a satisfactory footing they will be

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dealt with on their merits, and with a view to achieving the best results possible for the Empire as a whole.

Lack of space precludes any attempt at description of the shrines at Nejef and Kerbellah, important though they be. Nor has it been possible to make more than passing reference to the antiquarian interest in which Lower Mesopotamia is so strong. For to Britons to-day the chief interest of the region lies in its present and its future. Given the advantages of British rule, that future should be a brilliant one. And though at the time of writing the outlook is not as promising as it was a month ago, it is unthinkable that, after all the sacrifices that have been made in this region, it will be permitted to remain in the hands of the incompetent Turk, or to pass into the hands of the competent but most truly "unspeakable" Hun. In its own interests no less than in ours, it should be brought under the British flag, when it would certainly eturn to its former prosperity and become one of the most valuable portions of the Empire.

H. Valentine Geere.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES REGIMENT.

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve of the formation of a Corps from contingents of the inhabitants of the West India Islands, to be entitled "The British West Indies Regiment."—*Extract from the "London Gazette," October 26, 1915.*

United Empire from time to time publishes a very little map of the world, showing British Possessions in vivid patches of red. The equatorial scale is marked, implying that the real distances are 81,000,000 times greater than those of the map itself. Thus the Indian Empire occupies about one inch, the longest way, and Australia the same length at maximum. Canada runs to a full two inches and a quarter, north-east and south-west, while Great Britain and Ireland could be covered by a sixpence—all to be imagined 81,000,000 diameters greater. Africa shows up a good second to India in two places, in the south and in Egypt; but elsewhere the red spots become a tiny pattern along the West Coast, ending at Gambia, some 14° or 15° N., while hardly more than the touch of a good fat nib dipped in ledger red marks that fair-sized bit of territory. So far, the little map is a weak stimulant to our imagination without more knowledge of our Colonies.

If we follow the line of the Gold Coast due westward across the main equatorial current mid North and South Atlantic some two thousand miles, to the north-east mainland of South America, we come to a patch of colour marking Guiana (old Demerara) and Georgetown, the most southern part of the West Indies. It is from here that the first of the West India Contingents to our new armies comes. Thence, closing in the purple and blue waters of the Caribbean Sea, the Imperial necklace bears away north and west in a graceful curve of tiny red spots, passing through the Windward and Leeward Islands until it

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is fastened safely to the mainland of Central America (another continent), at Belize in British Honduras. The Bahamas furnish a sparkling pendant of jewels, flung to the north, and from the Bahamas the last contingent has just arrived, making a total fighting strength of three battalions; and another thousand men are on their way. Fourteen different island Colonies have helped to provide the various drafts. One day some great psychologist may devise a unit of measurement for loyalty, patriotism, self-sacrifice, courage, and Imperial spirit, and if then the British Empire be drawn to scale, it will be surprising if the individual jewels of the West India necklace are not found to rival the "Cullinans" and "Koh-i-noors" of other parts of the Empire.

It is worth while to look back on the splendid fighting records of West Indians and what they have contributed to Britain's glory. The "cockpit of the navy," these island seas, teeming with traditions and history of brave deeds. Drake, Hawkins, Benbow, Vernon, Rodney, Nelson, are names that come to mind at once. A brief account of our achievements in those waters would cover a good portion of our naval history, and military as well.* For conquering, tenacious, holding and fighting spirit, the history of those island and coast settlements is stirring reading. Some of them conquered against foe after foe, lost and reconquered again and again. The battle tales of the West Indies and the daring deeds of its men are hard to match. Small wonder, then, that a new "British West Indies Regiment" is here in our new armies, ready to uphold the proud traditions of its homes and its people.

Space will not allow more than brief reference to what these men have done for Empire in our own time. The scores of medal ribbons seen among them—Ashantee, Kumassi, West, East, and South Africa—indicate the part they have played. The soldier spirit has been kept up by the Volunteers and Militia

* As evidence of the fighting that has taken place in the West Indies, the following list of Battle Honours may be cited :—

BATTLE HONOURS (GAINED IN THE WEST INDIES) ON THE COLOURS OF LINE REGIMENTS.

MARTINIQUE.—Royal Warwickshire Regiment, 1792; Royal Fusiliers, 1809; King's Liverpool Regiment, 1809; Norfolk Regiment, 1809; Somerset Light Infantry, 1762; Leicestershire Regiment, 1762; Royal Scots Fusiliers, 1794; Cheshire Regiment, 1762; Welsh Regiment, 1809; King's Own Scottish Borderers, 1808; East Surrey Regiment, 1810; Sussex Regiment, 1762; South Staffordshire, 1762; Dorsetshire Regiment, 1794; South Lancashire Regiment, 1762; The Welsh Regiment, 1762; Black Watch, 1762; Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, 1762–1794; Northamptonshire Regiment, 1762–1794; King's Royal Rifle Corps, 1762; Manchester Regiment, 1809; North Staffordshire Regiment, 1794; York and Lancaster Regiment, 1794.

GUADELOUPE.—The Buffs, 1759; East Yorkshire Regiment, 1810; Gloucestershire Regiment, 1759; East Surrey Regiment, 1810; South Staffordshire Regiment, 1759; York and Lancaster Regiment, 1759; Cameronians Scottish Rifles, 1809; Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 1762; Gloucestershire Regiment, 1762; East Surrey Regiment, 1794; Black Watch, 1759; Manchester Regiment, 1759, 1810; North Staffordshire Regiment, 1759.

HAVANNAH.—East Yorkshire Regiment, 1778; Leicestershire Regiment, 1762; Cheshire Regiment, 1762; Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 1778; Gloucestershire Regiment, 1778; Border Regiment, 1778; Sussex Regiment, 1778; South Lancashire Regiment, 1762; Black Watch, 1759; Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry; The Essex Regiment; Northamptonshire Regiment; King's Royal Rifle Corps.

ST. LUCIA.—Border Regiment; Sussex Regiment, 1778; South Lancashire Regiment, 1778; Berkshire Regiment, 1778; North Staffordshire Regiment, 1803.

ST. VINCENT.—The Welsh Regiment.

DOMINICA.—The Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

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of the Islands, and by the example of the "West India Regiment," whose men have been enlisted, trained, and often stationed in the Islands.

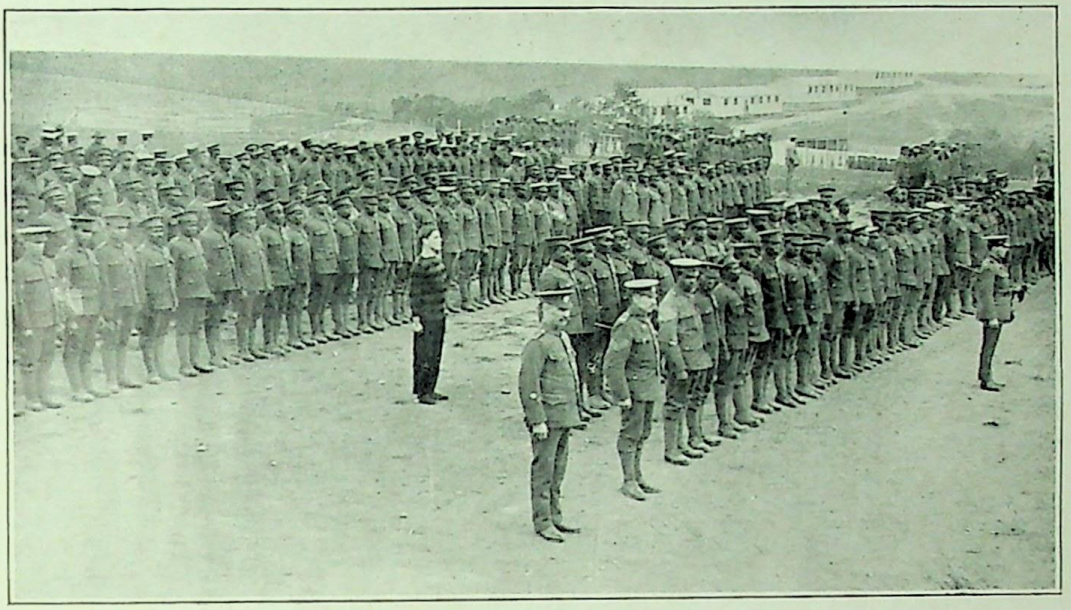
The West India Regiments were raised in the last years of the eighteenth century, primarily for service in the Carolinas (North America). The 2nd West India Regiment was dated 1795 and called "The St. Vincent Rangers", and, later on, "Brigadier-General Myer's Regiment of Foot". They were found to be of such value that in a short time no less than ten regiments of West Indian troops were raised. Many of these units had disappeared by 1850, when only four were left. The fourth regiment was disbanded in the seventies, and the third some years later. In 1888 the 1st and 2nd W.I. Regiments were amalgamated into one regiment, which now consists of two battalions of four companies each. Its battle honours embrace a great variety of minor expeditions, in addition to the better known names of "Dominica," "Martinique 1809," "Guadeloupe 1810," "Ashantee 1873–4," "West Africa 1887–92–3–4," "Sierra Leone 1898." The regiment saw much service in the three Ashantee wars, and bore the brunt of the work, which was found too hard for white troops. During the present War they have been engaged in the difficult operations in the Cameroon. They have been stationed in many places in West African possessions, in the West Indian Islands, and British Guiana. The regiment has been found of great value in pioneer work, a very essential branch of military duty, which does not always receive adequate recognition in histories. Reference may be made in passing to an interesting figure of regimental history, Major Alexander Laing, who was murdered at Timbuctoo in 1826. He was one of the earliest explorers in West Africa. The picturesque "Zouave" uniform worn by the W.I. Regiment was first adopted in 1868, and is quite unique in the forces of the Empire. Unfortunately for the regiment, a very interesting collection of its records, as well as a quantity of plate belonging to it, was lost in shipwreck.

When war was declared in August 1914, a wave of patriotic enthusiasm passed through all the West Indian Islands, and immediate steps were taken to embody all the existing local forces, by the recruiting and organising of new units, to put all the Islands in a thorough state of defence. Thousands of men offered themselves for military service, and great numbers were enrolled at police stations. Many of these men had seen active service with the West India Regiment, and a large percentage of the others had been trained in the Colonial Militia. All the old fighting spirit of the Islands again sprang into life; old tales and traditions of the native regiments were revived. Some of the Militia units were formed over two hundred years ago, and have privileges of Royal Regiments. They were raised for the defence of the Colonies, and on many occasions resisted invasions by Spanish or French forces. Jamaica was saved to the Crown by the local forces in the Napoleonic Wars, and again won undying fame in wresting Guadeloupe and Martinique from the "Little Corporal"—continuing the work of Empire in the three Ashantee and other African campaigns. In all the villages, drill companies were formed, and men turned out with great willingness on every occasion when instructors were

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THE BRITISH WEST INDIES REGIMENT.



ON PARADE—NORTH CAMP, SEAFORD.



A NEW DRAFT ARRIVING AT NORTH CAMP, SEAFORD.

[*To face p.* 28.

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THE BRITISH WEST INDIES REGIMENT.



THE GYMNASTIC INSTRUCTORS, WITH COLONEL A. E. BARCHARD.



DANCING THE "RAG"

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available. From the beginning of the War as many men as could afford the journey or could be spared left the Colonies to join the Canadian Expeditionary Forces or battalions of the new armies in England. A large number of young men were given commissions, and have been serving with the forces in France and Gallipoli. Many of these have been killed or wounded, with their sacrifice still further welding together the ties of Empire between Imperial and Colonial arms.

From the first it was the wish of all classes that the West Indies might be permitted to furnish units for the new army, but this did not meet with official approval at home until the summer of 1915, when contingents immediately began to be dispatched from the various Colonies, and the formation of the "British West Indies Regiment" became an assured fact. Since then several thousand men have arrived at the camp in Sussex, have been clothed, equipped, armed, organised, and are well on with training. The regiment now consists of the 1st and 2nd Service and the 3rd Reserve Battalions, with another 1,500 men in training in Jamaica and various reserve units embodied in the other Colonies. Colonel A. E. Barchard is in command, with Major G. W. Rhys-Jenkins, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, second-in-command, and Captain A. P. J. Hibbert, Royal Berkshire Regt., adjutant. In a few weeks it will be a full Infantry Brigade, and, if needed, can be rapidly augmented into a Division. Jamaica * alone offers another 10,000 men, and it is within the bounds of possibility to raise 50,000 men in the Islands. The material is excellent, the physique and intelligence above the average.

It has been said on good authority that "in this war men may be counted upon to do as much as they have been *trained* to do, and no more." It may be expected of the West Indian that he will do all that thoroughly. He can be trained rapidly to a high standard of efficiency, inasmuch as no portion of our population feels more a burning patriotism and unflinching loyalty to our King, combined with an instinct for freedom, and a keen appreciation of equality before the law and good government.

The sons of the West Indies are worthy of the beautiful islands and the fighting ancestry from which they come. They are prepared to bear their portion of the burden of Empire, and to endure sacrifices for the ideals for which our armies are fighting, thus proving that they are entitled to greater recognition than ever before as a component part of our great Empire.

"FUSILIER."

* The terms of Jamaica's offer is to increase her contingent and to pay all attendant cost to the extent of a total charge of £60,000 per annum for forty years.

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THE ARCHDEACON'S TRIUMPH: A SOUTH AFRICAN SKETCH.

It is legendary in Bergsdorp that Anthony Trollope once visited it and described it as "a beautiful corpse". He added a rider to the effect that the inhabitants dined off mutton six days out of every week,—a libel which the Archdeacon firmly denies, saying plaintively, "And we gave him such a beautiful lunch, at least the best we could!" All who have lunched at the Archdeacon's ("It is lunch when there is company, my dear, but dinner when we are by ourselves," murmurs Miss Betty) will feel sure that Trollope's implied stigma was undeserved. There may have been mutton, but if so was so very good, and at the other end of the table there must have been a couple of tender chickens or a fat young turkey. The Archdeacon carves these with old-fashioned precision, and no visitor ever gets a drumstick. The first part of Trollope's accusation is better founded. Bergsdorp is certainly a backwater in the busy whirl of modern life. It is an old bit of the Cape Colony, and owes to early settlers its beautiful avenue of oaks, standing like sentinels on either side of a broad red road,—the High Street of Bergsdorp—and sheltering the low white houses which straggle along on either side. Most of the houses have a grass-plot and a few overgrown rose-bushes in front, where in England would be a trim flower-garden. Flowers grow so abundantly on the *veld* and in every little *vlei* on the sides of the mountains that it is not thought worth while to cultivate them. If they are wanted for interior decoration, an armful of arum lilies is picked from the banks of the stream that meanders behind the village, where they grow not merely wild but rampant.

The colours of Bergsdorp are red, green, and white—the red of the soil, the vivid green of oaks and grass, and the grey-green of eucalyptus, and the white of many whitewashed houses, with quaint gables, erratic windows, and the ever-hospitable *stoep* (veranda) on which the families gather of a summer's evening. I regret to say that the harmony of this picture has been broken up. Till recent years the march of progress had left Bergsdorp (architecturally) alone. Nobody wanted anything better than a one-storey house, all the rooms leading out of each other, with thatched roofs, small-paned windows, and rounded gable-ends. The Archdeacon's house is comparatively modern and lacks the thatched roof and gable-ends, though it is long and low, with a wide *stoep* on which the windows and doors open. It outrages popular taste by being washed a pale coffee-colour, but otherwise it is a plain, unoffending building, and the air of homely old-fashioned gentility is carried out in the interior. There are hundreds of parsonages in the old country with just such mahogany chairs with leather seats in the dining-room, and precisely similar rosewood tables in the drawing-room, while the shabby, well-beloved books, the faded, delicate water-colours on the wall, are all familiar objects; but in a new country—for this country is still new despite its one hundred

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and fifty years of history—they have a pathetic suggestion about them. The modern houses of Bergsdorp are very different. The neighbourhood is now in the middle-Victorian period as regards artistic development, and the result displays itself in solidly built villas with bow-windows, in gaily striped verandas and ornamental railings of cast iron, and in suites of drawing-room furniture in black and gold, with yellow and brown plush covers. I dare not descend to even worse details of the architectural decay that has attacked Bergsdorp, for fear that I should spoil your impression of it, but must hint that it has taken the painful form of corrugated iron. All this change, however, rolls past the Archdeacon and his house without affecting him in the least, for there have been few great changes for him since he came to Bergsdorp. Fifty odd years ago he was a gay, handsome, high-spirited boy at college, the President of the Oxford Union, where among others he presided over His late Majesty King Edward, then Prince of Wales, and still remembers many shrewd remarks of that royal undergraduate.

The Archdeacon was still young when he came to Bergsdorp forty years since, and was chained to the spot by some fascination of the mountains. He has preserved his youth, though time has bent his thin shoulders, drawn wrinkles round the merry brown eyes, and provided him with the most preposterous greenish-brown wig in the place of his once curly auburn locks. Nothing can be stranger in a land of paradox than to find this man in this country. It is a fair country, there is none fairer or more fruitful in its way ; but it has so far reared a race of solid, self-sufficient people, nourished in a cold and narrow creed, cunning as men may well be whose fathers learned to outwit not only Nature but the black man and savage beast in the struggle for existence, sluggish as are only those to whom an equable and beneficent climate makes life easy and comfortable.

Now, circumstances have made the Archdeacon a priest of the Anglican Church, or, as I think he would say (for he was not caught up by the Oxford Movement), of the Protestant Church. But in spirit he is an *abbé* of the old French school, with all the charm, culture, and delicate perception, but without the coarser vices. Unlike the average *abbé*, he has enjoyed the advantages of association with clever and virtuous women,—a stately, handsome, energetic mother who died at eighty-six, and the bright, refined, housewifely sister, whose smooth cheeks and upright figure even now belie her three-score years and ten. To hear the Archdeacon talk is to return to the middle of last century, when conversation was not yet a lost art, when people told excellent anecdotes with Latin quotations in them, and expressed themselves in good English, occasionally rounding off with a line from Shakespeare. The gods *were* gods in those days and were taken seriously ; but I fancy the Archdeacon was always a bit of a wag, for he twinkles suspiciously every now and then as he recalls heroic figures and quotes historic words. Still more does he twinkle over the little backslidings of his flock and their relations to their pastor. He notes their puzzlement over some of his profoundest pulpit-efforts and their cravings for shorter and more emotional services with a

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amused tolerance; but there is not the faintest trace of intellectual vanity about the man.

Once a year the Archdeacon goes for change of air to a village some seven miles off, where he does a little amateur farming and is much pleased at his own success. The rest of the year, except for his archidiaconal visitations, finds him at Bergsdorp, very busy in the mornings over trifles of parish and domestic life, visiting his flock when there is any sickness, and giving of his substance with unscientific disregard for economic principles. On Sundays he preaches long and difficult sermons, standing upright in the little stone pulpit of his pretty church, all the colours of the rainbow dancing on his wig from the beautiful old thirteenth-century Belgian window that is as unexpected in this land of Philistinism as the Archdeacon himself. In politics a Conservative, who knows nothing of recent party divisions, in religion a broad-minded, Nature-loving, Christianised sceptic, in everything a gentleman of the old school—here is the Archdeacon whom to know is to love.

"My dear," said the Archdeacon to a young lady who was calling on him, "have you ever been to a mission? Yes? Well, I have not; but this week we are to have a mission here, so I am to enjoy the benefit of a new experience." It was obvious that the Archdeacon was somewhat sceptical about the permanent benefit likely to accrue from an emotional awakening among his parishioners; but still a tremor of excitement penetrated the quiet parsonage, and both the old man and his sister were evidently a little fluttered by the event, and by the arrival of a young missioner from England. "They tell me", said the Archdeacon, with a twinkle, "that he is what is called a muscular Christian, and would not stand even at knocking a man down. His language in the pulpit is very strong; I mean, of course, that he uses very plain, unconventional language, and would not hesitate to speak of a spade as a spade."

The possibilities of such a daring preacher evidently caused much speculation in other breasts than those of the Archdeacon and his sister, and the congregation that flocked to St. Mark's on Sunday morning was such as Bergsdorp had never seen before. The missioner was a tall, broad, bearded man of about thirty, speaking with the unmistakable accent of the English public school, which sounds curiously crisp beside the Colonial drawl. His sermon electrified the congregation, and tickled the Archdeacon to death, after he had got over the first shock of hearing anyone talk public-school slang in the pulpit. After reading a text in an ordinary conversational way ("not at all a 'Bible voice,'" murmured the Archdeacon's sister) he remarked that he proposed to start the mission by beginning at the very beginning, and that he took to be sin; if there was no sin there would be no mission, so we had better find out what sin was. At this interesting, albeit somewhat unoriginal, suggestion of a metaphysical speculation the Archdeacon cocked an ear, but no intellectual subtleties or doctrinal definition rewarded him. "Sin", said the missioner in an off-hand way, "is doing the thing we know perfectly well

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to be wrong,—and we all know jolly well when it *is* wrong—and as we all do this every day we are all sinners, every one of us. I'm a sinner, you're a sinner; only, as I'm a clergyman and wear a surplice and am stuck up here to preach to you, I'm on the whole the worst sinner of the lot. I'm a representative sinner," concluded the missioner, with evident satisfaction.

The atmosphere of the Mile End Road crept into the little church and clung around the figure of this modern Christian, the muscular, straightforward, unsentimental parson. The rest of the church sat in darkness, or rather in the beautiful, baleful African sunshine. The local townsfolk and farmers, with their narrow provincial outlook on life, their peaceful commonplace faces, and their spiritual sluggishness undisturbed by vital struggles either of good or evil,—these sat still and listened, while the sturdy missioner brought them the gospel he had preached in Whitechapel or Poplar to the overcrowded, strenuous children of a great city, whose outlook on life is as narrow in its way but of a different scope, seeing only human nature at its worst. I doubt if the plain language with which he denounced sin brought home the conviction of sinfulness to those countrybred folk. He spoke of temptations which were outside their ken, of depths of degradation which their imagination could not plumb. "We are all miserable sinners," boomed the missioner, and the congregation assented cheerfully. Human nature is the same in all climes and in all places, but one must touch it in different spots. At any rate a sense of being agreeably titillated by this strange sermon and a little (pleasantly) shocked every now and then by the missioner's plain-speaking pervaded the church. It was like taking a shuddering glimpse into a wicked and exciting world; it was as thrilling as a novel. "So different from the Archdeacon," was the general verdict as the people walked or drove home.

The evening service drew a crowd such as no church in Bergsdorp had ever seen before. Pews being filled and the half-dozen rush-bottomed emergency chairs, the ancient mahogany dining-room chairs from the parsonage began to make their appearance, borne aloft over the heads of the congregation and heartlessly placed in the full glare of the chancel, where their weak and shabby points were mercilessly exposed, to Miss Betty's chagrin. The missioner began his sermon by reading out a question which an anonymous seeker after truth had sent him—a thrill passed through the congregation as he read it out—"Is dancing sinful?" Now this is a knotty point which has agitated Bergsdorp more than the most urgent political or agricultural crisis. "Is dancing sinful?" said the missioner. "Well, since you ask me I can only answer most distinctly, no, it isn't! When I get back to my own parish in London it will be nearly Christmas, and we shall be having all sorts of festivities in connection with our church clubs [illegible]ilds, and I expect that almost every one of these will end up with a [illegible]en kept up till three or four o'clock in the morning."

What a vision of dissipation! What a bewildering chaos of ideas—the Church itself organising entertainments which should end up with all-night

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dancing! It was only in the native locations that Bergsdorp had ever heard of dances which last till three or four o'clock; the modest Cinderellas in which the white people rarely indulged, half nervous at their own spiritual temerity in dancing at all, seemed tame indeed beside this dazzling picture. But, alas! for the young folk of Bergsdorp whose toes were itching for the gay and giddy dance, the missioner, acting perhaps on the principle that an ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept, gave no further light on this vexed subject. It was finished so far as he was concerned. The sermon which followed was not quite so thrilling as that of the morning—perhaps we were becoming more used to the method—although it dealt with the rather abstruse point "What is God?" and settled it (in easy words of two syllables) entirely to the satisfaction of the missioner. The Archdeacon pushed his wig very much on one side in an attempt to scratch his bump of veneration.

Next day some of the congregation met the missioner at lunch at the Archdeacon's hospitable board. The dear old man is at his best when he entertains. We went in to lunch arm-in-arm, the order of precedence being carefully studied. The missioner was attired in a Norfolk jacket, brown boots and khaki putties,—the reason for the last not being very obvious, since he was not going to ride or to walk farther than across the road. The conversation ranged chiefly round his experience of the country, particularly among some of the miners, with whom he had spent several weeks and whom he pronounced "rattling good fellows". He drank whisky and soda-water, tossing it off while his big, light blue eyes sparkled and his yellow beard shone in the sunlight, so that he might almost have stood for one of the gods of Valhalla. We were all fascinated by this big, careless Englishman, so completely sure of himself, so imperturbably, calmly certain as to every word and gesture. Very soon the Archdeacon told his best story, about a politician and a gold snuff-box—an historical incident, full of quiet, delicate humour, but utterly lacking in extravagance or the touch of unexpected burlesque which is essential to the modern story. We all laughed heartily at the right place, but our muscular parson looked with pained abstraction at his plate. Later on he also told us a story, in which his own broad tolerance as to religious views was illustrated by the request of a ritualistic parson, for whom he was preaching, that he should wear a cope in the procession. "'My dear old chap,' said I, 'I will wear my pyjamas if you like, but I haven't the faintest idea what a cope is.'" Bergsdorp felt more than a little shocked. No one could have imagined the Archdeacon mentioning his sleeping attire before ladies, and yet the missioner was so evidently a well-born and well-educated man, belonging indeed to a much greater world than ours. Now, among our ranks was a stranger, a lady who was not at all puzzled or awed by the missioner. She asked him off-hand questions about his parish, mentioned various societies of which they were both members, and people known to them. Finally she tackled him for misquoting Shakespeare in his last-night's sermon, and, giving him the context, pleaded that he had misread the poet. Driven to bay, he took refuge in a lightly uttered scoff at the immortal Bard, whom he charac-

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terised as a highly overrated individual. "After all, he says nothing we don't know, and every one of his characters is just a natural, ordinary person; I know far finer ones in the Mile End Road." "I envy you," said the lady: "Rosalind, Juliet, Beatrice, Hamlet, Prospero, Henry the Fifth—finer characters than these! You are fortunate in your environment." "Oh well, I agree with Bernard Shaw," began the missioner, but the Archdeacon could bear it no longer. He had put on his spectacles and he now fixed the missioner with a glittering eye as he said in his slow, quavering old voice with its delicate intonation: "Shakespeare says nothing we don't know? Well, perhaps you will grant that he says it better than anyone before or since. You preached last night about conscience; who can bring home to us better than Richard the Third what conscience means to the guilty:—

"'My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,'"

and so on to the end of the passage. He declaimed this with the utmost impressiveness, his opponent standing his ground firmly with an air of pained respectfulness, the tolerance due to old age. But the Archdeacon's triumph was yet to come.

The same irrepressible stranger ventured a remonstrance on the curt manner in which the subject of dancing had been dismissed. "If you only knew what a burning topic it is here, and what serious principles are involved—almost a national question indeed—you would not have thrown away so lightly the opportunity for putting the subject in a rational light." The missioner replied with some heat: "Well, I think when an idiotic question like that is asked the best thing is to knock it down flat. I've been asked that several times before, and I believe I've done the Dutch Reformed Church a bad turn—lots of people who want to dance will come to us now. Anyway, I spoke out just what I thought,—as if dancing in itself could be sinful!" "You spoke, I suppose," interpolated the Archdeacon softly, but with malicious intent in his twinkling eyes, "as a representative sinner."

It is too early yet to judge the spiritual effect of the mission upon Bergsdorp, but the Archdeacon remarks slyly that it is a great thing to have a new experience when one is seventy-five; and his sermon last Sunday had quite a ring of youthfulness about it, and included several quotations from Shakespeare.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN.
(Mrs. Tawse Jollie.)

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KINDRED SOCIETIES—PAST AND PRESENT.

XI.—The Royal Society of St. George.

Patrons.—His Majesty The King, Her Majesty The Queen, and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.

Vice-Patrons.—H.R.H. Field-Marshal The Duke of Connaught and H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught.

Acting-President.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Halsbury, P.C.

Founded twenty-two years ago, in 1894, the basic guiding principles of this Society are love of country and loyalty to the Throne and Constitution. It seeks to strengthen and encourage the instinctive patriotism of the English people, and to develop the race consciousness of all of English birth or origin throughout the world, irrespective of creed or party; and as a primary means to this end, to resuscitate the observance, as a Day of Celebration, of the old English Festival of St. George.

The Society was founded under comparatively humble auspices, heralded by no flourish of trumpets or loud boomings of the Press, without money, without adventitious aid of any description. In common with many other institutions it has had to run the gauntlet of adverse criticism, frigid indifference, misrepresentation, and of veiled or even open hostility; but it survives, a pioneer society, second only in date of formation to the Royal Colonial Institute, and, gauged by the work it has accomplished, it occupies a foremost place amongst institutions of a patriotic and Imperial character.

Such was the genesis of a society which has now between sixty and seventy regularly affiliated branches, aggregating thousands of members, in all parts of the world. The Royal Society of St. George and patriotism are convertible terms.

Viewed by the light of the present European conflagration it is seen that patriotism is the one essential virtue to ensure success in this greatest of all wars, and it may, therefore, be allowable to inquire what patriotism really is. De Tocqueville avowed that there were two kinds of patriotism, that of *instinct* and that of *reason*. The former is disinterested, but the latter is due to a perception of personal interest. The patriotism of instinct is assuredly the only patriotism of any use or value. No better definition of patriotism is conceivable than that placed upon the title-page of the Society's Magazine, *The English Race*—"Patriotism is more than a sentiment; it is a conviction based upon a comprehension of the duties of a citizen, and a determination loyally to perform such duties. Patriotism is love of country, born of familiarity with its history, reverence for its Institutions, and faith in its possibilities, and is evidenced by obedience to its laws and respect for its Flag." Patriotism is love, love of the soil, love of the people, and demands the surrender of all self-interest where such interest conflicts with the public good. A true patriot

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regards himself only as so much material to be employed in the building up of his country's greatness, as a stone or brick in the national edifice—not an independent, isolated unit, but an integral part of the whole, correlated, dependent and responsible. These are the tenets and principles which have inspired the aims and governed the work of the Society. It must be evident that our country and our Empire can only be maintained in full vitality by the sedulous cultivation of *instinctive* patriotism and race sentiment concomitantly with rational commercial relations.

The Society *from its foundation* has advocated the paramount necessity for the systematic teaching of patriotism, and the cultivation of race sentiment, in all elementary and secondary schools, beginning with the lowest standard, and continuing to the end of the educational course. It was the first—in an article in *The English Race* of September 1911—to urge the founding of Chairs of Patriotism at our Universities, pointing out that it was our teachers who required teaching. If the formation of character is to be the future aim of Educationists, it should go hand in hand with the teaching of religion and patriotic duty ; but *English* patriotism must be taught by those in sympathy with English national sentiment and ideals. With the realisation of these ideas, might we not dare to hope that our children, grown to manhood, influenced and inspired by such teaching, would, in the words of Cominius, be led to say :—

> "I do love
> My country's good, with a respect more tender,
> More holy and profound, than mine own life."

Lord Sydenham recently opened a debate in the House of Lords by calling attention to the need for the teaching of patriotism in our schools. Had patriotic teaching and sentiment been taken in hand by our educationists, even after the Boer War, little difficulty would have been experienced in raising the armies now needed, and millions of pounds lavished in the attempt to improvise love of country and national duty by the issue of placards and appeals degrading to our manhood and humiliating to lovers of their country would have been saved.

There are cosmopolitan Englishmen who charge the Royal Society of St. George with being sectional and "narrow" because "Membership is restricted to Englishmen and Englishwomen or their issue, wheresoever born, being British subjects," forgetting or choosing to ignore the fact that our Scottish, Irish, and Welsh neighbours have their exclusively national Associations for the encouragement of local patriotism. In extenuation of their own want of racial pride they argue that any exhibition of patriotic feeling casts a slur upon the reputation of Englishmen for hard practical common sense, and, being open to misconstruction by the people of the Sister Kingdoms—so they allege—is therefore calculated to hinder that closer union—the impossible blending of the three, or four, races of the United Kingdom. But surely the road to union should not be found across the grave of English Nationality, neither can the peoples of the Sister Kingdoms take offence at the English

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for following their own example by endeavouring to revive the observance of St. George's Day.

The patriotism of the Scots, of the Irish, and of the Welsh we can admire and encourage, but the patriotism of the English, 80 per cent. of our (White) Empire, who provide nine sailors in every ten to man the King's ships, four soldiers in every five of the King's Army, and who contribute approximately 95 per cent. of the Revenue, and whose trade and commerce constitute 90 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom is *essential*, not only for the safe-guarding of the Sister Kingdoms but for the preservation of the Empire. Our Society may be sectional, but assuredly it is not "narrow." The English people have their own time-honoured traditions and customs and ancient usages, and to assist in their preservation and perpetuation is the business of this English organisation. Lord Milner gives full expression to these views in a recent article contributed to *The English Race*, from which the following extract is taken :—

"But it may be said, granted that patriotism generally is a noble thing and that it is worth cultivating, why specially *English* patriotism ? Is not this to lapse into narrow particularism ? Ought not our devotion to be to the whole United Kingdom, indeed to the whole Empire ? True, and most true. I, of all men, should be the last to deny it, for I have been for years and years preaching, however feebly and ineffectively, 'the wider patriotism, the patriotism of the Empire'. But in truth there is no antagonism, there is no contradiction. Does a man's pride in his regiment make him less keen about the honour of the Army ? Every soldier knows that it is just the reverse. So it is with local patriotism. There are many stages in *esprit de corps*, and men pass by these stepping-stones from the lower to the higher. . . . And so the cultivation of a specifically *English* patriotism—what nobler or more thrilling word than those seven letters : England ?—takes us one step further in the evolution of that highest form of patriotic devotion—to King, Flag, and Empire.

"As a matter of fact our fellow-citizens in all the great sections of this United Kingdom are very sedulous in the cultivation of their local patriotisms. St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. David are all held in high honour. The contributions which Scotland, Ireland, and Wales have severally made to our common heritage are celebrated. The names of their great men are ceaselessly recalled. No one takes umbrage at this. Englishmen of all people in the world are most ready to admire and sympathise with this patriotism in their fellow-citizens. But they are, perhaps, a little slow in following their example, in dwelling upon England's share in building up the Empire, in recalling the great names of distinctly English heroes. It is part of that mixture of pride and shyness, that hatred of 'making a fuss' which is particularly characteristic of the English. But this self-effacement may be carried too far. When the Society of St. George exerts itself to rally all those who 'list to hear our noble England's praise,' it not only does justice to many little-remembered worthies, and restores the true balance and proportion of things, which is apt to be disturbed by the greater activity of the sister societies in other parts of the Kingdom, but it also contributes its share to laying broad and deep the foundations of the wider patriotism."

Oversea branches of the Society were early formed in Australia, the first in 1900. In Queensland there are twenty-three, working under the juris-

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diction of a Grand Council composed of delegates from each individual Branch. In Victoria there are seven branches, two in New South Wales, one in South Australia, one in Western Australia, two in Tasmania, and one in New Zealand. With the formation of a Grand Council for each State, after the manner of Queens land, systematic propaganda will become possible, resulting in a rapid growth of the movement. There are also a dozen Branches in South Africa, Rhodesia included. In the Far East there are four, two in China and two in Japan. In every instance the Constitution and Rules have been approved by the parent Society. The Society has but three branches in the whole of Canada, where, however, English racialism is strongly represented by the St. George's Societies founded in many instances by the United Empire loyalists, and by "The Sons of England Benefit Society," a numerically strong and progressive body. All Branches of the Society celebrate St. George's—England's—Day by a Festival Dinner, which includes the ceremonious bringing in of the Roast Beef of Old England and the Boar's Head; patriotic speeches are delivered and the songs of England are sung. Quarterly Church parades are held by the majority of the Branches. Monthly meetings of the Members are held at which Lectures bearing upon the objects of the Society are delivered, varied by Concerts or other social functions. Nearly every Branch is interested in educational work to the extent of offering prizes of considerable value for efficiency in certain studies, and many have Funds invested for the relief of Englishmen temporarily in distressed circumstances. The Far East Branches usually commemorate England's Day by a grand Ball, the proceeds being placed to the credit of their respective Benevolent Funds. "It goes without saying" that the members of the Royal Society of St. George, wherever dispersed, are an intensely loyal and patriotic body of men and women. Some Branches number 1,000 members and more. The War has appealed strongly to those of military age. In some instances *all* eligible for service have come "Home" to fight for King and Empire, and many thousands of pounds have been contributed not only to local Red Cross Funds, but also in response to the appeal of the Prince of Wales.

Of Home Branches there are but seven, including that recently formed for the County of Kent under the presidency of Viscount Milner. This has proved so phenomenally successful that it has been decided to work up the whole of the English Shires, which in their turn will, it is hoped, be able to form Sub-County branches.

It is not possible within the space at my disposal to present more than the merest epitome of the history of a Society which has stood the test of twenty-two years' existence.

Although founded in 1894, it was not until six years later that the Society emerged from comparative obscurity to take its place among the Institutions of our country. In that year it was instrumental in inducing the then Lord Mayor (Sir George Tyler) to give a banquet at the Mansion House in honour of St. George's Day, but beyond the acceptance of a bouquet of red and white roses by the Lady Mayoress no reference was made to the nascent

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Society. In 1900, however, the tide turned in the Society's favour when H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge became its President. In the following year the Earl of Halsbury (Lord Chancellor) became Vice-President. In 1902 our late beloved King Edward was pleased to confer upon the Society the prefix "Royal." In 1906 the Prince of Wales (our gracious Sovereign) consented to assume the presidency of the Society, and in 1907 King Edward and Queen Alexandra graciously bestowed upon the Society their Royal patronage; H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught expressing approval of the Society's objects by becoming Vice-Patrons. In 1910, on the lamented death of King Edward, the presidency of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales automatically ceased, but His Gracious Majesty and Queen Mary are now the patrons of the Society, and long may our beloved King and Queen live to honour so loyal an Association with their patronage and protection.

A public dinner is peculiarly an English institution, and in no other country has dining in public for a specific purpose become acclimatised; it is and will remain an essentially English function. In accordance with this time-honoured custom the members of the Society in 1895 dined in honour of St. George's—England's—Day, and they continued to do so in a very modest way both in numbers and fare until 1900, when some 150 members, ladies and gentlemen, assembled under the Chairmanship of the late Earl of Euston. In 1901 Mr. (now Colonel Sir Gilbert) Parker, presided at the Festival Dinner and the attendance rose to about 250, including prominent public men and the Agents-General of the Oversea Dominions. From this time onward the success of the Festival Dinner was assured, and official guests whose attendance was desired no longer pleaded prior engagements for inability to accept the proffered hospitality. Those who did the Society the honour of presiding at subsequent Festival Dinners were in chronological order the Duke of Marlborough (present Honorary Treasurer), Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Alverstone, the Earl of Halsbury (Vice-President of the Society), the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Redesdale, Lord Desborough, Lord Northcote, the Earl of Halsbury, the Earl of Selborne, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Willoughby de Broke, and Admiral Sir Day Bosanquet. Last year (1915) no Dinner was held, but the Society, by the patriotic courtesy of the Lord Mayor (Sir Charles Johnston), who presided, assembled at the Mansion House.

The following description of a Festival Dinner of the Society is taken from *The English Race* :—

"It is generally conceded that, of all public dinners held in London, the 'St. George's Dinner' stands pre-eminent as a spectacle in its 'setting,' and everything possible is done, which a moderate subscription will allow, to give a national tone and colour to the entire proceedings, every accessory of the feast being intended to illustrate and emphasise the one central dominating ideal of English racialism. The atmosphere, the whole environment, are English. The fare, the music, the toasts, the roses, and the waiters—all are English, for it is 'England's Day.' The invited guests and the

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speakers are all English. It is, in fact, the one night during the whole year when Englishmen are Englishmen, and not mere 'Britons,' and are gathered together in honour of England, their Motherland.

"We have invariably associated our previous dinners either with some epoch-making period or stirring event in English history, or with those overseas self-governing Englands which constitute our white Empire. The 'bringing in' of the National Dish is always attended with much ceremony, and eagerly anticipated by the assembled guests, who rise and loudly cheer its triumphant progress around the Hall. On the present occasion the Escort, or Guard of Honour, was composed of soldiers of the King's Company of the 1st Battalion English Grenadier Guards, habited in uniforms with breast-plate, gorget and ruff, with halberd, cross-bow, long bow, arquebus and musketoon, correct in every detail, representing sections of the English army reviewed by Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury Fort in 1587 in readiness to repel the 'Invincible' Armada. The doors being thrown open, the procession entered the Hall in the following order: The Flag of England, gay with roses and ribbons, borne aloft by the tallest man in the army, a native of Devon, drums and fifes playing 'The Roast Beef of Old England: Oh, the English Roast Beef' (a tune still daily heard aboard every man-of-war in His Majesty's Service); the National Dish canopied with roses and flags, carried shoulder high by four beribboned cooks, more soldiers, in the rear the non-commissioned officer in command. The mural decorations, as in former years, consisted of the Society's great shields of St. George, which formed central bases from which in harmonious rivalry outsprang the clustered flags and ensigns of the daughter nations, whilst at regular intervals around the marbled Hall were displayed similar flags, of larger proportions, bearing their appropriate devices. Roses in plenty were upon every table: our national emblem, the queen of flowers, reigned supreme. All present, including the soldiers and musicians, 'wore red and white roses' and the waiters rosettes of red and white ribbon, the English National and Imperial colours.

"It is a stirring spectacle, which unfailingly appeals to the racial pride of all who possess a spark of national sentiment. The soldiers, we may mention, averaged about 6 ft. 3 in. in height, for there are 'men of inches' still left in poor decadent old England, and these were afterwards ranged at the back of the Chairman's table. A bust of Shakespeare wreathed with roses occupied a conspicuous position."

The Society, as may be seen by the list subjoined, numbers amongst its supporters some of the foremost men of the Empire, and it appeals, therefore, with confidence to every Englishman and Englishwoman to give a helping hand in the realisation of its aims and the prosecution of its objects.

There are no salaried officials in connection with the Society, all the work, by no means inconsiderable, being carried out *con amore*.

Acting President.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Halsbury, P.C.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.—Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. S. Baden-Powell, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.; The Right Hon. Lord Barnard; The Right Hon. Sir Edmund Barton, P.C., G.C.M.G.; Sir George C. Birdwood, M.D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.; The Lord Bishop of Birmingham; The Right Hon. Sir Robert Bond, P.V., K.C.M.G.; Admiral Sir Day H. Bosanquet, G.C.V.O., K.C.B.; The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, P.C., M.P.; The Right Hon. Jesse Collings, P.C., M.P.; The Right Hon. The Earl Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.C.S.I.; G.C.I.E.; The Hon. Alfred Deakin, M.P., ex-Premier, Commonwealth of Australia; The Right Hon. Earl of Denbigh, C.V.O.; Sir John Denison-Pender, K.C.M.G.; The Right Hon. Lord Denman, P.C., K.C.V.O. G.C.M.G.; The Lord Desborough, K.C.V.O.; The Lord Bishop of Durham; Colonel Sir A. Fitzgeorge, C.B., K.C.V.O.; The Lord Forester; The Right Hon. Sir John Forrest, P G.C.M.G.; Admiral The Hon. Sir E. R. Fremantle, G.C.B., C.M.G.; Field-Marsh

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John D. French, O.M., G.C.V.O. K.C.B., K.C.M.G.; The Right Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G.; His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, P.C., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., &c., Viceroy and Governor-General of India; The Lord Harris, G.C.S.I.; G.C.I.E.; Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., D.Sc.; Rudyard Kipling, Esq., Field-Marshal Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., K.P., O.M.; The Most Hon. The Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G., P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.; Colonel The Hon. Harry Lawson, M.P.; The Lord Bishop of Lichfield; The Lord Bishop of Liverpool; The Lord Bishop of London; Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.; His Grace The Duke of Marlborough K.G., P.C. (Hon. Treasurer); The Right Hon. Viscount Milner, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, K.G., Earl Marshal of England; Colonel Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart., M.P.; The Lord Bishop of Peterborough (Hon. Chaplain); The Right Hon. Lord Rayleigh, P.C., O.M.; The Lord Redesdale, G.C.V.O., K.C.B.; Sir William B. Richmond, K.C.B., R.A.; His Grace The Duke of Rutland; The Very Reverend W. R. Inge, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's; The Right Hon. The Earl of Selborne, K.G., G.C.M.G.; The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, Bart., P.C., K.C.M.G.; His Grace The Duke of Wellington, K.G., G.C.V.O.; The Right Reverend Dean of Westminster (Bishop Ryle); The Lord Willoughby de Broke; The Right Hon. The Earl of Wilton; The Lord Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of the Order of the Garter (St. George); The Most Hon. The Marquess of Winchester; The Very Reverend P. F. Eliot, D.D., K.C.V.O., Dean of Windsor, Registrar of the Order of the Garter (St. George).

One of the Society's objects was "to publish a Journal or Magazine, *The English Race*." This it did in 1908, with three issues annually, until last year, when it was issued as a quarterly.

Before the founding of the Society in 1894 the columns of the press may be searched in vain for the slightest allusion to St. George's Day; in no calendar or diary was it mentioned, not a flag was flown nor a rose worn. There are 190 churches in England dedicated to St. George, but up to the date in question in ten of that number only was the feast of the patron observed. And now, at the present time, twenty-two years since the establishment of the Society, hardly a paper can be found, daily or weekly, which does not contain some reference to St. George's—England's—Day, either in the way of friendly comment or merely as news. In many of our English Boroughs, the Mayor and Corporation, accompanied by the civic officials and representatives of local institutions, attend Divine Service in state on the Sunday nearest St. George's Day. In thousands of churches the day receives recognition, in hundreds of instances of a special character, the wearing of the rose is an agreeable feature of the commemoration, and in no almanac or diary is the day unnoted.

The Society has done much in drawing attention to the concurrent Anniversary of Shakespeare's birthday, and this April 23 will be the 300th anniversary of his death. In 1895 it decorated his statue in Leicester Square, subsequently sending its offering of roses to Stratford, a practice ever since continued. It also presented to the Shakespeare Club an English Flag which rightly occupies pride of place at the annual Commemoration at the poet's birthplace. Through the late Sir Walter Besant, a member of Council, it was the first organised body to advocate the setting apart of a Day of Celebration and Thanksgiving for the whole Empire.

The War has not created, but has fanned, the smouldering embers of patriotism, causing them to burst forth into flame. English racial sentiment has been too long damped down, and St. George's Day provides the opportunity for outward expression, not only of racial pride, but of love of country. It is not ourselves we would praise, but "our fathers which begat us," and by

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emulating their example we may make this present year the greatest in the annals of our land. St. George's Day—England's Day—Shakespeare's Day (the birth and death day of the poet), and the name day of the King, surely provide a concatenation of events worthy of celebration.

Furthermore the Society has been active in seeing that the Empire Flag has been of correct design, doing much towards the suppression of burlesques of the Union Jack. The Empire Flag should be hoisted as a visible sign of unity over every Government building, and for the encouragement of local patriotism the Flag of England should be flown from every purely English Institution.

The Society is organising an English "Flag Day" throughout the Empire on April 23 next, in memory of those of her sons who have voluntarily laid down their lives in her defence and in defence of our Empire. The cross of St. George, the Soldier Saint, is the Flag of England and the sacred symbol of the Christian faith, and arrangements are already in progress to secure the participation in this demonstration of our French, Russian, and Italian Allies and our kinsmen in the United States of America. St. George's—England's—Day falling concurrently with Easter Sunday, "Flag Day" will be held the day before (Saturday), and the co-operation of all of English race and blood is desired—all Englishmen and Englishwomen who love and reverence the land of their birth, or the land of their fathers, throughout the world :

> "This precious stone, set in the silver sea . . .
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England."

HOWARD RUFF,
Founder—Hon. Secretary of the Royal
Society of St. George.

AN EXPONENT OF NETHERLANDS COLONIAL POLICY.

THE death, last September, of Dr. C. Th. van Deventer, who achieved more than any of his countrymen in influencing during recent years Netherlands Colonial policy, offers an opportunity of touching upon a subject that may have an interest for a wider circle of British readers than the few who are personally acquainted with the overseas possessions of The Netherlands. Van Deventer qualified for the Netherlands Indian Civil Service at the College at Delft in 1880, and left for Java soon after. He returned to Europe in 1897 and devoted the remaining eighteen years of his life to colonial political life, being a member of the Second (popular) Chamber of the States-General from 1905 to 1909, and again from 1913 to the time of his death. In 1904 the Minister of the Colonies invited six experts to prepare a report on "The Economical Condition of the Native Population of Java and Madura," and Van Deventer was, for all practical purposes, the man who wrote it. This report, the famous "Ov

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zicht" (Survey) is a classic; he greatly enhanced his reputation by it, and Queen Wilhelmina conferred a Knighthood of the Order of the Netherlands Lion on him.

Van Deventer made his first deep impression on the Netherlands public by an extremely able, lucid and businesslike article in *De Gids* of August 1899, entitled "A Debt of Honour." Before 1867 East India's finances were managed in Batavia, and every surplus remitted to the exchequer of the Mother Country. In that year the "Accountability Act" was passed, arranging that in future colonial financial affairs shall be controlled by the States-General. Its principle was that any surplus should be used on behalf of the colonies only. Van Deventer showed that, this Act notwithstanding, from 1867 up till 1900 about one hundred and eighty-seven million of florin had found their way to the Netherlands exchequer, and he held that it was a debt of honour, which the Mother Country ought to repay, and can quite well repay, as the national capital was doubled from 1849 to 1899, whereas the country's capital was five hundred million florins more at the close of the century than it was at the middle.

This article, closely reasoned, matter-of-fact, and financially sound, showed that van Deventer was an adherent of the school of thought which another colonial expert, Dr. Brooshooft, called the "Ethical Colonial policy," one of goodwill and public conscientiousness, as opposed to the old system of suppression and extortion. Opponents contend that the only rational basis for political relations is might and not goodwill, but van Deventer always held that the ultimate end of all colonial policy ought to be the social, intellectual, political and moral development, the mental equipment of the masses. These will then become able to formulate their wishes, and subsequently also capable of exercising the power by which they can realise them.

He came back from Java knowing that things were not as they ought to be, and ever since he laboured to the best of his ability to get matters mended. The Netherlands East Indian Government might be a hundred times better than uncontrolled native rule, but it made no progress and left things too much as they were. The Netherlands did not do her duty as the guardian of a politically untrained nation, and she felt the less inclined to go ahead, because so few results were seen of the efforts made in the new direction.

Although van Deventer attacked the problem from the financial side and always stuck to his opinion about the Debt of Honour, he did not confine himself to that one point. Later in life his views widened and matured; and being a man of constructive mind, and not a carping critic, he advocated irrigation, emigration, education and decentralisation of government.

In the article "A Debt of Honour" he touched on most of these subjects. Irrigation works, he said, were only undertaken, if it was evident that financial results would follow immediately. There were only four schools for sons of distinguished natives, and in three of these nothing but elementary education was given. Only one million florins was spent on salaries for native educators against two million for European pupils.

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Nothing was done at the time on behalf of native girls, and here again van Deventer was chiefly instrumental in bringing about a change. Some Javanese princesses received private tuition from governesses, and one of these, the late Raden Adjeng Kartini, got into correspondence with girls in the Netherlands, and later on with others, chiefly with Dr. Abendanon. These letters were published in a book, "Through Night to Light" ("Door duisternis tot licht"), and their one point is: Educate the natives, boys and girls alike. Van Deventer heard about the matter and wrote one of his best articles for *De Gids* on "Kartini"; he succeeded in founding a trust—the "Kartini Book", as it is popularly known in the Netherlands, found a wide circle of interested readers; money was liberally forthcoming, and "Kartini Schools" were built and endowed in various places, thus giving native girls of the middle and lower class their chance.

It may be observed in passing that hardly anything gives such a clear insight into the Javanese mind and its possibilities, as this "Kartini Book," whereas it is a most important document for the history of the emancipation of women in its widest sense.

In 1903 the present Governor-General, Mr. van Idenburg, who was Minister of the Colonies at that time, introduced the so-called Decentralisation Bill, which was subsequently passed by both Chambers of the States-General. This Act established more or less autonomous local government in matters of hygiene, housing, and education.

There are two obstacles which prevent the smooth working of the Act, and prevent the realisation of anticipated results. The first is finance. In many desas, provinces, and districts, various things are backward; a great deal of money is required and might be found, if only the local authorities had rating powers. The Central Government in Batavia objects to this; but the present Minister of the Colonies, Dr. Pleyte, has only lately expressed his firm opinion that these objections are not convincing at all.

The present system is that each local authority gets a certain sum from the taxes. The amount is not fixed by the wants of the community but by the Central Government, who decide what they can afford to pay.

The second obstacle is the jealousy of the officials in Batavia, the passive resistance of these devotees to central autocracy, and the strangling proclivities of red tapeism; and even the present Governor-General, the father of the Act, has not been able to crush the opposition of the officials. It frequently happens that matters of moment are decided in Batavia, over the heads of the local authorities.

Dr. Pleyte has now prepared a Bill to bestow suffrage for these various local bodies upon the natives. If that be passed, and rating powers granted, it may be expected that these natives will gradually take more interest in their municipal and provincial affairs, and become more and more the civic equals of the resident Europeans. It is in any case preposterous to decry the Decentralisation Act of 1903 as a failure. It neve- had a fair chance. A- the Act is an important step on the road which van Deventer conside- the best for both Colony and Mother Country, his untimely death is th-

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deplorable, as it prevented his appointment as Governor-General, which was very generally expected in The Netherlands.

The position of the Governor-General is a somewhat peculiar one. Theoretically he is responsible to the Sovereign only, who appoints him on the nomination or recommendation of the Cabinet or the Minister of the Colonies. But as the States-General control East India's finance it is indispensable for him to know the tendencies, wishes and opinions of both the Minister and the Legislature; co-operation between the three is necessary and can be had in no other way, although the Governor-General's judgment, being that of the man on the spot, will prevail in the majority of cases. On the other hand, the Chambers have also a right to know what are the Governor-General's intentions, and for what reasons the Minister requested the Crown to appoint him. The situation certainly required a statesman like van Deventer, and a highly cultured brain like his to reconstruct the intellectual, economic, and political life of the East Indian population, and one who commanded the full confidence of his fellow-citizens. And these not only knew, but they admired him from the very beginning as a man of scientific and artistic inclinations, a lucid writer, a finely polished man of the world, a very great gentleman, and—perhaps this impressed the circumspect Netherlands mind most of all—a "safe" man.

Van Deventer influenced the colonial policy of the last fifteen years or so, not by the outward vigour of his individuality, but by the irresistible quality of untiring perseverance. He never rushed the situation, but his unremitting quiet energy, his inexhaustible patience, his undaunted and indomitable courage, his knack of labouring on unostentatiously but steadily, the nobility of his mind and the clearness of his brain, made it possible for him to achieve so much. Neither Minister nor Governor-General was able to escape from this influence, and in the agrarian, civil and penal laws of those years its traces can easily be recognised. His ultimate aim was to transfer as much as possible of governmental work from European to Indian shoulders, by giving the necessary education to suitable natives. To him the political side of this question was even more important than the economic. He once said: "Both common sense and justice tell us that, in order to rule a foreign country properly, one ought to invite in the widest possible sense the co-operation of the native population . . . Only by granting the natives a larger share in governmental work, will one be able to prevent that this population becomes possessed by a feeling of disaffection from the European rulers."

He had the satisfaction of seeing an important result of his labours in the formation of the Young Javanese group, who try to bring the education enjoyed by themselves within the grasp of the masses, and from which group able leaders arose.

Political autonomy may ultimately lead to another result, and this is being discussed already. It is the creation of a national East Indian army. Expert opinion holds that the military qualities of the Indians are not inferior to those of the Japanese. And this would give quite a new aspect to the question of colonial defence.

C. THIEME.

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NEW SOUTH WALES UNDER WAR CONDITIONS.*

By the Hon. B. R. WISE, K.C.

AUSTRALIA, you will hardly need to be reminded, is a Federal Union of six States, each of which, before Federation, had full control over its internal affairs, and each of which retains this control except in so far as it has surrendered any part of it to the Commonwealth or Federal Government. The powers which the States have surrendered to the Commonwealth are set out in thirty-nine sub-clauses of the Federal Constitution (which, of course, go by the name of the Thirty-nine Articles). Substantially these thirty-nine surrendered powers can be grouped under three heads—those relating to: (1) Defence; (2) Customs and Excise; and (3) External affairs. In all other matters each State retains supreme power within its own borders, so that the Commonwealth Parliament can legislate only upon such matters as have been expressly delegated to it by the States. In this respect the form of the Australian Constitution resembles that of the United States; but, while the Supreme Court of the United States, under the direction of John Marshall, extended the legislative authority of Congress by bold applications of the doctrine of "implied powers," the tendency of the decisions of the High Court of Australia, and still more of the decisions of the Privy Council, has been in the opposite direction of confirming the States in their original sovereignties and setting narrower limits to the powers of the Federal Parliament. Lawyers who would pursue this subject farther may be referred to the admirable chapter in which Mr. Keith, late of the Colonial Office, examines the constitutional decisions of these courts in his work on "Responsible Government in the Dominions". Laymen will not find themselves involved in technicalities, if they appreciate that the interpretation of a written Constitution must depend upon the canon of interpretation, and that a judge, who, like Chief Justice Marshall, first inquired what powers were conferred upon the Congress of the United States and then held that this body possessed also, by implication, what, ever additional powers were necessary to give the fullest effect to this original grant, would reach a totally different conclusion, if he began by inquiring what powers were reserved to the States, and then held that the States possessed all the implied powers which were necessary to give the fullest effect to this reservation. It is largely because the High Court and the Privy Council have approached constitutional questions from the latter point of view, and not from Marshall's point of view, that the Australian States retain their great importance. Nor must it be forgotten that on two occasions proposals to amend the Constitution by extending the powers of the Federal Parliament at the expense of the States have been defeated on a referendum. In a word, under the Constitution of the Commonwealth the several States possess an original authority, while the Commonwealth possesses only a delegated authority; and in this respect the Australian Constitution differs from the Canadian, in which the Provinces exercise the delegated powers, and the reserve of sovereignty is vested

* *Paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on Tuesday, December* 14, 1915 *Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Chairman of Council, in the chair.*

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in the Dominion, and from the Constitution of South Africa, which is in effect a Unified and not a Federal Constitution.

Therefore I make no excuse for confining my address this evening to the State of New South Wales.

2. Of the 5,000,000 people who, in round figures, form the population of Australia 1,863,884 were on September 30, 1915, residents of New South Wales, which, as it is the most populous, is also the largest and the wealthiest of the group. The public revenue of New South Wales for the financial year ending June 30, 1915, was £18,946,226 (or in round figures £19,000,000); but this was not, as in European countries, raised chiefly from taxation, but represents as to £1,607,791 (or 8·48 per cent.) revenue from the public lands, and as to £11,007,663 (or 58·10 per cent. of it) returns from railways and other public utilities, which in Australia are constructed and owned by the State Governments and not by individuals or companies. Taxation only accounts for £5,242,965 (or 27·67 per cent.) of the total revenue. Receipts for services rendered, general miscellaneous receipts and advances repaid amounted to £1,087,807 (or 5·75 per cent. of it). Putting these figures together, the gross revenue of £10 3*s.* 3*d.* per head of the population is derived as to £5 18*s.* 1*d.* per head from public utilities; as to £2 16*s.* 3*d.* per head from taxation; as to 17*s.* 3*d.* per head from the public lands; and as to 11*s.* 8*d.* per head from receipts for services rendered, &c. The principle, which has been adopted for many years by all the Australian States, that works of public utility should not be permitted to be in private hands, explains the phenomenon of the Australian public debt.

At first blush it seems midsummer madness that New South Wales, with a population of less than 2,000,000, should have a public debt of £120,000,000, or more than £60 per head of the population. But the dismay vanishes when it is remembered that 82 per cent. of this sum has been spent in revenue-producing works, such as railways, tramways, harbour works, sewerage works, water works, and that a further 9 per cent. has been spent in ways that are partially productive, such as advances to settlers, immigration, &c., and that only 6 per cent. of the whole has been borrowed for the ordinary purposes of government. The remaining 3 per cent. represents the cost of raising the loans.

Since I have spoken of the application of our loan moneys to the construction and maintenance of works of public utility, it may not be without interest if I refer to these in more detail. First in order of importance come the Government railways. In a young country of great distances railways are the first necessity of existence, because without railways there could be no settlement. Consequently, to compare an Australian loan for the construction of railways with the issue of new capital by a private company or with a loan for municipal improvements, and to require that each during war-time should be submitted to the same scrutiny, is to be misled by a false analogy. The development of the country districts of Australia by the extension of our railway system is the very condition of our national existence, and should not be regarded as a commercial venture. In fact, Australia, out of deference,

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I think, to British sentiment and tradition, has been over-careful to consider the profitableness of her public works, and has shrunk from the bolder policy of constructing her railways ahead of settlement. Certainly investors have no reason to complain that the railways, which have been constructed out of loan monies by the Government of New South Wales, have proved an unsound investment. The capital expenditure upon Government railways and tramways in this State amounted on June 30 of this year to £72,778,384. The total receipts of the year were £9,660,822, which, after providing the sum of £6,928,378 for working expenses, and £2,611,780 for interest on capital and contribution to sinking fund, left a surplus of £120,664.

The returns from the expenditure on other public works have been equally satisfactory. £7,000,000 have been spent on harbour works, which have yielded a surplus of £81,000 after paying working expenses and interest on capital. £13,321,349 have been spent on sewerage and water works, which have shown a surplus of nearly £97,000 after paying working expenses and interest on capital. Also, the Government of New South Wales has taken upon itself recently to provide some of the raw materials which are required for these State undertakings, and it now owns and works metal, stone, and lime quarries, brick, joinery, and cement works, and has established also clothing factories for making police and other uniforms. Some of these undertakings have had more success than others; but there is good reason for anticipating that all of them will be soon upon a paying footing. The total amount of capital liability under this head is £485,725. The results of the year's working reveal that six of the undertakings made an aggregate loss on the year's operations of £33,222, whilst eight produced an aggregate gain of £32,495, or, as a net result, a loss of £727. The losses which have accumulated since the inauguration of the undertakings amounted to £69,316, while the accumulated gains were £48,104, a net loss to June 30, 1915, of £21,212. In this connection I may explain that the loss of £20,473 under the head of the Rozelle Joinery Works was caused entirely by the fire which destroyed the joinery works and stocks, as prior thereto they were returning a fair profit. As a set-off against the net loss of the year, the following undertakings claim to have provided their commodities at rates which have saved, in the course of the year, expenditure on State services of the following approximate amounts, viz. brickworks, Homebush Bay, £11,624; brickworks, Botany, £3,166; metal quarries, £4,230; a total of £19,020, as well as considerable sums to local government bodies and private consumers.

I make no apology for this incursion into figures to an audience so conversant as the present with their importance, and on an occasion which offers me the opportunity of placing them on record in the journal of our transactions; but I turn gladly to the more interesting topic of the part which New South Wales, by reason of her great resources, has been able to play in the present war.

3. Of all the illusions of the Germans, none, I think, is more pathetic than their conviction that, on the outbreak of war, India would break into rebellion, Australia would declare her independence, and Canada be forced by the instinct of self-preservat

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to ally herself with the United States. Certainly they never realised that the Englishman who lives in the Dominions—less distracted, perhaps, by a variety of interests than the Englishman who lives in England—was keenly alive to the peril of the German menace, and, in Australia at least, was near enough to the German colonies to appreciate the character of German rule. Their disappointment must be the more keen when they reflect that not a single native race which has been under German rule has volunteered to fight for Germany, while there is not one race which has experienced the even-handed justice of British rule which has not demanded in an outburst of passionate loyalty to be led by English officers against the common enemy. Australia was in some respects also better prepared than England on the material side, because since January 1, 1911, all males between the ages of twelve and twenty-six had been compelled to submit to a modicum of military training. Every boy between the ages of 12 and 14 had, as a junior cadet, to spend 90 hours a year in training in physical development. Next he was required to spend the four years between 14 and 18 as a senior cadet, and to put in each year 4 whole-day drills, 12 half-day, and 24 quarter-day drills. Between the ages of 18 and 26 every male had to serve in the Militia and spend 16 whole days each year in drill, of which at least 8 days had to be spent in camp. The total minimum training under the Australian scheme required of all male citizens thus amounted to 176 days spread over 11 years, and in the case of artillerymen and engineers the period was 275 days. This scheme, which would have given a Militia of 128,000 men on peace strength, was not in full working when the war broke out; but enough cadets, both junior and senior, had undergone the prescribed training to furnish such a convincing proof of the moral and physical benefits of disciplined exercise that Australians will never be convinced now that a country which is worth living in is not worth fighting for.

The first military operation of the war was the capture of the extensive and valuable German possessions in the Pacific by an Australian expeditionary force, which was convoyed by the Australian Fleet—an exploit which has not, I think, been estimated at its proper value in the rush of more exciting events on other fronts. Yet it was no small service which the Australian Fleet rendered to the Empire. Through its existence as a "fleet in being" it kept the trade routes of the Pacific open to Imperial trade, so that not a single liner changed its schedule date of sailing or arrival, and British and neutral vessels passed unmolested between the Far East and the Western coasts of North and South America. Also, we know now, from the journals of captured naval officers, that the constant menace of the battle-cruiser *Australia* not only saved Auckland from bombardment, but drove the powerful German squadron out of the Pacific, and thus contributed in no small degree to Admiral Sturdee's crushing victory off the Falkland Islands. Nor was the work of the Australian Fleet confined to the defensive; it also convoyed two military expeditions—the one from New Zealand to Samoa, the other from Sydney to Melanesia—to capture the German colonies, which not only are of great value to the Empire by their extent and fertility, but possessed at that time considerable strategic importance as links in the chain of [illegible]h-power wireless communication which the Germans had established between

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China and the United States. If it be the case, as Mr. Kidd, among others, has insisted, that under modern industrial conditions world-supremacy depends upon the control of tropical products, then the Australians, who have captured for the Empire nearly 300,000 square miles of the richest and most healthy tropical possessions in the world, have not only gained a substantial contribution to the expenses of this war, but also have established the Empire on a new basis of security. Certainly Australia, which has won these islands, is not likely to agree to their surrender. For we have to remember, all of us, that we have two objects in view: The first is to win the war; the second is to prevent its recurrence. We can win this war by men, munitions, and money; we can protect ourselves against another war only by placing it out of the power of Prussia to disturb the peace of Europe. There can be only one disaster greater than defeat, and that is a patched-up peace.

4. It is outside the scope of this address to refer to military operations, but there are two incidents in connection with the successes of Australia in the Pacific which I would like to mention, because each of them, as it seems to me, has its own significance. When our troops took Rabaul they found the German officers, who were ready enough in other respects to accept the situation, inconsolable on one point. When they took possession of the island eleven years ago they found, of course, that the natives could not speak German, while they themselves were unable to master the many native dialects. Now, as we all know, the Germans are a most observant and painstaking race. They had noticed that "pidgin English" was the *lingua franca* of the East; and therefore assiduously and methodically set themselves to work, with the aid of their professors, to frame a "pidgin German" for the use of their native subjects. Alas! the effort was in vain, and, despite all his toil, the high-born German found himself compelled to give orders to his own troops in the language of the hated English, and in "pidgin English" at that. The incident seems to me as significant as it is humorous.

The other incident I shall quote from Mr. Buley's recently published book, "Glorious Deeds of Australasians." I cannot improve upon his language. Writing of the exploit of the *Sydney*, of the Royal Australian Navy, in sinking the cruiser *Emden*, he says:—

"The *Sydney* rejoined her convoy at Colombo, one of the world's great ports of call. The flagship *Melbourne* signalled her course to the *Sydney*, and the victorious cruiser swung round and steamed between the long rows of transports. The side of each swarmed with Australasian soldiers, all greeting the conqueror hat in hand. The silence was so oppressive that the captured Germans looked uneasily at one another. Every ship in the harbour showed its bunting, but no whistle blew, no cheer was raised to greet the heroes of the fight. Piqued into an unrestrainable curiosity by this apparent lack of emotion, one of the German captured officers asked an officer of the *Sydney* why there was no cheering. He was told, very simply, that as there were prisoners on the cruiser suffering from serious wounds, gallantly sustained, the *Sydney* had sent a message asking that no noisy demonstration should mar

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return to the fleet. This reply unmanned him completely. With tears in his eyes, he said, 'You have been kind, but this crowns all; we cannot speak to thank you for it.'"

5. There is no need for me to speak, even if this were within my province, of the valour of our soldiers. Their prowess is already a glorious page in the history of the Empire. I shall instead speak to-night of the generosity of the people of New South Wales, which is as significant as the prowess of our soldiers. It is really startling that a small community of less than 2,000,000 souls should have subscribed up to July 31 last no less than £1,840,000 for the relief of the victims of the war, a sum which has been increased up to the present time to over £2,100,000. Of this vast sum less than one-third has been kept in New South Wales; the balance has been distributed in cash and kind—in the largest proportion to the Belgians in recognition of the debt which all civilisation owes to that brave country, and the rest between British, French, Italian, Montenegrin, Serbian, and Russian Red Cross organisations. Nor has this fertilising stream of charity yet ceased flowing. On the 23rd of last month an "Allies' Day" was held throughout New South Wales which added another £50,000 to the colossal sums which had already been collected. Subscriptions to the various funds continue to come in at the rate of some £500 per day.

But while our people have shown themselves thus active and generous, ready to take their place with equal courage either in the fighting line or amongst those who aid the war at home, our Government has faced the situation with no less courage. On the outbreak of war a tribunal was established by Act of Parliament to fix the prices, after hearing evidence, of all necessary commodities and thus prevent the exploitation by greedy speculators of the needs of the people. It may be of interest to note that this tribunal held, after taking evidence, that newspapers were not "a necessary commodity."

At the same time the Government established an ingenious system for relieving the dislocation of labour occasioned by the war. Within a few days after the declaration of war the Minister for Labour and Industry, with a view to mitigating the effects of such dislocation, determined to provide means by which workers might communicate to him their needs, and established a self-registration system for persons unemployed, based upon the use of free and post-free letter-cards. Arrangements were made that these cards should be made available to the public in boxes at all post-offices in the State, and the Government arranged to pay the postage when the cards were filled in. In short, the Government were prepared to pay for the information which would enable it to help those who might happen to be in need of work. A provision whereby employers were to communicate their needs to the Government was also included in the above system. Offices for the transaction of labour exchange work were established in four provincial centres, viz., Newcastle, Orange, Woonoona, and Broken Hill. These centres co-operated with the central exchange in connection with the self-registration system, and they also discharged functions. The self-registration cards have proved of the greatest assistance ling the Government to determine from month to month the gravity of the

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problem of unemployment, to take steps for the investigation of the degree of distress prevailing amongst those who are unemployed, and equitably to distribute the employment offered by the State. A women's employment agency has also been established in Sydney as a means for the amelioration of the condition of the women workers in the community. A publicity scheme has been instituted, and it is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that five months after the adoption of this scheme for handling the unemployed difficulty caused by the war there was adopted in the United States of America a Governmental project of the same character.

Nor did the Government concern itself only with the immediate needs of the people. It looked forward from the beginning to the prolongation of the war, and made provision at once for increasing the food supply of the Empire. The year before the war had been exceptionally bad, the production of wheat having fallen from 32,000,000 bushels in 1912–13 to 14,000,000 bushels in the year 1913–14. The farmers, consequently, were in considerable distress, and the Government came to their relief, by advancing the sum of £400,000, without interest, for the purchase by the farmers of seed wheat and fodder for their stock. They went further: in order to encourage the planting of wheat they guaranteed a price of not less than 4*s*. per bushel for all wheat that was grown upon areas which were put under wheat for the first time. The Government themselves set the example by putting some 30,000 acres of new land under this cereal. The result has been that the production of wheat in New South Wales which is coming into the market during the present season is about 60,000,000 bushels, of which more than one-half will be available for feeding the people of England. Nor does this complete the record of the material assistance rendered by the Government of New South Wales during the war. In September of last year, an Act was passed through Parliament authorising the Government to seize and dispatch to England all meat and live stock which were required by the British Government—of course, paying for same the market rate.

Gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that the measures which I have only briefly outlined do not show any lack of resource or want of confidence on the part of the Government of New South Wales.

6. I have one question to consider, in conclusion, which is not outside the scope of my official duty as interpreter to England of the feeling of my State: To what ends are the events I have recorded leading? For it cannot be that the courage and self-sacrifice of the soldiers of the Dominions will become mere episodes of history, stimulating indeed by their example, but productive of no tangible results! Certainly, it must be admitted that these events have proved that every portion of the Empire has a common interest in this war for freedom. See, however, to what consequences this admission leads. You Englishmen who live in England, who have called us to your aid in time of war (although I admit that the aid would have been given just as freely uninvited), cannot, and I believe will not, refuse to give us a place by your side at the council which decides the terms of peace. The Dominions have now at least as strong a claim as any of the minor States of Europe to be represented at a European Congress. Nor would the presence of Ministers from the Dominions prejudice

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Britain. Rather, I believe, they would prove of great assistance; because, owing to the fact that they are not distracted by a multiplicity of interests, they see more clearly what they want than Englishmen who live in England and pursue their object more directly and with more persistence. Certainly, we shall never hear from any Australian a suggestion to return to Germany any of the conquered German colonies. He will prefer the more blunt and simple argument—"We have taken them, why should we not keep them?"

To give the Dominions a voice in the settlement of the terms of peace is, however, only a passing recognition of the share which they have taken in the war, and does not, by itself, do more than mark a change in sentiment. Yet an opportunity has been offered at last for something more permanent than compliments. In the first place, the association in a common cause of men from every portion of the Empire, fighting side by side in victory or defeat, has created a new bond of union. The sentiment which united more or less loosely, say, Canadians with Australians has been changed by the gallantry of their soldiers into a common pride in the achievements of each other, so that the Empire rests now upon a new foundation. There can be no closer bond of union between free peoples than that they should have fought together for a common cause. Yet, while interest and sentiment alike are impelling the Dominions towards a closer union with each other and with the Mother Country, the practical difficulties in the way of this organic change appear so formidable that no responsible politician would venture to propound a scheme. Every concrete proposal is at once riddled with criticism, and so fast as one difficulty is overcome, another takes its place. Yet this need not cause discouragement, if we recollect two facts: First, that no men, however able, can prepare a constitution for a free people; and secondly, that a free people can prepare for itself in some fashion or another any constitution which it needs. We have in Australia an example of this paradox. I do not believe that anyone who knew Australia during the last 'eighties and the early 'nineties would deny that the difficulties which are in the way of forming a constitution for the British Empire, which shall give a voice to all portions of the Empire in all matters of common interest and at the same time preserve the independence of each part in the management of its internal affairs, are not any greater—if indeed they be not less—than those which stood in the way of the union of the Australian States, and which the people of Australia overcame, against the opposition and indifference of the majority of their politicians, by calling upon each State to elect ten representatives to a Constituent Convention, which was charged with the duty of preparing a constitution to be submitted for acceptance or rejection to a plebiscite of each State. The people thus had both the first and the last word in the framing of their Constitution. They first chose the men by whom it would be framed, and then they voted on the finished work.

Is it the dream of a visionary that a constitution for the Empire could be framed by a similar method, and is it not at least worth while making the attempt? It would at least have the merit of removing the question outside the arena of party politics. No doubt each Parliament would have to determine the method of selecting its representatives within its jurisdiction; and the Imperial Parliament might determine

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that each portion of the United Kingdom should be represented separately. But details such as these are easily adjusted when there is a common desire to bring about the great result. In the first place, at any rate, there would be no need for Parliamentary action, if the Crown, which is at once the emblem of the essential unity of the Empire and the guarantor of the independence of its several parts, exercised its constitutional power for summoning the Imperial Convention, leaving the determination of all details as to the mode of choosing members to the Parliaments and people of each participating community. One precaution only is essential, namely, that the representatives from each Dominion, State, or Colony be numerous enough to express all the currents of local opinion. High Commissioners or Agents-General, however representative, are not the men to carry through this work unaided. It is necessary that the Convention should be large enough to include all shades of local opinion, so that the delegates may explain and recommend to the voters of their respective States any constitution which the Convention may frame. Certainly the experience of Australia justifies the belief that the most formidable difficulties disappear, when they are discussed in frank debate by men of different views, who are desirous of arriving at an agreement; and the division of a large assembly into committees and sub-committees soon overcomes what may seem at first the insurmountable difficulty of unwieldy numbers.

The union of the Empire, I repeat, may be the dream of a visionary; but it is certain that there is no practical method of bringing this about except by the consent of the free peoples who compose the Empire, and except by an elective Convention there is no means of ascertaining what the views of the people are. Personally, I believe, three parts of the difficulty would be overcome by the mere fact of the Convention meeting, because I can imagine nothing more stirring to the imagination and nothing more likely to conduce to union than the assemblage in Westminster Hall of the elected representatives of all the King's Over-sea possessions under the Presidency of His Majesty. The Union of America, of Australia, and of South Africa was effected by the method I have outlined. Is there not also good reason why we should not also apply it to the problem of Britannic Union? The attempt, at least, could do nothing but good; and even a first failure might pave the way for ultimate success. The essential requisite is that Englishmen in every portion of the globe should keep steadily before themselves the ideal of union, and be prepared to jettison any political opinions, and to scrap any political machinery which may stand in the way of this great consummation.

Before the reading of the Paper:—

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.) said: Our speaker to-night is the new distinguished Agent-General of New South Wales, Mr. Wise. This is his first formal welcome to the Institute. We wish him a long, happy, and successful tenure of office, fraught with good for the Mother State of the Commonwealth, and for himself. If it were not for a counter-attraction (the dinner to Sir George Reid) the various High Commissioners and Agents-General would have been present to grace this gathering. Mr. Wise is distinguished in various directions—scholar, athlete, lawyer, politician, and not least, writer of books. I hope many present know his book on "The Making the Commonwealth"—a model of clear and able exposition. He has come in time, and his subject is appropriate. I hope Australians realise that we in

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are as proud as they are of what Australia and Australians have done in this war. We are proud, not only of the fighting feats of our Australian brethren, which will live in history to all time, but we are proud of the note of resolute determination which comes to us time and again from beyond the seas. It was my fortune to be in Australia when the war began. I saw, I heard, I felt, and I treasure in my memory what Australia meant and was going to do and has done. To men who are growing old like myself, the most hopeful feature of the war is what the young are doing—the young men and the young peoples. Those who have the keeping of the future are foremost in facing the present upon which the future depends. It is of priceless value to the cause of Britain and of the Empire that the young democracies beyond the sea are heart-whole beyond all in our cause. They are telling out to the world that the Empire stands for democracy, and that democracy stands by the Empire, and that the young peoples are not going to let Germany rise to greatness on the ruin of freedom. The history of the world began in the East. It moved north. The great West was opened, and the great West had its say in the world. Now the South, for the first time in history, is having its say. For the first time in history Southerners from the far-off seas have come here to help to decide the destinies of Europe, and as science grows and as distances become diminished, it is absolutely certain that in the generations to come the South will have a still stronger voice in the destinies of the world. I want to say most strongly that we in this room—fair representatives of the people of London and England—welcome an Australian at this time, and most of all an Australian who will tell us about the part which Australia and the Australians are playing in the war.

After the reading of the Paper the following discussion took place :—

Sir George Le Hunte, K.C.M.G., Governor of Trinidad, formerly Governor of South Australia : It is now more than forty years since I first saw Australia, and for the best part of ten years I was intimately connected with Australia in my official duties, and I have also had the advantage of having been over that part of the Pacific where the German flag flew for so many years, and which now, thanks to the pluck and wisdom of our Australian brethren, has been supplanted by the White Ensign. It is a curious thing that many years ago, before New Ireland, as it was called, was under the jurisdiction of anybody, I was speaking to the German Consul, and said, "What about those islands ?" He said, "We don't want them," but added, "Perhaps we shall." I asked, "What will you do with them when you get them ?" and he replied, "We will give them to you for a *quid pro quo*." The first part of that conversation has come absolutely true. Germany did take those islands, which she named Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. As to the second part, we have got them without a *quid pro quo* from the Germans, and I doubt very much if Australia is going to give them back for any *quid pro quo*. To one who has had the advantage of knowing Australia before the creation of the Commonwealth it is of special interest to study the attempts made on the part of the Commonwealth to extend its jurisdiction, and the unceasing opposition of the States to any interference in what they look upon as their constitutional rights. The subject, however, is one which would lead me too far afield to-night. Everything is of interest connected with the growth of that magnificent continent. It is not so many years ago—in fact there are people still living who were amongst the first settlers—when South Australia, which now boasts the beautiful city of Adelaide, was absolute bush. Nobody who has not had the advantage of being in Australia can realise what an extraordinary change comes over a country directly man comes to put his hand upon it. To the old pioneer with his bullock team Australia owes its fortune to-day. A word with regard to the grand work which is being done by Australia in the present war, both on sea and on land. I am sure we shall all endorse what Mr. Wise has said on that subject. He referred to the *Sydney*. I had the great privilege of going on board the *Sydney* when she came out to the West Indies, and of being taken round by the captain, who showed me where she had been struck with shells by the *Emden*, which luckily did not burst.

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As for the soldiers, history will enshrine for ever what they did at the landing in Gallipoli. Many have fallen, but their names will be emblazoned on the scroll of time.

THE HON. J. G. JENKINS: It is nearly thirty years since I first met Mr. Wise, then the brilliant young Attorney-General of that old hero of Australian politics, Sir Henry Parkes, and I have had the privilege of meeting him on many occasions since. I desire to emphasise one or two points. One is the fact which we never can drive forcibly enough into the minds of the people of this country, that our Australian debt is no debt at all. We owe practically £300,000,000 of money—£90,000,000 to ourselves and the rest to you—but we have spent £180,000,000 in railways in Australia, and if Australia wanted to get rid of them, there would not be the slightest difficulty in getting them taken over by a private syndicate, with a considerable extra sum for the bargain. Some time ago I found we had more money practically at deposit in our savings and other banks than would pay off the whole national debt, in addition to our capital investments, so that we are not altogether a poverty-stricken people, and if you have money to lend and we want it, do not hesitate to let us have it. We all recognise that New South Wales is our parent colony or State. It is the most populous and richest, and has probably the greatest quantity of cultivatable land as far as cereals go. I remember years ago being told by a man that New South Wales is such a glorious country that "we are going to prosper in spite of our politicians, Parliament, and Government," and so it has, and so has every other part of Australia, In Australia this year we shall probably have 150,000,000 bushels of wheat—more than has ever been grown in that country before, and arrangements have been made between the Governments of Australia to land that wheat here as cheaply as they can, giving producers as much as they reasonably can, and allowing you to have the wheat as cheaply as possible for your consumption. At the close of this war, as we are all united in one common cause, fighting not only for our own preservation, but for the advancement of the Empire and of humanity, the voice of these Overseas Dominions must be recognised to a greater extent than ever before. I would not say that we could bring about an Imperial Parliament at once, but what we can do is to bring about some Imperial organisation that shall recognise Imperial thought and give the opportunity to those Dominions over the seas of having a voice when great Imperial matters are discussed, instead of their being advised on them after the discussion has taken place.

LIEUT.-COLONEL J. W. BARRETT, M.D., C.M.G. (Melbourne): For the last year I have been engaged in an occupation in which talking is not encouraged, and shall be brief, but the Paper and the speeches which have followed have set moving in one's mind certain ideas. Mr. Wise referred to the development of New South Wales. It is the richest, largest, and most populous of the Australian states, but the distance we still have to go may be illustrated by a comparison with Germany. Germany is about two-thirds the size of New South Wales, with sixty-seven millions of people, and is so ordered in its internal economy that the net revenue derived from the forests is equal to the entire Commonwealth revenue. If the Germans can produce economic development of that kind, I think we can also, and it opens to one's imagination a vista of possibilities which lie before New South Wales when handled in an orderly and scientific fashion. But what was running through my mind was the larger conception of this extraordinary struggle. It is a struggle between two colossal ideals. First, the ideal, to which sufficient justice is not usually done—the great Germanic ideal founded by Stein and other statesmen—that of erecting Germany out of the ruins and degradation that then existed—an ideal based on efficiency and cultivation which has since been overcast by the lust of dominion and the determination to use force to gain its ends, and which has produced results we regard as deplorable. On the other hand you have the principle of people who have, in some sort of dim wa[illegible]ns. becoming more acute every day, developed an ideal of individual freedom and ju[illegible] and above all, without which these are useless, the function of responsibilit[illegible] there is no Empire worthy of the name which is not based on the indivi[illegible] F

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no great Empire of that nature can be developed until each individual and unit, in the words of the Governor-General of Australia, makes up his mind to carry on himself, so far as he can, the burden of the Empire to which he belongs. It is these two divergent conceptions which have plunged the earth in grief, blood, and sorrow. The domination of the ideal of force would set back civilisation for an incalculable period. The whole world is plunged into the melting-pot. It is our business to see that we emerge with the British Empire intact and purified and refined by what it has gone through. There is no reverting to the *status quo ante*. It is our business to see that the chance given to Imperial statesmen at the end of the war is not missed. It is no good waiting till the war is over and then beginning to think; we have to form our ideas and make up our minds that our Empire can only rest upon Democracy—educated not only in the means of earning a living and of enjoying leisure, but in those conceptions of Imperial citizenship which your distinguished President has done so much to initiate in this country. There is no half measure. Consultative councils, advisory boards, are all very well, but at the end of the war we have to face one of two positions—organic union based on the conceptions I have indicated, or the possibility of being permanently shattered.

Sir W. Grey-Wilson, K.C.M.G.: Mr. Wise has spoken of a debt of £60 per head. But what have we spent during this war per head? A sum considerably more, and that not on mere productive works. Look at the position of this country a hundred years ago; take the population and the revenue and expenditure, and compare them with the figures given in the Paper, and you will have some notion of what New South Wales will grow to, and what that glorious country is likely to do. I fancy that the splendid contingent sent by this one part of Australia alone is larger than the whole British force engaged in the battle which looms so large in our minds—the Battle of Waterloo. These are some points, I think, which furnish food for thought.

Mr. Frederick Dutton: In the few minutes that are left I can merely mention two or three things which have struck me in listening to the Paper. The first is that in Australia every male from eighteen to sixty years of age is liable to be called out, and is in process of being trained, especially the younger members, for the defence of the country. There are many of us who think that with great advantage we should emulate the example that not only Australia but New Zealand and South Africa have shown us in this respect. The Council of the Institute have recently passed a resolution declaring that the unity of the Empire would be greatly and permanently furthered, if in all parts this example were followed. This is a subject which I am perfectly certain more will be heard of in the future. The second point, which is intimately connected with the first, is that you cannot any longer regard this question in a merely limited sense. It is absolutely true, I hold, that the experience of this year has shown that the British Empire, if it is to remain united, must be regarded as a whole, and defended as a whole. You cannot deal with it in water-tight compartments. For instance, what is the use of talking of the manhood of the United Kingdom being liable to serve simply for the defence of the United Kingdom, if Australia were being attacked, and *vice versa*? The conclusion to which that leads is obvious. Once you have a system similar to that adopted in these States applied to all the great self-governing parts of the Empire, you will require at some time or other to be able to weld all these forces together, so that they may co-operate not only in defence of their own separate States, but in defence of the Empire as a whole, and when you have achieved that, you have gone a long way on the stage to the federation of the Empire which we talk about so much. We have been told that certain positions which the forces of Australia have acquired in this war are not going to be given back. Does not that consideration show how impossible is the talk of an inconclusive peace? For an inconclusive peace of necessity involves something in the nature of the *status quo ante*. I am afraid any such solution would almost inevitably lead to disruption of the Empire. Australia as a whole would never sanction the [illegible] to Germany of its possessions in the Pacific, and I feel confident that in [illegible]n.

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South Africa also public opinion would never approach the question of the retrocession to Germany of that part of the country which has been so brilliantly conquered by General Botha and his forces.

Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G.: It is a salutary rule or custom of the Institute that the Secretary should not address these meetings, but on this occasion, with the Chairman's permission, I have risen to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Wise, my old school-fellow of many years ago. I met him at the age of fourteen—I leave you to conjecture how long that was ago—and we sat in the Sixth school at Rugby side by side for something like two years. When I listened to his eloquent accents to-night, I went back in memory to our old debating society, where he was one of our chiefest ornaments, though I had not the pleasure of hearing him speak as President of the Union at Oxford. Mr. Wise was the best mile runner in the school at Rugby, and at Oxford he sustained and enhanced that reputation as President of the University Athletic Club. One question which has not been touched upon to-night is the settlement of ex-service men after the war. You may remember that about nine months ago, at an informal meeting with Earl Grey in the chair, a resolution was passed calling upon the Council to form a committee to go into the subject. A committee was appointed, and we have to thank the War Services Committee of the Institute for their initiative in the matter. The Committee held a number of meetings, and took an important deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Board of Agriculture. On that occasion Sir John Taverner put forward the suggestion that we should send to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada a prominent member of our committee, namely Sir Rider Haggard, to discuss with the Governments the possibility of finding some lands in those great Dominions, not only as they must for their own returning soldiers, but for some of our own countrymen who have fought and bled for the common Empire in the great war. I am thankful to say that the Council of the Institute has decided quite recently to send Sir Rider Haggard as Commissioner. We are at the present moment considering the important question of ways and means, and, thanks to the generosity of Colonel Burns and others, we are making good headway towards its solution. I should like, if I might, to enlist the sympathy of my old friend and school-fellow in that work. With regard to what fell from him on the great subject of what will happen after the war, I would like to tell you a quite simple anecdote. At a house in Herefordshire several wounded Australian officers were being entertained, and on the morning of my visit one of them had been honoured by the King with the V.C. That evening we were talking in the smoke-room—he was a modest and most attractive man—and as he lay there—he has suffered a great deal in Gallipoli—he said: "Well, we have done our bit for the Empire; perhaps we shall now be allowed to have a little more say in it." And I think that is the keynote of many of the speeches to-night. I would close with the note struck by our great national poet, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in some lines which with his permission we have placed upon the Christmas card we are sending out this year:—

> "Also, we will make promise. So long as The Blood endures,
> I shall know that your good is mine; ye shall feel that my strength is yours.
> In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all,
> That Our House stand together and the pillars do not fall."

The Chairman: I may conclude the proceedings by quoting a line from the Book of Ecclesiastes—"The words of the wise are as gold." We have had a most stimulating address which will set us all thinking. There is a wonderful future before New South Wales and Australia, and above all before this United Empire, which is going to be united after the war in a sense it never has been in all its greatness up to the present time.

Mr. Wise briefly acknowledged the compliments paid to him, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was warmly accorded.

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CYPRUS TO-DAY.*

By ROLAND L. N. MICHELL, C.M.G.

When I had the honour of being asked to read a short Paper on Cyprus I gladly consented, regarding it almost as a duty for those who are acquainted with the island to do their best to make it better known at home. Perhaps the present course of events will tend to bring into greater prominence this picturesque and once flourishing island. Many persons at home have still but very hazy notions regarding it. Unfortunately, too, there is still a lingering prejudice against it, which arose chiefly out of circumstances attending the British occupation in 1878. It acquired a bad name. It came, unjustly as it proved, to be regarded as a dangerous place to be avoided. "A pestilential, fever-stricken hole," a "squalid possession"—these and still more uncomplimentary epithets were bestowed upon it. It is also true that those who, as a rule, quite honestly—whether politicians or journalists—spoke thus disparagingly could find retrospective corroboration in many of the accounts of pilgrims and travellers from the Middle Ages onwards. Thus van Kootwick, in 1598, says that "Vapours arising from swamps and salt lakes rendered the air foul and pestiferous." "Visitors can hardly go out at night." "A man can hardly endure his apparel." Sir John Mandeville describes the people as sitting knee deep in the earth, while eating, on account of the overpowering heat, "which generates fevers of a malignant type." On the other hand, soon after the occupation the truth began to leak out. It was found that with ordinary precautions climatic conditions were not so bad as had been described. There was a good deal of fever which came to be regarded as a special variety, and was called "Cyprus fever." But it did not differ from the malady common along Mediterranean coasts.

At any rate, Sir Robert Biddulph, who succeeded Lord Wolseley as second High Commissioner, was able to say in 1881, in respect of the troops, that Cyprus held "the first place for health among British Possessions." The island began to acquire a better name. By degrees its climate was extolled, and it now claims to be one of our health resorts. The praise lavished upon the birthplace of Venus by the ancients, who regarded it as one of the most favoured spots, did not imply an unhealthy climate.

Those who now speak favourably of it can also find that many writers spoke enthusiastically of its many attractions. Thus Dandini, in the sixteenth century, says, "The island abounds in everything that is delightful."

When two such contradictory descriptions of a place are presented, we generally find that the truth lies somewhere between the two; and this is the case as regards Cyprus. The truth is that from June to October the heat is trying for dwellers in the plains, while those who can go to the hills (which rise to over 6,000 feet) can enjoy an admirable climate. From November to May there is an excellent season in the plains, while the heights are often deep in snow. In other words, Cyprus is an ex-llent health resort in winter, and in summer it should be the sanatorium of the

...aper read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, on Tuesday, November 16, 1915, at 4 p.m., ...Page Middleton, in the Chair.

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Eastern Mediterranean, as it is at present for our wounded and convalescent soldiers from the Dardanelles, and as it was during the Egyptian and Sudanese campaigns. Successive High Commissioners have spoken in eulogistic terms, and have endorsed the opinion of Drummond, who, writing in 1750, said, "I am fully persuaded that if Cyprus were in the hands of the English or Dutch, they would make such advantageous use of its springs, rivulets, and winter rains that it would in a little time become the Garden of the East."

But the climate is not the only attraction.* To the tourist the island can be honestly recommended. To the archæologist there is an ample field for study. The mediæval remains are of great interest. In the cathedrals (now mosques) of Nikosia and Famagusta we have admirable examples of French Gothic architecture. In the Nikosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, and other districts are forts, castles now in ruin, and many monuments of the thirteenth and three following centuries well worthy of inspection. Most places of interest can be visited by carriage. The three principal towns are connected by motor service, and a light railway runs from the port of Famagusta to the capital, and on through the central "Mesaoria" plain. At Nikosia there is a Cyprus museum which contains a large number of most interesting objects, illustrating different periods of island history. But the tourist should not fail to leave the beaten tracks and to ride through some of the forests and valleys. In these will be found scenery that can hardly be surpassed. Everywhere from the coast to the heights where the vulture breeds you hear the echo of many ages. "You pass," as Mr. Mallock says, "in ten minutes from Genesis to Theokritus"; he might have added to Shakespeare. The traveller who failed to tour the interior would leave with very incomplete impressions of the island. There is, by the way, an excellent class of muleteers. Those who are interested in peasant life will find much that is worthy of attention in the homes, the customs, and the folklore of the rural classes.

A word as to the character of the people. Physically they are a strong and hardy race, of frugal habits, which has maintained its vigour during ages of hardship. It is quite a mistake to regard the people as lazy and sluggish, as is often done. Making due allowance for summer heat, and the numerous holidays ordained by the Church, and largely observed, they work industriously throughout the year. The apathy which is observable does not differ much from the stolid conservatism common in agricultural classes elsewhere; and it must be remembered that the incentives to industry which exist in more civilised communities have until recently been entirely lacking. Religion has a marked hold upon the people, their respect for the Church and its ministers being observable in their daily life. Although available records show that the peasantry under successive rulers have generally had a very "bad time," and have often been driven to great depths of misery and impoverishment, they have preserved many admirable qualities. "There are no people," says Sir Samuel Baker, "more affectionate in their immediate domestic circle, or more courteous and gentle,

* Though it may be said in passing that when the Egyptian season is over in April those ins. do not desire to return so early to England can spend a month or more in Cyprus. Improv in steam communication and hotels should come in the near future.

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than the Cypriots." * Hospitality is a very pleasing trait in their character, the more so in view of the prevailing poverty. They are always ready to offer a simple but sincere welcome to visitors, and this with unaffected charm of manner.

In the matter of intelligence the quick-witted Cypriot would compare favourably with the rural population of any country. At the same time, the average peasant is very simple-minded, and his ignorance is only too often taken advantage of by unscrupulous traders and money-lenders. The people are good-tempered, and they have no lack of humour. They delight in amusing anecdotes, and are often very witty. They are of course still very superstitious, and have a great faith in the occult powers of the "magos," or magician. They have come to lean on the Government for help in almost all matters.

The failings of the Cypriots are those common to most of the peoples of the Near East. Vindictiveness is a common trait. Acts of retaliation for injuries, real or suspected, are frequent, and a vendetta is sometimes kept up in families for considerable periods. There is more serious crime, including murder, than there should be, in proportion to the population; but crime as a profession has diminished. The feeling of security due to firm and just administration is producing good results. The establishment of rural police stations with regular day and night patrols, and the development of road communications, have broken up what used to be the curse of the island, viz. the thefts of animals, followed by blackmailing, under a network of crafty gangs throughout the island. The steady advance of education, the increased power given to Mukhtars (village headmen), and other reforms are helping to build up a more independent and straightforward character. In most villages a body of thieves and local "hooligans" has exercised a terrorism over the community. In Turkish times it was the custom for police officials on entering a village to inquire as to the bad characters. A list was given by the Mukhtar, and they were severely beaten without further formality. Even now a complaint as to bad characters is often one of the first made to an official on tour. On one occasion a British official on arriving at a village asked whether there were persons of this class. "No," replied the Mukhtar; "we *had* two very bad characters, but, thank God, we have got rid of them both. They have both been enrolled in the Police." On another occasion a High Commissioner asked a village priest, in the absence of the Mukhtar, whether his flock was in a good state of order. "Yes, thank God," replied the priest, "our village is in complete order and security, and we have nothing to disturb the peace." Later on one of the Elders complained to the District Commissioner that the priest had entirely misrepresented the state of affairs. "The village," he said, "is in a deplorable state. We suffer day and night from constant thefts and other disorders. The priest," he said, "did not tell his Excellency this, because the thieves and bad characters are all his own sons."

To understand Cyprus to-day a brief glance at the past is needed.

Of the earliest inhabitants we know nothing. Language is our chief guide. They possessed a language and a writing, of syllabic character, akin to the Lycian dialect.

* *Cyprus as I saw it in* 1879, p. 404.

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This was only deciphered in the 'seventies of last century. There were early waves of Greek colonisation, and the Greek language came to prevail and stay till the present time. But before the settlement of Phœnicians and Greeks were the natives referred to, whose language and writing continued for some time to coexist with those of the two former.

Small as it is, ethnological differences of a more or less marked character can be traced in different parts of the island, the types being clearly distinguishable—the result of alien settlements, of which some characteristics have been preserved. Far up in the hills we find, e.g., in one part a Hebrew type. In the Karpas the inhabitants of some villages differ from the generality; and Mr. D. G. Hogarth mentions villagers of swarthy type which bespeaks gypsy origin.

The earliest notices relate to a conquest of Cyprus by Thothmes III. of Egypt, about 1450 B.C.

Then came a Phœnician period of peaceful penetration. The Phœnicians, who were the world's leading traders, and who resembled to some extent the British in naval and commercial enterprise, settled chiefly on the south coast. They brought their religion, arts, and customs, and exerted a lasting influence, remaining always loyal to their own country. The Phœnician period, however, is very obscure. When in the ninth century B.C. Phœnicia fell before the rising Assyrian power the Cypriot kings (for the island was divided early into independent kingdoms) transferred their allegiance to Assyria. In 675 the island supplied timber, metal work, and statues for the palace at Nineveh.

Of the early Greek settlements very little is known positively. There was no doubt a fairly constant stream of immigration into an island so favoured in many respects. The Hellenes became fused with the Cypriots, themselves of kindred origin, and we thus imagine three nationalities: the Cyprian natives, the Greek settlers who amalgamated, and the Phœnicians who kept more exclusively in touch with their Mother Country.

Before the seventh century the Greeks had adopted many of the customs and religious rites of the Phœnicians, blending them with their own, and breathing into them much of their more poetic spirit. They identified some of their own gods and goddesses with those of Phœnicia, especially Astarte, who became Aphrodite.

In the sixth century we reach firmer ground. About 560 Amasis, according to Herodotus, subdued the island. In 525 Cyprus, like Egypt, yielded to Cambyses, and became subject to Persia. In the Græco-Persian wars Cyprus figured prominently. In 387 Cyprus was definitely assigned to Persia. In 333 we reach the period of Alexander the Great, on whose advance into Phœnicia Cyprus prudently declared in his favour, aiding him in the siege of Tyre. In 305 B.C. the island fell under the Ptolemies and was united to Egypt. The Ptolemaic dynasty ruled till 58 B.C., when the island was annexed by Rome. In A.D. 45 Cæsar gave Cyprus to Arsinoe, and by Antony it was presented to Cleopatra.

In 395, on the division of the Roman Empire, Cyprus was incorporated in the Byzantium for about 300 years. In the fourth century copper mines near

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worked. In the sixth century, under Justinian I., silkworms were introduced into Cyprus.

During the Roman and Græco-Roman period the island enjoyed tranquillity, which lasted till the rise of Islam in the seventh century. From this point for three centuries the island suffered grievously from Arab invasions. Unrest and misery prevailed. The country was pillaged, churches were destroyed, and havoc of all kinds committed. This period (A.D. 644–975) is regarded as the darkest in Cyprus.

In 964 Cyprus was regained for the Byzantine Empire. From this point Cyprian annals become uneventful for two centuries. The Governors, or Dukes, who administered the island occasionally declared their independence, without success, until, in 1184, Isaac Comnenus, a nephew of the Greek Emperor, usurped the title of Emperor. We now reach a moment of great interest. The year 1191 is memorable on account of the conquest of the island by Richard I. of England, owing to the treachery and insolence of Isaac. On the 12th of May Richard was married at Limasol to the Princess Berengaria, of Navarre, the Bishops of York and Evreux officiating. Richard defeated Isaac and took him prisoner. Nikosia surrendered, and Guy de Lusignan, ex-King of Jerusalem, who was a notable figure at this time, was sent to occupy Famagusta and other fortresses of Cyprus. King Richard soon after sold the island to the Templars for 100,000 gold besants (about £350,000). Their government was strongly resented by the people. The Templars, in 1192, returned the island to the King, who resold it to Guy de Lusignan. The Lusignan dynasty, of eighteen reigns, from 1192 to 1489, was one of enforced tranquillity, but to the people the domination was hateful. For the rich it was a period of luxury—of hunting, falconry, and other sports. Jacques II. (fifteenth century) formed an alliance with the Venetian Republic, and married Katerina Cornaro, of Venice. The Republic became practically mistress of the island in 1488, and the Queen, who had come to rule alone, abdicated in favour of the Republic, which, being then at war with Turkey, annexed the island the following year.

Under Venice, a period of eighty-two years, the island was neglected and declined in prosperity. In the words of Captain Savile, "The tenure of Cyprus by the Venetians may be described as simply a military occupation, and, as no measures for its proper maintenance were taken, the prosperity of the island visibly declined; trade languished, manufactures almost ceased, landowners abandoned their property, schools closed, the population emigrated, cultivation was neglected, the streams were allowed to overflow and form infectious marshes, and the national wealth rapidly diminished."

The conquest of the island by Turkey in 1570 is the next event of note. The three centuries of Ottoman rule were marked, here as elsewhere, by the paralysing effects of an oppressive despotism, which ruined agriculture, commerce, arts, and all the refinements of life. Arbitrary taxes, the destruction of forests, absence of public work, and general neglect led to further deterioration of climate, a diminishing population, and sanitary evils.

Looking back in imagination to a period when Cyprus maintained a population

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of at least a million, and prospered as a centre for the trade of East and West, it becomes clear that a steady deterioration has proceeded within historical times, the causes of which are easy to trace. Whatever importance we may attach to a more general desiccation of Asia, it is certain that the destruction of forests by human agency has adversely affected the climate, and has destroyed that equilibrium of physical conditions, the disturbance of which reacts so seriously upon agriculture. Pestilence and earthquakes have done their work, and there have been periods of ruthless slaughter by invaders, which have largely reduced the population. But whatever estimate we may form of the various causes and effects, one thing is certain, that the ruin brought about has been mainly due to the maladministration of corrupt governments. Preceding dynasties may all bear their share of blame, but we need not go beyond the Venetian and Ottoman periods to explain the deplorable vision of decay.

This brings us to the period of British administration, 1878 to 1914. When under the Anglo-Turkish Convention the island came under British rule it resembled that of most other Turkish provinces. No one who now visits Cyprus can have an idea of the state which the pioneers had to face. The record of thirty-six years has been one of continuous, though very gradual, progress. The problems to be dealt with were in some respects those of India in miniature, and the work has resembled in a way that carried out by British officials in Egypt. In both countries we had the results of the paternal government of the Turk. Every department called urgently for reform. Already the island has been raised to fresh life, and has recovered some lost ground. The difficulties of the local government have been great. Among the chief obstacles I may mention (1) the ruinous condition of the country and consequent sparseness of population; (2) the burden of the tribute, fixed, on a questionable basis, at over £92,000, which has drained the island, and deprived the "Colony" of many advantages it would otherwise have enjoyed under our rule; (3) the anomalous nature of our tenure which has *inter alia* prevented the investment of capital; (4) the occupation of Egypt in 1882, four years after our introduction to Cyprus, which has seemed to detract in some degree from the value of the island. In spite of these and other obstacles, order has been brought out of chaos and the foundations of future progress firmly laid.

The High Commissioner is Commander-in-Chief over the island. A Legislative Council, as created in 1883, consists of the High Commissioner and eighteen members—twelve elected and six official. The elected members include three Mohammedans and nine non-Mohammedans. An Executive Council advises the High Commissioner. The British garrison, originally of half a battalion, now consists of one company, generally from a regiment in Egypt. There is an admirable and efficient force of military police (over 200 mounted, about 470 foot), composed of Turks and Greeks, the former largely predominating.

A reform of fiscal system was speedily introduced. Taxation was more evenly adjusted. A depreciated paper currency was replaced by silver and bronze coins. Numerous vexatious imposts and restrictions were abolished.

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Nothing has given greater satisfaction than the judicial reforms. All classes testify gratefully to the immense advantages conferred by impartial British justice. The old Turkish *meglis* was replaced by new Courts in the six administrative districts, in which English barristers preside, there being also Greek and Turkish judges.

The protection of forests was taken in hand, and has had important results. An Agricultural Department has for some years done excellent and very uphill work. The Public Works Department can show an interesting record. In 1878 there was but one road, unmetalled, connecting Larnaca with Nikosia. There is now a system of some 800 miles of metalled main roads, besides many village branches. Piers, quays, and many Government buildings are among the works carried out.

A small harbour for large vessels was constructed some years ago at Famagusta. The establishment of a post-office and of the Eastern Telegraph Company's lines were among the early and welcome signs of civilisation. Printing and a public press came into existence. There are now some fifteen Greek newspapers and one or two Turkish. There is no English paper. A few have been started, but they had short lives. The English colony is too small to support one. There are English clubs in nearly all the districts, and also Greek and Turkish clubs in some of the towns.

In social life there has been a marvellous transformation, especially in the towns. In dress, in food, in amusements, and accomplishments much has been altered. In dress there has been a complete revolution. What were luxuries are now regarded as necessaries. In the early days there were no roads. Now carriages of many kinds, bicycles, and even motors, fly over 800 miles of road. In the villages the standard of comfort has been raised. Flat mud-roofs are giving way to French tiles, which show up picturesquely amongst the trees and gardens. Iron bedsteads replace boards and trestles and the floor mattress.

For sanitation a good deal has been effected. The Medical Department has done much for public health. There are good hospitals in all districts. A Government Analyst and a Veterinary Surgeon render good services. Sir Ronald Ross, who visited the island in 1912, states that it should be as easy to get rid of malaria in Cyprus as at Ismaïlieh, on the Suez Canal, where it was exterminated in twelve years.

Sport, which was much better in the early years, is somewhat disappointing. Of large game there is only the Moufflon (*Ovis ophion*), now strictly protected. Game has decreased. It includes the red-legged partridge, francolin (now scarce), hares, quail, and sand grouse (rare). There are a few good snipe marshes. In winter woodcock and a variety of wild ducks visit the island. Both at Nikosia and Limasol hounds have been sometimes kept, and there has been some hunting, generally a drag.

There are plenty of good fish round the coasts, but the native fishermen are very unenterprising. There is much to be done in this direction. Sponges of good quality are found in Cyprus waters. The sponge fishing is at present in the hands of Greeks from other islands.

Excavations carried out during the British occupation under Mr. Hogarth, Professor Gardner, Professor Myres, Mr. Walters, and other competent explorers, have

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brought to light many objects of antiquity which have contributed to our knowledge, not only of Cyprus, but also of other countries with which the island has been brought into relation in the spheres of religion, art, and social life. Many of them may be seen in our London museums. For palæontology interesting remains have been discovered by Miss Dorothy Bate, including those of a pigmy elephant which once roamed the island.

Last year (November 5) Cyprus was annexed by Great Britain. The Order in Council for annexation was published in Cyprus on November 10. The Moslem leaders expressed to the High Commissioner, Sir John Clauson, their gratitude for the sympathy and help accorded to the Ottoman Empire and Moslem community. That the people of Cyprus are contented with our rule is beyond question. In the towns an agitation for "Union with Greece" has been maintained by the Greeks for many years. The views of the leaders may, I think, be summed up as follows:—"We ardently desire union with our Mother Country, Greece. If this cannot be realised, we desire to remain under British rule, and we should strongly resent being handed over to any other Power. We shall continue to work with all our energies for the fulfilment of our aspirations." This agitation will, no doubt, be maintained. The Turkish community has always strongly protested against this Greek movement.

The wealth of Cyprus lies in agriculture. Mining prospects are not brilliant. The copper mines are practically exhausted. Asbestos is worked on Mount Troodos. Salt may now become more remunerative. There are two good salines near Larnaca and Limasol.

The area of the island is computed roughly to be 3,600 square miles, classified as follows:—Delimited forests 700 square miles; uncultivable 400; uncultivated but capable of cultivation 500; and under cultivation 2,000. There are but few large estates, the land under cultivation being held in a large number of separate holdings.

The population numbers about 275,000, including Greeks, 215,000, Moslem Turks, 57,000, and other communities, 3,000. The great majority are landowners and agricultural labourers. The beginnings of an accurate survey, which is much needed, have been made. There is an excellent map of Cyprus (1885), the work of Lord (then Captain) Kitchener.

The principal area of arable cultivation is the great central plain called the "Mesaoria," lying between the Northern and Southern ranges of mountains. The soil is rich, as the detritus carried down from the denuded hills by winter torrents provides annually a fertilising layer of silt, which has been compared with that which enriches the Valley of the Nile. Water rights are, as may be imagined, of great local importance and not unfrequently of litigation.

The rainfall may be taken at sixteen to seventeen inches in the plains, or over twenty if the hills are included. Landowners generally cultivate their holdings themselves with the help of their families. Some lease them, and a good many work in partnership. The methods of husbandry are still patriarchal. The plough is a light

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one of wood, drawn, as a rule, by a yoke of oxen. Wheat and barley are threshed on circular floors, sometimes stone-paved, by driving over the scattered sheaves a wooden sledge, studded with sharp flints on its under surface. The grain is winnowed by tossing it up with wooden shovels when the wind is favourable. Rotation is practised according to time-honoured rules; but, except in the few irrigated areas, land is generally left fallow every alternate year. There is thus a great wastage. There is a good race of native ponies, of about thirteen hands and over. Breeding has degenerated, but a Cyprus Stock Committee is doing excellent work in the matter of improvement. The mules of Cyprus are highly valued, and often in demand. Donkey sires have been purchased for India. There is a good breed of camels, but their use is diminishing with improved roads. Of horned-cattle stock little more is raised than is required for agricultural purposes. In the Mesaoria a fine large breed is to be seen, but in the hills, where forage is dearer, animals of a smaller breed are preferred.

The principal products of the island are cereals, vines (wine and raisins), caroubs, and silk cocoons. The exportation of these products represents about three-fourths of the export trade. The fruits of Cyprus include grapes, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, plums, cherries, quinces, apples, pears, figs, and melons, besides walnuts, almonds, and hazel nuts. As regards cereals, the average yield of wheat is about 2,000,000 bushels, and of barley about the same. The methods of cultivation from seed time to harvest are all primitive. Higher methods would largely increase, could indeed double, the yield while greatly improving the qualities. The exportation of barley is about 700,000 bushels. A great portion of the best, grown in the hills, has been used in England for malting purposes. Oats and vetches are grown on a smaller scale. The caroub tree, which produces the locust bean of commerce, is indigenous and grows luxuriantly in large areas. Grafting is necessary. The average yield is about 35,000 tons. The greater part goes to England and France. In England it is chiefly used in the composition of cattle foods; in France for distillation. The bean contains a large percentage of sugar.* The cultivation of the tree should be largely increased.

The vine has been cultivated from early ages, and the hills are largely clothed with vineyards. Cyprus wines used to enjoy a good reputation, especially the rich sweet variety called "Commanderia" (from a Commandery of the Templars), made from grapes when half dried. Some of it resembles Tokay. The bulk of the wine is red, both sweet and dry, of great strength and body. Most of the "black" wine, as it is called, is unpalatable to Europeans owing to the taste of tar imparted by the jars in which it is fermented by village manufacturers, and by the tarred skins in which much of it is still transported. This industry, too, has remained in a primitive condition. Some progress has been made by enterprising firms, but the efforts to improve village manufacture generally have, so far, not met with much success. Sir Samuel Baker thought that if Cyprus were to become a British possession, wine would be so greatly improved, and still be so cheap, that it would become (with a moderate import duty) the drink of the poorer classes in England, "and wean the

* In Russia and the Sudan it is eaten by the peasantry.

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spirit-drinkers to a more wholesome drink." To bring about better results the whole wine industry would have to be revolutionised. At present good wine of uniform quality cannot be shipped. In Europe it can practically only be used for blending purposes. A good deal of spirit is distilled, and brandy of good quality is made by several leading firms. By nature Cyprus is well adapted to the production of good wines, especially of a Burgundy type. When Madeira lost its vines, it was restocked from Cyprus. Soil and climate are equal, or superior, to those of Australia, for example. The cost of labour is less, and so is the distance from England. But under present conditions Cyprus wine cannot hope to compete with those of Australia or other Colonies. In the case of Australia we see that infinite pains have been taken in the processes of manufacture. Large capital has been available. Sound and palatable wines have been produced at moderate prices. Vast sums have been spent in advertisement, and the wines have obtained a firm footing in England. So far there has been no movement towards co-operation in rural districts, but it is quite probable that in time wineries on co-operative principles, similar to those now working in South Africa, might be started with advantage. Wine-making, however, will continue to be one of the most important industries, and one cannot but hope that the day will come when Cyprus will again produce wines suited to modern tastes, which will find a market in England.

Raisins are largely exported, but they have not found favour in England. The preparation should be greatly improved.

The condition and prospects of cotton-growing are of special interest. In 1904, Professor Wyndham Dunstan visited the island, and his Report to Parliament was of great importance. After recalling the fact that in mediæval times the fibre of Cyprus cotton was considered the finest in the Levant, he states that the climate and soil are highly favourable for its growth. But the industry is decadent, the methods of cultivation being primitive, and requiring the light of modern knowledge." He considers that while the cotton-growing area could be largely increased within a few years, " in the future, having regard to the possibility of making cotton a part of a system of rotation with cereal and fodder crops, an area of several hundreds of square miles might eventually be brought under cultivation." The value of exported cotton now only reaches about £6,000 a year.

The olive tree calls for attention. Olives and oil are largely consumed in Cyprus. The insufficiency of production has been characterised as " unpardonable." Trees are not grafted, the methods of cultivation and gathering the fruit are faulty, and the methods of extracting oil antiquated and wasteful. Very little good oil is produced, and the island, which should export oil, now imports to the value of about £2,000.

The rearing of silkworms is an important branch of industry, and calls for very great development. The cultivation of the mulberry tree should be very largely extended. A good deal has been done through the efforts of M. Gennadius, the first Director of Agriculture, by legislation. The Pasteur system of selection is now understood and practised.

Tobacco, which finds a congenial soil in several parts of the island, was at one

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time grown, and the leaf acquired a good reputation in the Levant. But owing to fiscal restrictions the cultivation has been practically stamped out. About 150 tons of Turkish tobacco are imported annually, representing a value of from £12,000 to £14,000. The revival of cultivation has been advocated by the Directors of Agriculture. Cyprus cigarettes are beginning to find favour in England, but they are not of tobacco grown in Cyprus any more than Egyptian cigarettes are of tobacco grown in Egypt. Both are of imported Turkish, or now Greek, tobacco. A fresh experiment in tobacco-growing is now being made by an enterprising resident, and we must hope that it will be successful.

Amongst other products capable of greatly extended cultivation are sesame, linseed, and aniseed, of which articles, after satisfying local needs, there is an export valued at about £6,000. Plants used for extraction of essential oil can be grown on a large scale. Besides these, the chestnut, pistaccio, castor oil, peanut, coriander, cumin, and pyrethrum deserve more attention. The exportation of fruits, now valued at over £4,000, can be very largely increased. Fruit culture, like other industries, is very backward. Any advance in the main branches of agriculture should stimulate a corresponding increase in the smaller products of the farmer's industry. In market gardening, poultry keeping, and dairy produce there is much need of development. Native cows are not milked. Cheese is made from the milk of goats and sheep. No butter is made by natives.

Cyprus bees are renowned in Europe and America. A fair amount of honey is produced. The output could be greatly increased.

As regards the future the outlook is hopeful. There can be little doubt that, although Cyprus can hardly attain to the exceptional wealth which it enjoyed at particular epochs, it should reach a position of comparative prosperity. I am assuming that it will remain a British Possession. For the moment a new state of unrest and uncertainty may retard progress. It is manifest that regeneration must be sought in agricultural reform.

The most vital problem is unquestionably that of irrigation. As the outcome of the policy of progressive development inaugurated by Mr. Chamberlain several storage reservoirs were constructed in the east of the island. Financially, the results have not been satisfactory. The villagers have shown indifference, and have been too apt to say, "If it rains we don't want them; and if it doesn't rain there is no water in them." If, as seems the case, storage works will not be carried out elsewhere, and the immense volumes of water which the winter torrents bring continue to run to waste in the sea, water must be raised from beneath the surface. Some hope lies in artesian borings now in progress, but the latest reports are not favourable. The question of supplies from this source should be definitely settled. So far the matter has been dealt with in a half-hearted and inconclusive manner. Should these means fail, and indeed in any event, the next course is to increase the water supply from wells by native methods, by water-wheels, by air-motors, and other suitable lifts. A great increase of all water-raising appliances is needed, and here again we touch the weak point. For all these needs the introduction of capital is absolutely necessary. The people must be helped by loans.

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Next to the vital question of irrigation comes that of reforming the present condition of husbandry. Circumspection cannot, of course, be too strongly insisted on in the matter of innovations. Experts are often described as a dangerous class, but it is more to the purpose to insist on the fact that little can be done for progress except by expenditure along lines laid down by competent scientific advisers. Reform is called for all round, and the process of bringing home to the villager the knowledge required will involve an increase of staff of the still under-manned Agricultural Department.

If, again, any progress is to be achieved in the near future, the emancipation of the rural population from the money-lender must proceed *pari passu* with other efforts. Money at a low rate of interest must reach the fairly solvent members of the agricultural community, both for the liquidation of their debts and for application to reproductive purposes.

If I may venture to express an opinion, it is that in the principal problems affecting agriculture the advice of reliable experts should be more courageously and liberally followed out to definite ends and conclusions, under a systematic and consistent policy. Experimental work must have full and fair trial. In the past, methods have been somewhat haphazard and unsystematic, and unaccompanied by the scientific registration of observations and facts. Greater provision should be made for practical demonstrations to villagers. The Government has had the advice of experts as regards water supply, the forests, vines and wine, cotton, sanitation, and other matters; but the results seem to be disappointing, and to bear out the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain that we have not done for Cyprus all that we ought to have done.

A wise, strict, and consistent forest policy should be supported. Having regard to the paramount importance of the forests, there should be no flinching in the matter of goats. Reafforestation should be pushed on. There should be more experimental work, and better provision for the registration of careful observations, as advocated by Mr. Hutchins.

There have been many new laws—some think too many. Legislation should be adapted to the times and the character of the people. Perhaps a little more gentle compulsion, in some directions, would do no harm. It would not be resented by the people, but would indeed be welcomed. One of the best measures enacted during our rule is one under which all able-bodied villagers must contribute annually six days' labour, or a money equivalent, for work, on village roads.

Finally, a tourist trade might be developed with great advantage as a means of attracting foreign gold. It is not beneath the dignity of Government and of municipalities to aid in this work, as has been done in Belgium and some other countries. Attractive tours could be arranged in all parts of the island. Thousands who go to Egypt, and proceed to Palestine, Greece, and Constantinople, should visit the island, now carefully shunned.

I am avoiding politics, but I may perhaps say that the offer of Cyprus to Greece came as a disagreeable shock to Anglo-Cypriots and, I think, to the nation at large. The moment did not appear opportune for relinquishing an island which, owing to its geographical position, may be of great future value as a naval and air base, and

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for other purposes. Its position dominates the Suez Canal, Alexandretta, and neighbouring coasts. This "place of arms" is an admirable half-way house for young soldiers going to India. Owing to its physical features it offers an ideal training ground for campaigns such as was that in South Africa. As a sanatorium it is a most valuable possession. There is, I may add, a strong feeling amongst Englishmen that the Turkish community, which has been so consistently loyal, and for whom the transfer would be an unhappy event, deserves full consideration. In the interests of the whole population it would be regrettable that our work of regeneration should be arrested. Lord Milner has said of Egypt that, although we have nothing to gain by owning the country ourselves, we should have a great deal to fear if it fell into the hands of another Power. Lord Cromer has expressed a similar view. Our position in Cyprus is in many respects analogous.

Before the reading of the Paper :—

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir John Page Middleton): It is now my pleasurable duty to ask for a kindly reception of my old friend Mr. Roland Michell, C.M.G., for more than thirty years Commissioner for the district of Limasol in Cyprus. Mr. Michell also was for some nine years in Egypt, a considerable part of that time with the late Khedive, Ismail Pasha, and in charge of his younger son, Ibrahim Pasha, brother of the present Sultan. I take leave to think and to suggest to you that that distinguished potentate owes a considerable amount of the true enlightenment on which no doubt his selection as the Sovereign Power of Egypt was partly based to his frequent association and friendship with an English gentleman possessing the polished literary abilities and classical knowledge of my friend, who is about to address you, and who at that time was quite fresh from Christ Church, Oxford, after securing high classical honours, both in Moderations and the Final Schools. Mr. Michell's long residence in and uninterrupted administration of a large portion of the island of Cyprus for so many years entitle him, I think, to be considered one of the first living authorities on the affairs of an island which, just lately, has attracted public attention in a striking fashion. The late Mr. Claud Delaval Cobham (whose generosity in presenting a library of 1,500 books relating to Cyprus to the Royal Colonial Institute I shall hope to refer to after the Paper is concluded) was, I think my friend will admit, the supreme authority on matters historical, archæological, and literary connected with Cyprus—an island which some 1,500 years B.C. possessed a civilisation which would be astonishing to those who only know it as a speck on the map of Europe. It may be interesting to many of you to know that Lord Kitchener, when Director of Survey in the island, and a brother official of Mr. Michell and myself, became responsible for the best, and I believe, the only reliable map of Cyprus. My wife and I (welcomed there in 1883 by the charming and proverbial hospitality of my friend and Mrs. Michell) spent nineteen of the happiest years of our lives in Cyprus, and I, as a judge there, served under the rule of no less than four High Commissioners, two of whom (General Sir Robert Biddulph and Sir William Haynes Smith) it is a great pleasure to me to see here this afternoon, while two (Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir Walter Sendall) have passed after most distinguished careers in the service of their country to the great Unknown. I do not propose to delay the purpose for which we have met together any longer, but will only add that I share the regret of my fellow-countrymen that the island should have been deemed of so little importance to the interests of the British Empire in the Near East as to have nearly met with the fate of Heligoland. I am tempted to paraphrase and perhaps mutilate a portion of the well-known speech of Laocoön to the Trojans in the Second Book of the Æneid of Virgil when Troy was the unwilling recipient of a far-famed wooden horse from the Greeks of those

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days, thus—*Vos, timeo, Danai, donis scriplisque negantes* (I mistrust you gentlemen of the Greeks—you who both decline gifts and repudiate treaties). To any Cypriot Greek friends here I would add that I venture to look for nobler and better things.

After the Paper the following discussion took place :—

General Sir Robert Biddulph, G.C.B., formerly High Commissioner of Cyprus, claimed as the chief credit he could take to himself on the present occasion that he was the means of introducing Mr. Michell to Cyprus in 1879, where he continued for more than thirty years, and said that Mr. Michell's experience during that period had enabled him, among other things, to give the interesting and delightful lecture to which they had listened. As regarded the climate of the island, its insalubrity—a fact on which earlier visitors so much enlarged—was to a great extent due to the condition of Larnaca, the port of landing, which in those days was the most unhappy-looking place imaginable. There was not a tree in the place, except a few palms here and there, and the appearance of the country, especially at the time when visitors usually arrived, was arid and depressing. Of course visitors rarely went inland for more than a few miles—certainly they seldom went far enough to the north and west of the island to acquaint themselves with its real beauty. Not only Larnaca, but Famagusta also, had a very evil reputation. However, after a very few years all that was completely changed, and there, as well as in the rest of the island, the climate was excellent, and in fact Cyprus was now one of the healthiest places in the British possessions. He might mention that the old Cathedral of Famagusta, now a mosque, was almost an exact model of the Cathedral of Rheims, and its west front in particular was very picturesque and remarkable. As regarded touring in the island, he agreed that visitors who only went to the ports carried away but a poor impression. It was necessary to mount a horse and get about among the villages. He used every year to go over the greater part of the island, and was enabled to get into touch with the inhabitants, who did not like new people, but who, when they came to know you, were very pleasant and agreeable to deal with. As the Crown was the owner of the land, the High Commissioner was a sort of landlord, and was treated as such. It was curious to note that we are in the habit of saying that a man is an urbane man, which means that he is the inhabitant of a town, and that a man is a rustic because he lived in the country. He found that the inhabitants of Cyprus were in the country more polite than those in the town. They were always very hospitable and behaved extremely nicely. Many of the people who at one time started agitation in the island came from Athens and wanted to get possession of the island. It had been said that there were no Jews in Cyprus, and certainly when we landed in 1878 there were none. The fact was the native was not so simple as was supposed. He was very clever in money matters, and the Jews could not make much out of him. He agreed very much with what Mr. Michell had said on the subject of criminals. In regard to the forests, happily they had not altogether disappeared, and he urged very strongly that they should be conserved as far as possible. On one of the slides exhibited by Mr. Michell was a pair of pillars at which St. Paul was reputed to have been flogged. For himself he did not believe there was a particle of foundation for that tradition. It was a story got up, he believed, for the benefit of visitors during recent years, and had no historical basis. He noted by the way that Cook and Son did not go out of the way to encourage visitors to go to Cyprus. It was perhaps hardly worth their while when they had such valuable fields as Egypt and Palestine. Another thing was that there were very few hotels in Cyprus. Residence there was perhaps pleasanter without visitors, but, of course, visitors would bring money to the place.

Sir W. F. Haynes Smith, K.C.M.G., said they had heard from Mr. Michell a very clear account of the history and present condition of Cyprus, but the point weighing on his mind was that we acquired Cyprus for definite objects of importance, and that we ought to keep it. It was taken by Disraeli as part of a large scheme at the

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time of the Treaty of Berlin. Bismarck said that "the Jew meant business," and he certainly did. He stated that Cyprus was acquired as commanding the approaches to the railways projected by the then Government in Asia Minor. These projected railways were to start from a point on the coast adjacent to Cyprus, and one branch, according to the surveyed route, was to run right up to the Black Sea near Trebizond, a distance of only some 300 miles, while the other branch was to run down the Euphrates, Valley to the Persian Gulf. The British people turned Disraeli out of office, and the possession of Cyprus was considered as a sort of joke. But what were we doing now? Our armies were working laboriously up the Euphrates and Tigris in order to control Baghdad and Mesopotamia, and our road was barred to the Black Sea, whence we could have obtained valuable supplies of grain and other food. He thought we should do well to consider these larger questions, especially when we were told, as we were the other day, that Cyprus was offered as a sort of make-weight to induce the Greeks to take action against the Central Powers, and that this was done by one department of the Government without reference to the Cabinet. The objects which the then Government had in view were thrown away in a moment. He hoped, however, that the fates had been good enough to save the island for the eventual accomplishment of securing the advantages of the full use of some of the greatest granaries of the world. Cyprus was a delightful place to go to. In the summer there were the hills, 5,000 and 6,000 feet high, and in the winter there were the beautiful plains. He felt confident that with the same Government that had obtained in recent years the island would continue to flourish.

THE CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Michell, asked to be allowed to say a few words with respect to that valuable collection of books presented to the library by the late Mr. Cobham. It was a matter of great interest to many people to know all they could about a place with such a history as that of Cyprus, especially after hearing such a stimulating lecture as that just delivered by Mr. Michell. The library of the Institute contained about 1,500 books and pamphlets relating to Cyprus. This was probably the most complete selection of Cypriot literature in existence, and was certainly the largest collection of such works gathered together in one place on the bookshelves. There might be larger collections in some of the great national libraries, but the Cypriot books in those libraries were scattered all over the building, and not concentrated in one section as in the case of the library of the Royal Colonial Institute. The Cyprus collection was formed by the late Mr. Claud Delaval Cobham, C.M.G., who for many years resided in Cyprus, and who was an enthusiastic collector of everything relating to the history, description, and antiquities of Cyprus. He gradually gathered together in his home at Larnaca practically every printed book containing information about the island, not only in the English language but in foreign languages, including Hellenic and Turkish. Mr. Cobham thought very rightly that no better depository could be found for his books than the Royal Colonial Institute, and shortly before his death he presented the whole of the collection to the library on condition that it should remain intact and be available for the use of all interested in the literature relating to Cyprus. It might be surprising to some people that there was such a large amount of literature relating to the island, but the history of Cyprus was of hoary antiquity, and the island itself was a vast storehouse of the archæological remains of succeeding civilisations. About these antiquities and about the specimens of ancient art found in Cyprus, there was a large literature. It must be remembered, too, that the output of printed literature about Cyprus commenced very soon after the invention of printing, for the Cobham collection contained many books of the early sixteenth and he believed some of the late fifteenth century. Although these books had not yet been finally catalogued and arranged, they were available for the use of students, and with the aid of Mr. Cobham's own useful bibliographies, and his other books relating to Cyprus, they should be of great use to students of the history and antiquities of this portion of the Mediterranean. The Cobham collection was very

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well known on the Continent, and only last week a letter was received from a gentleman in Italy asking for certain references contained in these books, and presenting one of his own on Cyprus. Is was now his pleasant duty (the Chairman added) to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Michell for his very interesting address. He might add, speaking for himself, that he hoped a certain amount of English capital would be taken out to Cyprus and employed in the creation of means for people to winter there who could not stand the English climate. He commended that consideration to those possessed of capital and who were interested in promoting the comfort of elderly people in the British Islands.

Mr. Michell replied, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was cordially passed.

DIARY OF THE WAR—(*continued*).

Nov. 22. Battle of Ctesiphon, eighteen miles south-east of Baghdad. Turkish position occupied, 1,300 prisoners captured. British casualties over 2,500. French aeroplanes accomplish good work in Champagne and in the Argonne. Mitrovitza threatened; Serbian capital removed to Prizrend.

,, 23. News received of revolt of Persian gendarmerie; British Consul at Shiraz imprisoned; Hamadan (Western Persia) attacked.

,, 24. Enemy capture plain of Kossovo; Serbian Army retreats towards Albanian border; Serbian Government removed to Skutari. Entente Powers present fresh Note to Greece concerning security of Allied troops in Macedonia. Owing to the arrival of strong Turkish reinforcements British force withdraws from Ctesiphon down the Tigris.

,, 25. Russian forces concentrate on the Danube (Rumanian border). Fresh Turkish attacks repulsed in Gallipoli.

,, 28. British aeroplane destroys German submarine off Middelkerke.

,, 30. Austrians closing in on Montenegro; Bulgarians capture Prizrend. Lord Kitchener returns to London.

Dec. 1. Heavy artillery actions on Western front.

,, 2. Fall of Monastir.

,, 3. America takes action against German representatives in United States.

,, 5. British force retires to Kut-el-Amara; over 4,500 casualties reported. Bulgarians again defeat retreating Serbian Army; great captures of war material. Rumanian military authorities decide to commandeer all vessels in foreign ownership anchored in Rumanian waters.

,, 6. British submarine in Sea of Marmora sinks Turkish destroyer, a steamer and four sailing vessels carrying supplies.

,, 7. Retreat of Allied forces in Serbia. Austrian warships active off Albanian coast; French submarine and many supply ships sunk.

,, 8. Fierce fighting in Champagne; Germans capture advance trench.

,, 9. Allied forces in Serbia retire in good order to Greek territory.

,, 12. Bulgarians threaten Ghevgeli; Allied hospitals removed. Greek troops to be withdrawn from Salonika.

,, 13. British force operating from Mersa Matrouh (Western Egypt) encounters and repulses, with heavy losses, some 1,200 hostile Arabs.

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Dec. 14. German seaplane destroyed off Belgian coast. General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien appointed to command British forces in East Africa.

„ 15. General Sir Douglas Haig appointed to succeed Sir John French on Western front. Allied air squadron bombards German aviation ground and camp.

„ 16. Italian troops landed in Albania. Russian success in Persia; Hamadan occupied.

„ 17. German cruiser *Bremen* sunk by British submarine in Baltic.

„ 19. Further gas attack on the British line at Ypres.

„ 20. Announcement made that the Suvla and Anzac positions on Gallipoli Peninsula have been evacuated by the British troops. Withdrawal effected with loss of three men wounded.

„ 22. Japanese liner, *Yasaka Maru*, sunk by enemy submarine in Mediterranean.

ROLL OF HONOUR (*Ninth List*).

(Fellows and Associates of the R.C.I. serving with H.M. Forces. Additions to this list will be gratefully received by the Secretary.)

Alexander, B., Lieutenant, Civil Service Rifles; Arthur, B., Captain, M.M.G.S.; Bamford, H. W. M., Captain, 2nd South African Infantry; Bailey, Sir Abe, K.C.M.G., Major, South African Forces; Barlow, E., Captain, 2nd South African Infantry; Bell, Cyril M., 2nd Lieutenant, 4th North Staffs.; Boyle, E. L. D., Captain, R.N.; Bracken, T. W., Lieutenant, 11th Labour Battalion, R.E.; Bromhead, W. S., Corporal, East African Veterinary Corps; Brunwin, A. L., M.D., Lieutenant, R.A.M.C.; Buist, H. M., Lieut.-Colonel, R.A.M.C.; Bur-de-Wold, T. W., Lieutenant, 2nd South African Infantry; Carbutt, H. A., Lieutenant, 14 Battalion Royal Fusiliers; Chamberlain, K. R., King Royal Rifles; Chevens, H. G., Captain, Army Ordnance Dept.; Cockburn, J. L. R., Captain, 7th (S.) Battalion Royal Irish Rifles; Cook, G. H., Captain, Canadian Field Artillery; Cotter, P. V., Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.R.; Dickson, Ernest, Lieut.-Colonel, Home Base Supply Depot; Downes, H. M., Major, South African Field Artillery; Drier, E. Newton, M.D., F.R.C.S., Lieutenant, R.A.M.C.; Edwards, A. J., 2nd Lieutenant, 16th Battalion Royal Fusiliers; Evans, A. L., Sergeant, Australian Imperial Forces; Fife, G. S., Lieutenant, P.P.C.L.I.; Forbes, W. L., Lieut.-Colonel, 2/4th Black Watch; Gibbons, A. St. Hill, Colonel, 13th The King's Liverpool Regiment; Gordon, A. M., Lieutenant, Royal Fusiliers; Graham, C., Captain, Canadian Forces; Greene, L., Lieutenant, 2nd South African Infantry; Grimwade, F. N., R.F.C.; Gwynne, H. V., Lieutenant, A.S.C.; Hains, C. L., Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.V.R., att. R.N.A.S.; Hartnell, H. N., Lieutenant Royal Engineers; Hatch, Lennard J., South African Medical Corps; Hayes, J. A., Cadet Company, 7th Leinsters; Hillier, R., Captain, Canadian A.M.C.; Hoptroff, W. F., Captain, 2nd South African Infantry; Jenkins, R. N., Lieutenant, 2nd South African Infantry; Kendrick, T. J., Lieutenant, S.A. Forces; Kennedy, K. E., Captain, C.F.A., attached R.F.C.; Keigwin, G. J., L.R.C.P., Captain, R.A.M.C.; King, A. St. J., Captain, 8th Battalion Wiltshire Regiment; Lyell, J., Lieutenant, 11th Battalion Gordon Highlanders; Macfarlane, B. N., Lieutenant, 2nd South African Infantry; MacDougall, Ian, Captain, 2nd South African Infantry; Martin, R. L., 2nd Lieutenant, 8th Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers; Matravers, W. T., Lieutenant, 3rd South African Mounted Rifles; Montgomerie, Alexander, Captain, Newfoundland Regiment; Nash, H. E., Captain, South African Medical Corps; Patterson, W. R., Lieutenant, Deputy Assistant-Censor, B.E.F.; Puntis, W. E., Major, South African Forces; Spark, A. Graham, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 9th King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry; Satchwell, W. H., Captain, A.O.D.; Stickings, C. T., 2nd Lieutenant, 14th Battalion Royal Fusiliers; Stranack, W. G., 2nd Lieutenant, South African Infantry; Sturdee, A. H., Lieut.-Col., A.A.M.C.; Sybray, J., 2nd Lieutenant, 11th E. Surrey Regiment; Tennant, D. P., 14th

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Reserve Cavalry; TODD, J. L., Major, Canadian Army Medical Corps; TRENCH, A. S. C., Lieutenant, R.E. (Signal Company); TREW, H., South African Forces; TREW, R. M., Captain, 16th Division, South African Force; TURNLEY, H. J., Lieutenant, 2nd South African Infantry; WAKEFIELD, OLIVER, Lieutenant, 2nd Queen's Own Hussars; WALSH, J. D., Captain, 2nd South African Infantry; WARD, C. W., Captain, Canadian Army Pay Corps; WARREN, T. J. C., Major, Royal Field Artillery; WEBBER, A. E., Captain, East African Volunteer Corps; WEIR, A. G., R.F.C.; WELSTEAD, A. D., Captain, 25th Royal Fusiliers; WHITE, EVERARD, Lieutenant, S.A. Engineering Corps; WILSON, T. G., Major, Australian Army Medical Corps.

TRAINING FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

AT the last fortnightly meeting in the Smoking-room of the Institute, the speaker was Mr. F. Dutton, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, who gave a very interesting address on the subject of National Service throughout the Empire, and explained the two resolutions recently passed by the Council on this important subject, the latter of which was moved by himself. Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., who seconded it, occupied the chair, and expressed his complete agreement with the action taken by the Council.

The party included a large number of Fellows and visitors, and an excellent discussion took place, speeches being made by Mr. R. Macleod (Secretary of the National Service League), Lieut. Blashkey (Australian Defence Force), Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Mr. David Lindsay, and Major Pounds. All the speakers were in favour of the principles advocated in the Council's resolutions, and though the Chairman invited the expression of any contrary opinions, no one responded to the suggestion. A vote of thanks to Sir J. Bevan Edwards, moved by Mr. Coleman P. Hyman, concluded the proceedings.

REVIEWS.

THE HISTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN.

ANYONE with a slight acquaintance with Canadian history must be aware that the story of the old North-West is of peculiar and fascinating interest. Dr. Norman Black, who opens his "History of Saskatchewan and the Old North-West" with the query, "Has Saskatchewan a history?" has triumphantly answered the question in the large volume under notice. Not only is that history proved to be of special interest to all those who realise that history does not necessarily consist of an account "of the rise and fall of dynasties, the intrigues of brilliant courts, and the clash of mighty armies," but may be found in the solid story of the pioneering achievements of those who have laid the foundations of new provinces and new nations; but it is also of particular value to the student because it contains the record of brave and valiant endeavour in the face of enormous difficulties. It thus proves an incentive to those who are engaged in the perhaps more prosaic work of consolidating the effort of the past.

The history of Saskatchewan, to which Mr. Black confines his attention, contains no outstanding features of world-wide importance, but it does include many events

* *History of Saskatchewan and the Old North-West.* By Norman Fergus Black. 4to. Illust. Pp. 629. Regina: North-West Historical Co. $3.50.

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of dramatic interest, small perhaps in their own way and apt to be over-rated by those whose attention is primarily centred in the region in question, but nevertheless definitely affecting the destinies of a considerable portion of Canada. Such incidents were the long conflict between the rival fur-trading companies, the subsequent collapse of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the ill-starred attempt of Louis Riel to set up an independent government in the year 1885. It is difficult nowadays to imagine the great province of Saskatchewan as it was before the Canadian Pacific Railway had been carried across the immense prairie lands of the West. The building of that railway, admirably described by Dr. Black, marked a new era in Western Canada and put an iron wedge across the pages of its comparatively uneventful history. Before the advent of railways, Saskatchewan was as much cut off from the rest of Canada by the long stretches of waterways and prairie-lands as if the Atlantic Ocean had intervened between Montreal and Regina—and perhaps more so. A small population consisting of half-breeds, both French and British, full-blood Indians, and Europeans, obtained a scanty subsistence on its plains; the two former leading a more or less nomadic existence either as hunters or fur-traders, whilst the last prepared the way for the subsequent influx of agricultural settlers.

Dr. Black relates the story of those far-off days—far-off judged from present conditions, but not in point of time—with an admirable grasp of the essential features of such a history and, so far as can be judged, without committing any errors of fact. His account of the old fur-trading days is excellent, and though he just manages to miss the real romance that is attached to the long and bitter conflict between the rival traders, his account is nevertheless eminently readable. It is to be regretted, however, that more attention is not given to the period of early exploration; but it must be recognised that the author has been hampered in this respect owing to the necessity for confining his account to Saskatchewan and its immediate surroundings. He could not therefore gather into his hands all the threads of exploring activity.

Many surprising and almost forgotten events are recorded in this volume—such for instance as the story of the various provisional governments set up in the North West and the attempts to found independent governments in those territories. Who, for instance, remembers the redoubtable President Spence, who as head "of the newly organised Government and Council of Manitoba," being a loyal subject of the Queen, desired the recognition of the British Government? This provisional government was upset by a contumacious shoemaker named Macpherson. Small events of this nature had, of course, no effect upon the ultimate course of Western development, but they afford interesting sidelights upon the state of affairs in a portion of Canada that was systematically neglected by the Imperial authorities. Dr. Black's history gradually merges into contemporary events; but who is to draw a dividing-line between the past and present?

WITH BOTHA IN THE FIELD.

We call attention to this little book by Moore Ritchie,* not because it contains a complete or even adequate account of the campaign in South-West Africa, but because the author, who served with the Union Forces, has the faculty of giving in a few striking phrases an excellent impression of the operations. The narrative starts with a short account of the rebellion within the Union and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign against the Germans. The reader gets a good idea of the gathering together of these forces, of the long and weary trek towards Windhuk, and of the excellent and disciplined behaviour of the troops. Mr. Ritchie does well to dwell upon this aspect of the campaign because it affords so excellent a contrast to the behaviour

* *With Botha in the Field.* By Moore Ritchie. 12mo. Maps and Illust. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 8 oz.—2*s.* 6*d.*

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of victorious German troops elsewhere and is a striking evidence of that innate feeling of chivalry towards the weak that is the characteristic of every true Africander. "The conduct of the African troops should assuredly be noted," writes the author. "When we entered Karibib at five in the evening the non-combatant population were moving about the streets, or standing in best bib and tucker at their doors, calmly gazing at the trek-stained horsemen that sought the nearest water tanks. They had not the slightest fear of us. I spoke to a comrade who had seen war aforetime. He said he had never seen a more orderly occupation of a town. The very confidence of these German townspeople that they had nothing to fear from the hated troops of the British Union of South Africa was eloquent. The thing stood out, a piece of bitterest irony in connection with a people whose kindred across the seas were making civilisation shudder at their atrocities afloat and ashore." The same thing happened at Windhuk, the capital. Here surely is an eloquent tribute to the meaning of the Pax Britannica.

Mr. Ritchie does not dwell upon the difficulties of the campaign; but the reader catches occasional glimpses of the country through which the troops had to pass. "It is difficult to write about Swakopmund," he says. "As a town, it is the most extraordinary place I have seen. I use the superlative deliberately. But I do not wish to live there. There is not a spot of vegetation. There is not a genuine tree to be seen. It is purely artificial, and artificial to a ghastly degree too. . . Walk a little over a thousand yards from the edge of the changeful Atlantic through Swakopmund's deep sandy streets and you get the key to the town. For it ceases utterly, abruptly; from the door of its last villa, fitted with perfect furnishings from Hamburg, the bitter desolation that is the Namib Desert stretches away from your very feet." It was this desert that the troops had to cross before reaching the comparatively fertile districts of which Windhuk is the administrative centre. This little volume, the first doubtless of a batch of books on the South-West African campaign, deserves to be read. It is well illustrated and supplied with useful maps.

BOOK NOTICES.

(By the LIBRARIAN, R.C.I.)

Morris, Keith.—*Anglo-Canadian Year Book,* 1915–16. 8vo. Pp. 336. London: William Stevens, Ltd. 16 oz.—5*s.*

The Anglo-Canadian Year Book is published primarily in the interests of all residents in the British Isles who are actively concerned with the Dominion. It is an excellent work of reference of the greatest use to business men. Of particular interest are the sections dealing with immigration and colonisation.

Robley, Major-General H. G.—*Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone.* 4to. Illust. Pp. 83. London: T. J. S. Guilford & Co., Ceres Road, Kingston. 1915.

This monograph, by an accepted authority upon Maori art and folk-lore, is a valuable addition to ethnographical literature. Major-General Robley has illustrated the book with his own drawings. It will not only be useful as a work of reference, for it preserves some of the most characteristic examples of this rude form of Maori art, but it should be of great interest to all New Zealanders.

Reeves, Signaller L. C.—*Australians in Action in New Guinea.* 12mo. Illust. Pp. 95. Sydney: The Australasian News Company, Ltd. 1915.

Australians in Action: the Story of Gallipoli. Published for the use of the Senior Pupils of the Public Schools of New South Wales, in proud and grateful memory of the bravery of the Australian troops. 12mo. Illust. Pp. 32. Sydney: W. A. Gullick. 1915.

Campbell, Capt. R. W.—*The Kangaroo] Marines.* 12mo. Pp. 127. London: Cassell & Co., Ltd. 1915. 1*s.*

These three publications contain a record of the action of the Australian and New Zealand troops in the war. The first, describing the capture of German New Guinea, is a personal narrative, written by one of the Australian force. It is well illustrated with photographs. The second, which is published by the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, contains the cabled reports of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett and Captain C. E. Bean,

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the Commonwealth Official Correspondent. The third is written in the guise of fiction and is concerned with the sailing of the Australian troops and the operations at Gallipoli.

Baden-Powell, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert.—*Indian Memories.* 8vo. Illust. Pp. xvii–363. London: Herbert Jenkins, Ltd. 1915. 28 oz.—12*s.* 6*d.*

This is a most entertaining book, for Sir Robert Baden-Powell is a born raconteur. As a good teller of after-dinner stories he never repeats himself, but passes lightly from one topic to another without any apparent break in the narrative. He is always amusing and not seldom witty, and the reader never suffers from a plethora of good things as sometimes happens with books of this nature. The great features of the book are the really admirable sketches by the author, which are not only very well done and full of life but also exceedingly humorous.

Fidel, Camille.—*L'Allemagne d'Outre-mer ; Grandeur et Décadence.* 12mo. Maps. Pp. 78. Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1915.

The author of this little book is well known as the Secretary of the Société des Études Coloniales and as the editor of the *Revue des Questions Coloniales et Maritimes.* He has, moreover, written many books on colonial questions and has paid special attention to the work of Germany in Africa. This present volume, illustrated by excellent maps, describes the main course of German colonial policy, with special reference to railway development.

Muir, Ramsay.—*The Making of British India,* 1756–1858. Post 8vo. Pp. xiv–398. Manchester: University Press. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 18 oz.—6*s.*

The object of this book is to provide a selection from contemporary reports and documents ample enough to enable the student to follow the main events of Anglo-Indian history as seen through the eyes of the principal actors. In this respect, Professor Muir's book is a most useful contribution to the history of India because it summarises many important documents, only to be consulted by the reader hitherto in numerous and diverse publications. An excellent introduction by the author shows clearly the growth of British influence in India, whilst numerous notes are provided in elucidation of the text of the documents and binding the whole together in a succinct narrative. Altogether an admirable book of the greatest use to a clear understanding of the rise of British power in India.

Scully, William Charles.—*A History of South Africa from the Earliest Days to Union.* Post 8vo. Maps and Illust. Pp. xv-327. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 14 oz.—3*s.* 6*d.*

Sirks, M. J.—*Indisch Natuuronderzoek.*

In 1912 the Colonial Museum invited naturalists to compete in writing "a concise history of the study of natural history in the Netherlands Colonies." Dr. Sirks carried off the prize, and the Amsterdam Colonial Institute published his book in its series of "*Mededeelingen*" (Communications). The author handled his immense material with great care and, difficult though it must have been, succeeded in keeping the balance between exhaustiveness and conciseness. He starts his narrative in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth the chief work done was astronomical and cartographical, which does not really belong to the domain of natural history.

In his first chapter, "Pioneers," he tells of Dr. Jacobus Bontius (1592–1631), the medical attendant of Koen, the conqueror of Java, a methodical, scientific worker, who refused to increase the number of remarkable stories and fables about the wonderful East Indian fauna and flora. In the short time of four years Bontius collected and described a wealth of material. Hardly anything was done until 1670, when three great men continued Bontius's work: E. Kaempfer, H. A. van Reede tot Drakestein, and G. E. Rumphius. Rumphius (1628–1702), "the blind seer of Ambon," has a chapter all to himself and he is well worth it, for his work was highly valued all over the world. At the bi-centenary of his death his twentieth-century successors testified enthusiastically their admiration for this strenuous and conscientious worker in the field of natural science.

During the whole of the eighteenth century, scientific work in the East Indies was rather neglected. There is Valentin's work, but the best results came from small expeditions like those of Bougainville, James Cook, and Provost. Cook was accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks.

From 1816 to 1850 the most prominent figure is Fram Junghuhn. To name him is sufficient but, if space permitted, it would be interesting to translate from Dr. Sirks's narrative the story of Junghuhn as a deserter from the Prussian Army! Until 1850 natural science was treated as one subject. After 1850 specialisation became general, and after dealing with the history of the Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg, and of the research work done there, the author devotes a chapter each to Zoology, Chemistry, Geology, Physical Geography, Applied Physics.

The last chapter of this highly interesting book deals with the study of natural science in the Netherlands West Indies. A very complete register of persons named in the text enhances the value of the book, as do also a couple of dozen of attractive pictures and portraits.—C. Th.

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ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

The Imperial Aircraft Flotilla.—Reference has already been made in these columns to the good work done by the Overseas Club in forming an Imperial Aircraft Flotilla representing all parts of His Majesty's Dominions overseas. A record of the Club's work has now been printed in attractive form for private circulation. It contains a list (44 up to November 9) of the aircraft presented from overseas and the correspondence in connection with the inauguration of the scheme. One point is of special interest: every airplane is definitely associated with the district from which the gift comes, and it has been arranged that, although the airplane originally presented by any district may be lost or irretrievably damaged, yet a unit in the Royal Flying Corps will continue to bear the title of the original machine, so that all those who have presented machines may have the satisfaction of possessing a permanent link with our Air Service.

Canada.

The Dominion War Loan.—The Minister of Finance has every reason to be gratified with the success of the Dominion's maiden internal loan, which constitutes an important milestone in Canada's economic progress. The loan has been subscribed more than twice over, and the individual applications numbered 25,000. All moneys received are to be left on deposit with the banks from which they have been withdrawn by depositors, so that any financial derangement is obviated. The successful flotation of the loan will enable Canada to assist to a greater extent in financing the Munitions Committee for the Imperial Treasury. While the War lasts, the capacity of the Dominion to finance her own requirements will tend to increase, and even should there be a reaction afterwards, she will emerge stronger financially and commercially, and more independent of external assistance, than would have been possible but for the War.

Output of War Munitions.—Owing to the enormous increase in the output of munitions, it has been necessary to form an Imperial Munitions Board to succeed the Dominion Shell Committee. The latest orders from the British Government, aggregating £16,000,000, have been distributed among manufacturing firms in various parts of Canada, and factories in no fewer than 151 cities and towns are now engaged on the work. In Montreal and district alone there are forty-three factories making high explosives and shrapnel shells. It is stated that up to the present £30,200,000 has been spent by the British War Office in Canada, so that by the end of 1915 the figures should be well on towards £40,000,000. With the rapidly growing output, the £100,000,000 which the War Office proposes to expend in the Dominion will probably be paid before the end of 1916. While the mills and factories are thus employed, it is satisfactory to know that there is ample local labour available for the work.

Disposal of Surplus Wheat.—The wheat crop in Western Canada has been so enormous this season that the question of the disposal of the surplus has called for Government intervention. For some time now the Dominion Government has been in touch with the British authorities, with a view to procuring orders from the United Kingdom and the Allied Governments. As a consequence of this, the British Government has requested the Canadian Government to provide, within a short time, a very large supply of Numbers 1, 2 and 3 Northern wheat, and the entire supply of these grades has therefore been commandeered by the Government, an action involving the purchase of anything from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 bushels. The price to be paid by Great Britain has not yet been settled, but it is understood that, even should there be a rise in Canadian prices as a result of the Government's action, the effect will be

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beneficial to the grain farmers rather than to the holders of grain in store. The action taken by the British Government is based entirely on war conditions, and the response of the Canadian Government has been dictated by regard to the same state of facts.

Relief of Distress in England.—Although it is well known that Canada has been supplying the Mother Country with men and munitions, and also with ship-loads of provisions, it came as a surprise to many people when Mr. Walter Long announced in the House of Commons that funds had been provided by Canada for the relief of distress caused by the War, in the watering-places on the east and south-east coasts of England. The readiness with which the British Overseas Dominions have assisted in bearing the burden of Empire with the Mother Country has been remarkable, and this latest gift from Canada is a welcome and valuable one.

Australia.

Trade within the Empire.—At a meeting held in Melbourne on September 17 last, the Executive Council of the Australian Association of British Manufacturers and their Representatives passed a resolution strongly urging the necessity for the British Government and British financiers to stipulate, with regard to all future loans underwritten for or granted to Colonial Governments, that all money loaned must be spent within the British Empire, and not, as has so frequently been done in the past, paid away to foreign firms. In acknowledging the receipt of a copy of this resolution the Secretary of the R.C.I. stated that it was duly laid before the Council and was received with approval by all the members present.

Metal Industry.—The Commonwealth Government, acting on behalf of the British Government, has commandeered all supplies of molybdenite, wolfram, and scheelite produced in Australia. Before the War, Germany had secured a firm hold upon several branches of the mining industry, almost amounting in some instances to a monopoly. A conference was held recently to consider the various aspects of the copper industry, and the result has been that arrangements have been definitely completed whereby the whole of the copper output of the Commonwealth can be dealt with in the Dominion. Metal exchanges are being established in the cities, and one of the results of the War will be to free the mining industry of Australia from the clutches of the enemy. The total base-metal output of Australia is valued at £13,000,000, and the beneficial effect of the Government's action with regard to metals is likely to be felt throughout the whole of the Empire. The treatment of the zinc concentrates, which hitherto has been carried out in Germany will now be done in Great Britain.

New Names for Old.—The proposal of the North Bondi Progress Association that the name of the well-known headland at Bondi should be changed from Ben Buckler to Queenscliff Point has called forth protests from many quarters. There has been too much tinkering with Australian place-names of late, and the postal authorities and the community generally would be wise to discourage this practice, as it is one against which very grave objections can be urged. In the present instance, Ben Buckler is a name that appears not only in all the maps, but also in the charts published by the Admiralty, and it is undesirable that the seafaring community should run the risk of being confused by new names being given to prominent points along the coast. The name Ben Buckler is a corruption of that originally bestowed upon the place by Governor Macquarie, who called it Benbecula, from its resembnce to one of the islands in the Argyllshire Hebrides. The headland has therefore borne its name for about a hundred years, and was not, as is popularly supposed, christened after some local celebrity.

New Zealand.

The Bank of New Zealand.—The prosperity of New Zealand during the past year is reflected in the balance-sheet of the Bank of New Zealand recently published. The

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figures constitute a record, the net profits having amounted to over £319,000, and there is well over a quarter of a million of money available for distribution amongst the shareholders. Thus it will be seen that the new capital has been profitably employed, and it is satisfactory to find that the good services of the Staff, of whom over a hundred have either gone to the Front or are in training, are to be recognised by another bonus of 5 per cent. on their salaries. The reserve fund to-day stands at the substantial figure of £2,000,000, which is within a quarter of a million of the paid-up capital—a sufficient indication of the strong position of the Bank, which can boast of over 18½ millions sterling of deposits.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.—Sir Starr Jameson and Mr. Malcolm are visiting Rhodesia in connection with the proposal for the amalgamation of the northern and southern areas. This is not the first time that Rhodesians have been consulted on the question, and on previous occasions the idea has been favourably received.

Machine-Gun from Bechuanaland Protectorate.—The Honorary Corresponding Secretary at Francistown has forwarded to the Institute a draft for £180 to be expended by the War Office on a machine-gun which will bear the name of the Protectorate.

EAST AFRICA.

Registration Bill Passed.—A Registration Bill, based on the National Registration Act in force in England, but modified in certain clauses, was passed recently at a special meeting of the Legislative Council of the East African Protectorate. The first step has been taken, therefore, to reorganise the War resources of British East Africa, and it is safe to say that any measure calculated to produce increased efficiency in interior organisation will receive the whole-hearted support of the community. A War Council has been appointed to inquire into ways and means for carrying out the purposes of the Bill, and to advise on matters and circumstances arising out of the War, including the desirability of further legislation in the direction of compulsory service, having regard to the requirements of civil administration and the necessities of civil industry.

INDIA.

Fleet of Aeroplanes.—The effort which is being made in the Punjab to provide a fleet of seven aeroplanes, named after the big rivers in the Province, is receiving substantial support. All the districts of Northern India are subscribing freely to the funds. It is understood that the fleet will be utilised primarily in areas where Indian troops are engaged, and after the War it will be handed over unreservedly to the Commander-in-Chief. The Nizam of Hyderabad has placed all his workshops at the disposal of the Government for the making of munitions.

FIJI.

A Splendid Rally.—Another platoon of fighting men from Fiji arrived in London some time ago, bringing the number of volunteers from the Colony up to 230. The first platoon is already fighting in France, one of its members having been awarded the D.C.M., and it is stated that there is yet another platoon coming that will bring Fiji's contribution in men up to 300. Out of a population of 4,000, chiefly women and children, this is a high average, and bears testimony to the fact that Fiji is giving of her best in the Empire's cause.

BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE U.S.A.

War Relief Work in Chicago.—Great Britain's cause is receiving loyal and active support from the daughters of the Empire in Chicago, and this in spite of the fact that British subjects are there in the centre of every kind of anti-British influence. The Prince of Wales Chapter (State Chapter of Illinois) has been, and is doing good work. Although no regular formal meetings were held through the summer season, the members have not relaxed their efforts, and sewing meetings have been held every week. It is hoped that more war-relief work will be accomplished this winter than was possible last year.

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UNITED EMPIRE

SUPPLEMENT

JANUARY 1916

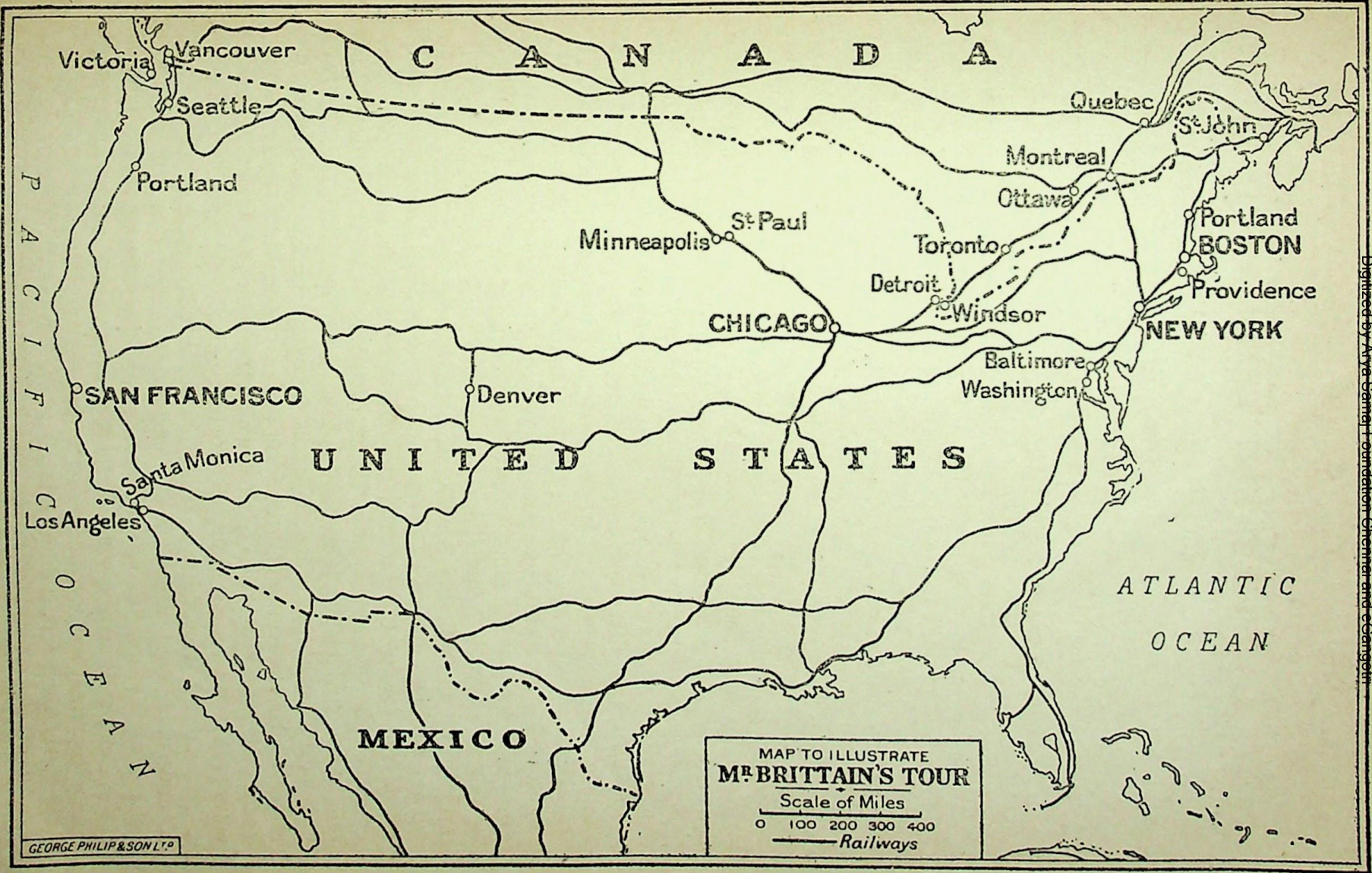
MR. HARRY BRITTAIN'S TOUR IN AMERICA.

At the request of his colleagues on the Council, Mr. Harry Brittain undertook a tour in the United States with the object of making the Royal Colonial Institute better known among British subjects in America. Leaving England on April 17, Mr. Brittain had intended to return before July, but the tour was ultimately extended to include the States on the Pacific slope together with brief visits to Canada, and covered in all six months.

The work of getting into touch with Britons in the United States was rendered more difficult by the circumstances of the War. In ordinary times they are not as conspicuous as they might be expected to be. In a land where all speak the same language, follow the same method of life, and after a very short time are apt to lose earlier distinctions of accent, it is possible to spend several days in a town of considerable size without being able to find those who are still British citizens. Not infrequently, when the search promises to be successful, it is discovered that the Briton in question has just had to take out naturalisation papers, and for that reason becomes ineligible for the Royal Colonial Institute. There are very many in this class, including a large number of those who have "made good", whose business, it may be, has rendered it necessary for them to assume American citizenship. More often than not the process is accomplished quietly, and the visitor will come across little groups of British stock, close friends, who are unable to say who of their number still owe allegiance to Great Britain or who have become Americans. At this time of war the self-effacing tendency of the Briton was perhaps intensified by the activities of Germans and their hyphenated friends. Mr. Brittain, therefore, had to find his candidates for fellowship of the Institute. From the American newspapers in every part of the country he received the warmest welcome. He was described by the *New York Times* as one of the most popular Englishmen who visit the United States, with perhaps a larger American acquaintance than any of his fellow countrymen.

Nothing had been done in New York to form a working branch of the Institute, and Mr. Brittain's first task was, with the help of Mr. Alleyne Ireland, the Honorary Corresponding Secretary, to form a push-and-go Committee. A small meeting was held for this purpose, and each member of the Committee was asked to send in the names of five other Britons to help to build up the Branch on a sound foundation. On Mr. Brittain's return visit to New York it was decided to create a joint secretaryship, and a weekly informal

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gathering was inaugurated. The ground was thus prepared, and in due course a branch in New York worthy of the Institute is confidently anticipated.

At Boston Mr. Brittain was the guest of the Victorian Club at a dinner attended by about one hundred people. The points in his speech referring to the Institute, he states, were enthusiastically received; but here he met with a question which was repeated in practically every town of the United States that he visited—"Would it not be possible to create some class of membership which would admit to the Institute those of British birth who had been obliged to take out American papers?" It was pointed out that for one reason or another almost every man in the room had had to became naturalised, but that fact had in no way affected their intense love and affection for the Old Country. They earnestly approved of the aims and objects of the Royal Colonial Institute, and were most eager to give it their support. One or two even quoted Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who was said to have stated that it was the duty of every Briton who had taken up his permanent residence in the United States to become naturalised and to possess a vote; otherwise he was a useless citizen. This particular point, it is understood, is now being considered by the Council. At Boston Mr. G. Herbert Windeler was appointed Honorary Corresponding Secretary, and is already doing good and active work.

Arriving at Chicago, Mr. Brittain found himself in the capable hands of the Honorary Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Cooke Adams,* whom he describes as a thoroughly keen Imperialist, absolutely untiring in his efforts, and with an amazing appetite for work. A most successful dinner was held in the interests of the Institute, with between twenty-five and thirty Britons present. Practically all who were not Fellows expressed a wish to join, but the same question arose regarding the eligibility of those who had taken out American papers.

From Chicago Mr. Brittain went to Los Angeles and devoted some time to the Western States. He found that the extraordinarily strenuous German propaganda in Southern California had succeeded in bringing together some of those of British birth in Los Angeles, who had formed a British-American League and had been doing a lot of good work for the British cause. A small committee was formed to look after the interests of the Institute, with Mr. John Norman Kerr as Secretary, and Mr. Edward Mitchell, who is President of the League as well as the Celtic Club, to help as Chairman. Mr. Frederick P. Lee, managing editor of the *Santa Monica Outlook*, becomes Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Santa Monica, and the prospects of the Institute doing well in Southern California appear to be good. In addition to those in the towns there are a lot of Britons scattered about in the country districts. They were not easy to find in a hurried tour, but now that a nucleus of Institute Fellows has been formed it is hoped that they will gradually be discovered and persuaded to enrol.

San Francisco proved a more difficult proposition. In the first place, American hospitality was most insistent and encroached severely on the time Mr. Brittain had allowed himself for his task. Secondly, British subjects

* Dr. Cooke Adams has since been appointed by the Council Honorary Organising Secretary for the U.S.A.

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were found to be split up geographically by the Bay into innumerable little divisions, and "passes" from one to the other were not easy to obtain. It must, however, be stated that a lot of work had been done in San Francisco in connection with Imperial War Funds, and for this reason there may have been less enthusiasm for any scheme that hinted at subscriptions; but a meeting was eventually held, and all those present filled up nomination forms. Consul-General Ross, who is already a Fellow, was Chairman of the meeting. Mr. J. B. Whyte was appointed Secretary.

Mr. Brittain continued his good work in Portland (Oregon), Seattle, Detroit, St. Paul, and Minneapolis. In every town it took a certain number of days to get into touch with the British element. At Portland, for instance, where the British Consul, who was a personal friend of Mr. Brittain's, had collected a small party of fellow countrymen to meet him, it was found that they were all naturalised; but eventually a dinner was arranged, and the small group present elected Mr. William Whitfield as their Secretary and signed nomination papers. The bigger the city it was often the more difficult to find the right people; but at Seattle Mr. Brittain was so fortunate as to interest Mr. C. A. Player, assistant editor of the *Seattle Post Intelligence*, who was willing and well qualified to act as Honorary Corresponding Secretary.

Detroit Mr. Brittain describes as just one great factory for the Allies. Here Mr. E. D. Craig accepted the post of Honorary Corresponding Secretary. Providence (Rhode Island) and Baltimore were also visited. The Hon. W. de la Poer Beresford becomes the representative of the Institute at the former; Mr. T. J. Pulling at the latter.

Taking advantage of his tour in the United States, Mr. Brittain paid hurried visits to Canada, going first to Victoria from Seattle. There was a pleasant gathering in his honour at the Canadian Club, which led up to a luncheon of about twenty at the Union Club the next day for the special purpose of discussing Institute affairs. Those who were not members expressed the desire to join, and when Mr. Brittain left a small committee was about to be formed and steps taken to set the Branch going.

A visit to Vancouver was lucky in marking the first day on which the big room in the new C.P.R. Hotel had been available for a public meeting. The result was a large and enthusiastic gathering at luncheon to meet Mr. Brittain as guest of the Canadian Club, and although he was not allowed to confine himself to R.C.I. affairs, he reports "I brought in as much as I dared". He secured a number of willing helpers, and left with every prospect of good work being done in the future.

At Toronto and Montreal the Institute already has its representatives; but there were matters calling for attention and discussion in each city, and Mr. Brittain's visit has since begun to bear fruit. The Empire Club at Toronto is affiliated to the Royal Colonial Institute, but it should be possible for the latter to derive more benefit than it does from the co-operation. The authorities of the Empire Club would no doubt welcome any suggestions that might be put forward. New Corresponding Secretaries were appointed at Windsor and Quebec; but the trip to Canada was undertaken mainly with the intention

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of finding out how matters stood, and what measures might be adopted to enable the Institute to forge ahead. In the absence of active local branches there is the danger of other societies, more or less kindred, coming into existence and cutting the ground from under our feet.

This report of Mr. Brittain's tour may conclude with a brief recital of some of the impressions formed in the course of it. As far as the outlook on the War is concerned, in difference of atmosphere and general feeling the United States may be roughly divided into four sections—the East, the South, the Middle West, and the West. Taken as a whole, from Maine to Maryland, the East is not only preponderatingly pro-Ally, but the energetic pro-German campaign has almost entirely missed fire. Most of the daily newspapers, as well as the weeklies and monthly magazines, are so strongly on the Entente side and the general opinion is so pronounced, that very many Americans as well as British citizens, who have not been through the country during the past fifteen months, find it hard to believe that the same conditions do not hold good throughout the Union.

In the great Middle West, with its very large portion of the total population, and a majority of the strenuous Teutonic element, the situation is by no means as satisfactory as it is in the Eastern States. Before the War the average "man-in-the-street" had a somewhat narrow horizon; he took very little interest in happenings outside the United States, and was often indifferent to events taking place even on his own eastern or western seaboard. There seemed, therefore, to be a possibility of steering his ideas into the direction required, and this the Teuton is attempting in various ways, by means of a campaign, as vigorous as it often is thoroughly capable, which has certainly increased in intensity during the past few months. Under the cloak of "Peace Movements", mass meetings have been held accompanied by the distribution of shoals of literature, mainly for the purpose of working up the sentiment of the masses against permitting the manufacture and sale of munitions of war and other articles listed as contraband to Great Britain and her Allies. In order further to influence American opinion in their cause, organisations—such as the "Teutonic Sons of America"—are springing up in all directions for the purpose of consolidating the German vote in connection with the forthcoming Presidential campaign, as well as in future National, State, and City campaigns throughout the country.

A well organised and subsidised Press campaign has long been in hand. Contracts have been made in advance for space, supposedly for advertising purposes, which space has been filled by articles contributed by prominent pro-Germans, and reading matter which would not otherwise have been accepted for publication. The German advertiser (and many of the big department stores are in this category) has brought all kinds of pressure to bear on papers at all anti-German, and terrorism is by no means unknown. The editor of at least one prominent pro-British paper had received numerous threats that if the paper did not change its policy, the plant and building would be blown up.

The situation in the Far West is most interesting and in many ways peculiar, with an atmosphere almost like that of another land: the great mountain range cutting off these States of the Pacific slopes from the rest of the country almost

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as effectively as if they formed a separate island. Speaking roughly, the great majority of the educated classes is ardently pro-Ally, but there is a well-drilled, well-trained and restive minority, which makes its presence felt in innumerable ways. In California the solidity of the German element is reflected in the Press, which is responsible for the very considerable ignorance prevailing in regard to British policy. But the outstanding impression of this long journey through the United States during the greatest of all wars, was that the real America was with us heart and soul.

On the side of the Allies stand almost united the men and women of that fine old stock which made the great Republic a power among nations: the men and women who realise that the Motherland, from which so many of them sprang, is fighting not only for her but on behalf of those ideals of democracy and freedom for which their ancestors in bygone days so valiantly fought and died.

Below is given a list of the newly appointed Honorary Corresponding Secretaries in the United States. It is hoped that readers of UNITED EMPIRE who may have friends in any of the cities named will call their attention to these appointments and will ask them to put themselves in touch with the new secretaries. Britons resident in towns where no Honorary Corresponding Secretary has yet been appointed, are invited to put themselves in communication with Dr. G. Cooke Adams, 305 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

The accompanying sketch map records the concrete achievements of Mr. Brittain's tour in the form of Institute Corresponding Secretaryships established.

NEWLY APPOINTED HONORARY CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES IN THE U.S.A.

Hon. Organising Secretary.—DR. G. COOKE ADAMS, 305 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

BALTIMORE (Maryland): Thomas John Pulling, 203 Calvert Building.

BOSTON (Mass.): G. H. Windeler, 72 Kilby Street.

DENVER (Col.): Frank W. Graham, Denver Athletic Club.

DETROIT (Mich.): E. D. Craig, 358 Chene Street.

LOS ANGELES (Cal.): John Norman Kerr, 1015 Security Building.

MINNEAPOLIS (Minn.): Leslie E. Hunnibell, 914 Plymouth Building.

NEW YORK: W. F. Bullock, 10 Pinehurst Avenue.
Henry N. Hall, New York *World* Building, together with Alleyne Ireland, New York *World* Building.

PORTLAND (Oregon): Wm. Whitfield, Commercial Club Building.

PROVIDENCE (R.I.): The Hon. W. A. de la Poer Beresford, 288 Beachstone Boulevard.

SAN FRANCISCO (Cal.): Jardine B. Whyte, Rialto Building.

SANTA MONICA (Cal.): Frederick P. Lee, *Outlook* Office.

SEATTLE (Wash.): C. A. Player, *Post Intelligence.*

CANADA.

QUEBEC: Alfred Dobell, Garrison Club.

WINDSOR (Ont.): Charles L. Barker, *Record* Office.

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THE PROGRESS OF IMPERIAL STUDIES.

In the September number of United Empire Sir Charles Lucas, as Chairman of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, explained in his lucid manner the purposes and meaning of the movement for a more detailed and scientific study of all matters relating to the British Empire as an organism. Having arisen within the University of London, the movement was beginning to spread out into the other Universities of Great Britain, and the Council of the Institute, who had taken the greatest interest in this as in all other movements for Imperial progress, as Sir Charles explained in his article, resolved to give active aid to those Universities that would undertake in co-operation with them to promote public lectures of high class on Empire matters. With the aim of furthering this project a panel of lecturers in Imperial Studies was drawn up, and an organiser for the scheme was appointed in myself as having gained considerable experience in these matters in the capacity of Secretary to the Standing Committee on Imperial Studies in the University of London.

The scheme has proceeded during the Autumn Term of 1915 with entire smoothness and a very considerable measure of success. Whether because of or in spite of the ferment that war conditions are causing in men's minds, the Imperial Studies lectures have been attended almost everywhere by overflowing audiences, and the weighty words of the lecturers on the problems that have to be faced now and in the near future have formed the starting-point for discussion among all sections of society. This was notably the result arising from the lecture on "A Democratic Empire" that was delivered in the University of Birmingham on October 13 by Sir Charles Lucas under the joint auspices of the Workers' Educational Association and the University. This lecture was reprinted in United Empire for November. It was followed in Birmingham by lectures from Mr. Sidney Low, Professor A. F. Pollard, and Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, and great thanks are due to the authorities of the University of Birmingham for the ability with which the course was organised.

In the University of Manchester the course was opened by an admirable lecture from Mr. Low on the best methods of promoting a proper study of Imperial questions, while in later lectures Professors Pollard and Ramsay Muir have drawn the attention of large audiences to certain of the lines of vital development in the Empire's history that lead from the comparative clarity of the past through the tangled thickets of our present troubles out into the unknown future. Though our lecturers have dealt in the main with past events, they have done so in no spirit of dry-as-dust academicism; their lectures have attracted so much interest because they have tried to use the lessons learned from past happenings to point out in scientific fashion the lines along which true progress may be expected in the future. This was the keynote struck in the important series of lectures delivered in the University of London, King's College, on "The Empire and the Future". The Vice-Chancellors of Leeds and Sheffield, the Chairman of the Institute's Council, the Dean of Balliol, the editor of *The Round Table*, and Dr. G. R. Parkin, the veteran

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apostle of Empire, combined in a symposium that has seldom been surpassed in interest by any series of lectures even within the University of the metropolis. These lectures are to be published by Messrs. Macmillan early in 1916, and, with an introduction by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, they will reach the wider audience they deserve.

At University College, too, Empire problems have been examined before large audiences. The Inaugural Lecture of the session was delivered by Professor Pollard on "The War and the British Realms", and it and Professor J. H. Morgan's lectures on "The Legal and Political Unity of the Empire" have met with that great meed of attention from press and public that their importance warranted. At the first of Professor Morgan's lectures the Earl of Rosebery, as Chancellor of the University, took the chair, and in a most interesting speech glanced back over his career to the days when as a Liberal Imperialist he took so large a share in the activities of the Imperial Federation League. Professor Morgan's collected lectures are to be published in book form early in the year.

At the new branch of the Royal Colonial Institute in Bristol, Imperial Studies lectures have been delivered by Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford; by Professor Hearnshaw, and by the Chairman of the Institute's Trade and Industry Committee, Mr. Ben Morgan, whose paper on "The New Outlook in Britannic Affairs" has been reprinted in pamphlet form; while the University of Sheffield has heard Mr. John Bailey on "Burke and the Ideals of Empire", and the Institute's Secretary, Sir Harry Wilson, in an interesting and elaborately illustrated paper on "The Integration of the Empire." Newcastle-on-Tyne was unfortunately prevented from opening a series of lectures by the regrettable illness of Earl Grey; but Dr. Hadow, the Principal of Armstrong College, spoke at Sheffield, and in the near future it is hoped that his own College will be able to share in the movement.

In Scotland progress has commenced, thanks to the initiative of Lord Bryce and Professor R. S. Rait of Glasgow, where an excellent lecture has been given by Mr. Low, and an important series has been arranged for the Spring Term. In Edinburgh a strong University committee has been appointed with Professor A. B. Keith as convener, while Professor Robert Wallace, the Honorary Corresponding Secretary of the Institute and Professor of Agriculture in the University, has delivered two important inaugural lectures on Empire matters. The rapid spread of the Imperial Studies movement has, in fact, been most impressive, and the generous help given by the Institute to the Universities has been justified by the results achieved. Thinking men of all classes are being guided to a study of the Imperial organism under the happiest of auspices and in that calm atmosphere of scientific truth that is perhaps best to be found within the academic halls. Let us trust that ere long similar movements may arise within the Universities overseas, and that the experience gained by the Lectures Committee of the Institute may be drawn upon by some of our branches in the Dominions to the profit of all by the wider spread of knowledge.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

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ENTERTAINMENT BY CITY LIVERY COMPANIES OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS FROM OVERSEAS.

At the suggestion of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, several of the City Livery Companies have kindly arranged to entertain wounded soldiers from overseas to afternoon tea in their halls.

The first entertainment was given by the Skinners' Company on December 15, when about 150 soldiers were received by the Master, Wardens, and other members of the Court, and the Clerk to the Company, Mr. J. J. Lambert, and a very hearty welcome was accorded to them by the Master in a short speech. An interesting sketch of the history of the Company was given by a Past Master, Mr. Sebastian, and afterwards Mr. Churchward greatly delighted the men with some "short stories". A capital tea was provided and the whole of the Company's beautiful plate and rooms were shown to the guests. Sir John Cockburn, a member of the Council, thanked the Company for their kindness in entertaining the men.

The Goldsmiths' Company entertained 260 men on December 16, the guests being welcomed by the Prime Warden (Sir Boverton Redwood, Bart.) accompanied by several members of the Court and the Clerk to the Company, Sir Walter Prideaux. The Westminster Glee Singers gave a very good concert of over an hour's duration, and all the Company's splendid rooms were thrown open to the soldiers. After an excellent meal, thanks were returned to the Company by Sir Charles Lucas (Chairman of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute) in an appropriate speech. A packet of cigarettes was handed to each man as he left.

The next entertainment took place at the fine hall of the Haberdashers' Company on December 22. A party of over 200 soldiers were welcomed by the Master and Wardens and the Clerk to the Company, Mr. J. Eagleton, who gave a short account of the history of the Company, after which a first-rate concert was given by a talented company of artistes. A substantial tea followed in the hall and the adjoining Court-room, and at its conclusion Sir Charles Lucas thanked the Master, Wardens, and Court of the Company for their generous treatment of their guests from overseas. On leaving, each man was presented by the Company with a trench pocket-mirror in a leather case, bearing the arms of the Company, and by the Master (Mr. E. B. Florence) with a packet of fifty cigarettes, together with the following address of welcome, signed by himself and the Wardens and Clerk:—

"We, the Master and Wardens, for ourselves and on behalf of the Court of Assistants of the ancient guild known as the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, desire to greet with a hearty welcome our fellow citizens from over the Seas and to take this—our first—opportunity of acknowledging the generous and unstinted aid given and the sacrifices made, by the Sons of the Empire in all parts of the world, to assist the Motherland and the British Crown in this, the greatest crisis in the history of the Empire.

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"We thank you for your attendance here to-day. We trust you may speedily recover full health and strength, and when in due time you return to your distant homes, we sincerely hope you will carry back with you as pleasant memories as those you will leave behind in the grateful hearts of your fellow citizens in the Old Country."

The last entertainment before Christmas was provided by the Grocers' Company on December 23, when another 200 soldiers were received by the Master (Mr. H. Percivall Pott), Wardens, and other Members of the Court, and the Clerk of the Company (Mr. R. V. Somers Smith). The Master, in a short speech, welcomed the guests on behalf of the Company. The beautiful plate and the very fine hall were greatly admired by the men, and when tea was over each man was presented with a packet of cigarettes and a matchbox, on which was engraved the arms of the Company. Afterwards a delightful variety entertainment was much enjoyed by all.

Dr. G. R. Parkin (a Vice-President of the Institute) thanked the Master and Wardens of the Company, in the name of the Council and on behalf of the men, for the splendid entertainment, and expressed the opinion that it was one of the best things these ancient City Companies had ever undertaken.

On all these occasions the Royal Colonial Institute has presented each guest with a specially designed Christmas card, bearing the device and motto of the Institute in colours, together with an appropriate quotation from the "Song of the English" by Rudyard Kipling. The Institute has also provided the means of transport from and to the hospitals, and for that purpose opened a special fund to which contributions may still be given. The following Fellows have already generously subscribed to the fund: Walter Morrison, Esq., £100; Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., £10; Allan Campbell, Esq., £5 5*s.*; Otto Beit, Esq., £5; R. D. Douglas McLean, Esq., £5; Lord Blyth, £2 2*s.*—Total, £127 7*s.*

The following Vice-Presidents and Members of the Council, in addition to those already mentioned, have attended the various functions, representing the Council: Admiral Sir N. Bowden-Smith, K.C.B.; Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B., C.M.G.; Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G.; Hon. J. G. Jenkins; and Mr. Ellis Powell; as well as the Secretary, Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G. Mr. Chamberlain, the Chief Clerk, who has been the moving spirit of the scheme, has been present on each occasion.

Further entertainments have been kindly promised by the Vintners' Company, on January 4; by the Merchant Taylors', on January 15; and by the Armourers' and Braziers', on three dates to be subsequently fixed—the first for officers, and the two later for men.

The men who have already been entertained were taken from the following hospitals: King George (336); King George and Queen Mary Club (14); 1st London (Camberwell) (9); 2nd London (105); 3rd London (240); Roehampton House (35); Endell Street (10); Hampstead (10); Gifford House (34); Fulham (12); Tooting (45); Dalston (14); University College (4).

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PRIZE ESSAY.*

The Probable Influence of the War on the Relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions.

There flourished, among the older schools of British statesmen and political thinkers, a doctrine of national development that, without a doubt, has exercised a most pernicious influence upon the welfare of Imperial Britain. Its application lost to this country its first colonial Empire, and began to undermine the security of the second. It asserted, in its widest terms, that, as parents bear children, rear them, and lose them when once they have attained to manhood, so nations, when they have founded colonies, and have nurtured them in their infancy, are doomed to be bereft of their support precisely when it becomes of most value. Dangerous as is the pessimism of this theory, still more dangerous is its practical application in the government of any state. For if the yoke of the Mother Country will be cast off at the earliest opportunity, if kindness and consideration only, at most, defer the evil day, of what value is such kindness and consideration? Thus it was the maxim of successive Governments to exploit the resources of our colonies to the uttermost, to squeeze as much out of them as possible, while yet there was time.

Now, nothing produces ingratitude so readily as indifference, or discontent so readily as lack of sympathy; and so it was that we lost our first American colonies. Warned, indeed, by that example, nineteenth-century statesmen hesitated to press too heavily on Britain's newer Empire. A more sympathetic control ceased to regard the colonies as the mere chattels of England—began to realise, moreover, that colonists had some right to be treated, not as children, but as men. Self-government was granted, during the century, to each colony, as it proved its ability to bear the responsibilities of rule. Such methods, however, are expensive, and that class which always grudges every penny that passes from its coffers to those of the State began to discover, and to inform the world, that colonies were an unremunerative burden on a country, sucking up its capital, brains, and blood, but giving no equivalent return. It is worthy of note, by the way, that this same class, which sends to Parliament members of every political persuasion, has, of late years, persistently opposed all increase, and has even agitated for a decrease, in the fighting strength and equipment of both Navy and Army. In fact, it has formed a party within parties—the party of "little" causes.

The most insidious form of the doctrine of these men was based on political economy—a science then hardly out of its swaddling-clothes, only imperfectly understood even by its most vaunting professors. Thus, in attempting arbitrarily to apply the rules of an abstract science, dealing with an imaginary and much simplified world, to the circumstances of real life, to apply them without alteration or adjustment, these political philosophers of the early and middle of the last century strayed very far away from the true path.

So it was that, in the early 'eighties of the century, the Federation League was formed. Impelled, first, by mere antagonism to the theories quoted above, then by a growing dissatisfaction with the actual state of the Empire, statesmen and political thinkers united to seek a solution for the problems of Imperial Government. That

* The writer of this essay, which secured the Institute's Prize, is a pupil of the Liverpool Institute.

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solution they have not yet found. The air is still heavy with the poisons of an earlier age; Britons look to the War to dispel them. But the conception of the future, ever a terrible and awful thing, is, at this moment, still more terrible, still more awful. In the present Titanic struggle men would fain see the travail and birth-pains of a world pregnant of new marvels.

Parturiunt montes—

Let us beware lest the fruit of the womb be no more than a ridiculous mouse.

If, however, it has remained for the War to bring to a head—as many believe and hope—the questions of Imperial Government, the ideal of Imperialism has not thus been sluggish. Received at the outset with unconcealed mistrust, both at home and in the colonies, it has gathered strength with years, and has become an important political creed. At first colonists saw in Federal schemes a plan to fetter the children of Britain more firmly to their parent; their instinct for freedom was outraged, as it seemed, and they were vehement in their opposition to all such proposals. Of late years, however, it has gradually been realised that their present loose connection with Britain has been, not a blessing, but a hindrance, and that a closer union with the Sovereign State is imperative, if they wish to safeguard their own interests. "Canada", said the present Premier of Canada a few years ago, "will never consent to be a mere adjunct to Great Britain." Therein lies the real danger; and it is a danger too great to be averted for all time by the influence of commanding personalities. Once the colonies feel that their liberty is being subjected, that they are drifting too far into servitude to England, they will break their hawsers with a jerk, and shape a new course across the ocean, preferring to founder in freedom than to reach port in slavery. And, with the present loose, irregular system of Imperial Government, no danger is more pressing than that a false relation should occur between Britain and one of her new and vigorous Dominions, at present filled with all a young man's pride in his manhood. These colonists believe that they have certain claims upon the Mother Country, and surely mere expediency demands their consideration.

In their briefest and most general form, these claims amount to a recognition of their equal citizenship in the Empire. They rest on two foundations—the sentimental and the practical. The colonists are of the same stock as the people of Britain. Though colonial history is short, compared with that of the Mother Country, yet the Colonists themselves are the equals in ancestry and in tradition of the natives of England. Moreover, they would bring, if admitted, to the councils of the Empire a freshness of outlook, a youth, an enthusiasm, born of the wild open spaces, born of the beginnings of nations. Therefore, from this standpoint, not only have they a right to a seat in the council-chambers of Britain's World-Empire, but they would be of definite use there in lifting Imperial policy and politics out of the old furrow. The practical basis of their claim is commercial—the contribution they make to the welfare and monetary wealth of the United Kingdom. In the years before the War, a quarter of our imports were drawn from within the Empire, while, of our own produce and manufacture, one-half of the export went to our countrymen overseas. They assert, then, that their commercial value to the Homeland should give weight to their wishes. If it be urged, against their plea, that the great Dominions have shown, until the War, a somewhat tardy spirit with regard to Imperial Defence, and but slight disposition to bear any part of the expense incurred in the defence of other and poorer divisions of the Empire, they will answer, and with reason, that, if they share not the privileges of rule, they will not share its burdens—the old story of the War of Independence, no vote, no tax—but that nothing would better please them than

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to spend both money and energies in the service of Britain, had they any voice in the application of such expenditure.

Such is the base upon which Imperialist schemes, as they existed before the War, have been built. These schemes have been as many as there have been Imperialists, and the most important problem—at first sight—that they have had to face, has been that of representation. When, as before the War, the mass of the people seems decidedly to be avid of power, when the whole trend of modern politics seems to be towards the giving of still more prominence in national affairs to the will of the people, and that people seeks, yearly and daily, still more control over its leaders, still more power over national policy—in these circumstances the question of adequate representation becomes harder to solve as time passes. This tendency on the part of the masses to more complete self-government has been remarked in Britain: it finds expression in the utterances of every colonial who discusses the question of Federation. It is a tendency which, for good or for ill, asserts itself to-day with ever-increasing force in the politics of Great Britain, and the problems it raises must be faced. It is, of course, permissible to doubt its wisdom, its power of good in national life, to contradict or affirm its principles, in the abstract; in its actuality, all that may be done is to guide it.

In the discussion of this problem, as in others, the trouble is the partiality of our mediocre statesmen and political thinkers for a compromise, for the middle course. And however rabid a Socialist, however stubborn a Conservative a man may be, he will seldom fail to contradict himself on one important point in a sustained argument: Is the English ideal of Government the good of the people or the fulfilment of the people's wish? Now that is what complicates so grievously the question of Imperial Federation, particularly in the matter of representation. "Arm-chair" legislators—to designate thus the planners of all philosophic constitutions and politics, from Plato downwards—hesitate whether to legislate for what seems to them the ultimate future good of a country or for its present trend in politics. If, as is often the case, their views on these two points do not coincide, the result is too painfully obvious in the completed schemes.

So it is that some favour the creation of an entirely new body—an Imperial Parliament, meeting in London, drawing representatives, on a proportional system, from the whole Empire. The only drawback to such a scheme which is immediately apparent is that, in the process of constituting an Assembly under that system, before each colony was sure that its interests were properly safeguarded, the House would become unmanageable owing to its bulk. Partisans of the present British Parliament, moreover, might conceivably object to the relegation of a body of such ancient prestige to the status of a provincial Assembly. Therefore, a second order of schemes provides for the inclusion of colonial delegates to advise the House of Commons, and the allocation to certain ex-Premiers and others of seats in the House of Lords. To this the colonists object that they want to rule, not to advise; thus bringing up the old puzzle, already alluded to, as to the aims of government. Then to all these schemes the historical student objects that, ready-made as they are, they deprive the British Constitution of its most valued asset—elasticity—and render it less fitted to change with the times, without friction and jar. That this objection carries weight none can doubt; it finds the weak point in all ready-made constitutions. With any and every scheme, moreover, the question of adequate representation proves a stumbling-block which ruins them all. Despite all our modern advances in communication, distance is still a factor of power in politics, and refuses to be neglected.

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But the bed-rock has not been touched yet. The one basic obstacle to all these "arm-chair" schemes is in the very nature of the British Empire, its extent into every climatic region of the globe. All the objections, all the arguments, previously discussed, strong as some think them, are as nothing compared with the fact which confronts the Imperialist dreamer, after he has beaten a way through the maze of academic reasonings. It is as if an explorer, cutting his way, painfully yet hopefully, through the dense tangle and sunless depths of an African forest, finds himself suddenly face to face with a bare rock-wall, grey and impassable, the stern and lofty side of a vast interior plateau among the luxuriant waste of the forests. To climb it is impossible, to attempt to round it futile ; he must return whence he has come.

The British Empire includes wide territories in every quarter of the inhabited earth. Every climate endurable by man, every variety of soil, is represented within its borders. Because of this, there exist between the inhabitants of its several districts great diversities in character, and in outlook upon the problems of national life. Many religions, many races, flourish under its sway. Despots of the Orient and their peoples acknowledge its rule, as well as the great democratic nations of the West and of the Southern Seas. In no two States throughout the Empire does the subject stand in precisely the same relation with the supreme power.

This affects the great Dominions themselves, and complicates still further the question of Imperial Federation. A survey of their constitutions shows the greatest diversity to exist between them. Canada is governed by a strong central power, which has granted self-government to the various divisions of the country to relieve itself from a burden which tended to become too heavy. The powers of the younger provincial legislatures have been definitely stripped from the main Government, which retains every other function not made over by Act of Parliament to the smaller authorities. Australia presents a picture which is the exact reverse of this : where tradition is for separation and progress is towards centralisation ; where each State in the Commonwealth has its own history, and still possesses all the powers which it has not expressly handed over to the very modern central authority. Here already, in the cases of our two greatest Dominions, is obstacle enough for the fashioner of universal constitutional schemes. South Africa, however, provides yet a third difference to be considered. There the sharp racial division between white and black, and the circumstances of the history of the colony, combine to force the adoption of a system of government where the democratic element is very noticeably slight. The Union Parliament has retained in its own hands all the important powers, leaving nothing to the four Provincial Councils of greater moment than the care of local elementary education. Faced by this fact, Where are the plans of the political philosopher ? They are vanished, faded away, like a pleasing, tantalising vision, like a dream of the night.

Such, with whatever optimism the situation be reviewed, was the state of affairs before the War. Across the smooth path of our history a sudden gap has been blasted. The old road cannot longer be followed ; in its stead a new one must be made. After the War, conditions will be such that Britain will not be able to regain her old way of thinking, her old mode of life. And it will be well, before considering what new paths may be open to her, to consider first the reasons for that statement, and its bearing upon the immediate question. When the War ends, Britain will be poor. It is profoundly to be hoped that Germany will be poorer, lest she lay for us a snare into which we will, as a nation, quite cheerfully run blindfold. For if Germany is then rich enough again to spread her tentacles over Britain, to flood the British markets

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once more with the cheap German goods so common in them before the War, then as surely as we are Britons will we rush to buy them. Germany, speedily rich, will be preparing for another war; the rest of Europe, estranged by our own folly, will look on.

However this may be, Britain, after the War, will be poor. Looking about her for the means of wealth, what will be her attitude towards the Dominions? Before the War there was a growing, though not yet important, feeling in the minds of the British middle classes that the Dominions had no use for British emigrants. "No English need apply" was made the foundation of attacks upon Canada and Australia. It was found that the United States often welcomed those whom Canada rejected, and so our English emigrants were lost to the Empire. It is for Canadians to rebut this charge, and to explain away instances not only of refusal, but of worse—of the discovery, on the part of emigrants, that labour conditions were wholly different from the pictures presented by Canadian Government agents in England. Such facts, however isolated actually, are apt to swell dangerously if leavened with anger and kneaded by political rancour. When the War is over, the Canadian Government will do well to inquire into this matter;—and there, for the present, the question were best left.

That, utterly apart from political questions, influences hostile to our Dominions were at work in England may not be denied, however much it would be pleasant to do so. But the War can do much to efface any unfortunate impressions. There is, surely, no British heart that has not thrilled at the story of Canadian courage on the fields of France; surely no one who has not been impressed by the devotion shown by every colony, great and small, when the bubble of peace burst at last, and eyes no longer dazzled saw the Empire menaced by ruin and disaster. There is no need, now, to press the point. Britain need not have entered the lists when she did, truly enough, had she not been impelled by regard for the memory of a piece of parchment, never of supreme importance, whose scattered fragments were but the sport and toy of the mocking winds. But, had she not done so, the sword, evaded for the while, would yet have struck. The veil was rent asunder; men saw the watchers at Britain's gate being cut down; in a moment the foe would be within. With a ready instinct, Britain waited not, but flung herself at him where he menaced her.

When the Empire saw these things, each individual state, each several man, saw too that it was a fight for life on Britain's part, and if she fell, all her children would fall too. The first consideration sufficed for most, the cowardly few were drawn by the second; all hastened to aid the Mother Country, and in the act all differences disappeared, doubt vanished—an Empire united, for weal or woe, confronted the Germans.

How nobly that foe has been met is common knowledge to the world. The fearless self-sacrifice and undying devotion of the Indian troops first made the unity of Greater Britain and her Empire plain to all peoples. The heroism of the Canadian contingent, the patriotism of the Canadian nation, anxious that its entire resources should be at Britain's disposal, the achievements of the Australian troops, first in Egypt, and now, most prominently, in the expedition to the Dardanelles; these, too, have been its proofs. Finally, the magnificent record of loyal South Africa, whose army, after crushing an incipient rebellion, undertook, under the command and guidance of General Botha, whose name will for ever be famous in British annals, an exhausting march over a desert where the scanty water available was poisoned, pursued an enemy ever retreating, never fighting a pitched battle, and succeeded in the end in capturing a large German colony and its entire army of defence, with its stores and equipment;

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this has taught neutral nations how devoted are Britain's subjects to the Flag. But, while these deeds have shown to the world on how firm a basis of loyalty and goodwill our Empire is built, how securely cemented by the blood shed in South Africa over fifteen years ago, it was not from these alone, mighty offspring of Britain, that answer came, and aid, in the moment of her danger. From every British islet in the Southern Seas, from African natives whose realms had passed under our sway, came eager offers of whatever slight aid was theirs to give. How much more dignity is in the simple expressions of loyalty which accompanied these proffered gifts than in the pro-German utterances of some of our politicians at home! Surely these things cannot fail to have some effect on Imperial history.

Blood is still the most efficient purifier of political atmospheres. And that air, which was becoming ever more vitiated by the noxious currents which flowed from the council-chambers of parties, has already become noticeably purer. It is, as yet, by no means purged while still politicians can be found to speak, when the nation is at war, not as Britons to Britons, but as Liberals to Liberals. No one can call it pure when a Prime Minister, having taken a momentous step for the safety, as he believes, of the Empire, thinks it incumbent upon him to excuse himself to a section of a political party. It cannot be considered pure when that momentous step had to be taken at all, but the fact that it was taken, however late, when its need was shown, marks a perceptible improvement.

If, after the War, the political air retains, for some time, its comparative purity, a splendid opportunity will be vouchsafed those eager for the betterment of the conditions of Imperial Government. Vague jealousies will be stilled. Ideas of secession will fade into nothingness. After they have given so much of their resources, in money and blood, to the support of the Empire, what possible value could there be—each State will ask itself—in secession, when, moreover, their wealth has been drained to save the Flag, and their fortunes are at their lowest commercial ebb? Even were secession their aim, their policy would be to wait until their strength should be recovered. And secession was never farther from the minds of our colonists than at this moment; if, after this, their thoughts are ever turned towards it, ours, and ours alone, will be the fault. Nothing will induce any British colony to swerve from its loyalty, when peace has returned, save a persistent policy of wilful neglect and carelessness on the part of the Home Government. Not when every man's heart stirs to a new realisation of his own partnership in Empire, to a new conception of his relations with his Mother Country and his fellow citizens over the seas; not then is the time for thoughts of secession, unless his fire is quenched, his aspirations rebuffed, by the self-willed and senseless ingratitude of the English nation itself.

That such an ingratitude should confront our colonists is in the extreme unlikely. Already the South African War had expelled from the mind of the nation at large any contempt that may have lingered there for its children overseas. Already the people, as a whole, were realising that their sons were worthy sons; it remained for this War to show that they had come to manhood. The men who, in South Africa, in years gone by, flocked to aid their Mother, have now proved eager and able to save her.

To such an enthusiasm we can only answer with gratitude, fervent and sincere, with attention and ready consideration for whatever claims our colonies may think fit to make. A newly awakened interest will watch every action, listen for every word of our colonial statesmen. The solution of the emigration problem, referred to already, will be much aided by the increased attention would-be emigrants will pay, and will have paid, to conditions and events in the Dominions. Colonial possi-

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bilities in industry and commerce will receive an eager consideration from our business men at home; England will offer a readier market for colonial products, instead of satisfying her needs from Germany and Austria. Do some of the colonies favour a preferential scheme? The matter will be treated as it deserves, will be seriously discussed as a matter not of party, but of Empire, and the advice of colonists will be taken.

Such a discussion, undertaken in the right spirit, might well pave the way, whatever its immediate result, for the entrance of Imperial Federation as an accomplished fact. For, that our colonies' views might be best communicated to Parliament, what more convenient means than an unofficial conference between the English Cabinet and ex-members of colonial governments? Then what could be more natural than that this unofficial body should gradually secure a permanent official status, as an advisory body to Parliament, to offer criticisms and suggestions on all Imperial measures? A system for selecting its members would soon grow up, and its advisory examination of measures affecting the colonies might with long usage change into a necessary action, upon the results of which the Bill's future would depend. The Committee might gain the power to refer it to the colonial legislatures interested, for their verdict, before it could be introduced into the House of Commons. Such a body might thus become the nucleus of a true Imperial Parliament, or, at least, might well draft the plans for its formation. It is in some such gradual progress that all our most vaunted constitutional arrangements have come into being; and analogy on a small scale is not far to seek in modern history. The Committee of Imperial Defence, originally, under Lord Salisbury, an unofficial gathering of the Premier's political and military friends, since systematised by succeeding governments until it reached its present status as a Governmental Committee of wide power and influence, affords an obvious parallel.

The great basic difficulties, of race, religion, constitution, and industrial interests, which have already been mentioned, undoubtedly serious though they are, yet suggest in some measure the main path on which any progress towards their solution will be made. If, as is profoundly to be desired, and may with fair confidence be expected, some attempt be made, after the conclusion of the War, at Imperial Federation, history points the path to be followed. Already the plan suggested above, of an informal Council of the rulers of our Dominions, shows signs of being initiated. Sir Robert Borden has the honour of having created a precedent of the greatest importance, in being present at a recent Cabinet meeting. It is precisely out of a number of casual incidents of such a nature that our greatest constitutional advances have begun. Should such a committee, therefore, as that outlined, come into existence during the great crises of the War, or even afterwards, it will probably herald a number of Acts of Parliament to regulate the positions of various Dominions, each in relation to the Mother Country. Just as self-government was granted to each colonial state at different times, as the constitutions first given were altered at the most suitable moments, so, in all probability, will each of the great Dominions be linked, gradually, more closely with the Home Government, and, when occasion shall serve, will be granted a voice in the councils of Empire.

If to such an end as this the bloody war now raging contributes the slightest impulse, that will not be the least among the many benefits which—in despite of the pacifists—it seems likely to confer upon the Empire and upon the world at large. A great Empire knit but loosely together, a mere accumulation of distinct and separate parts, is a danger to itself, but is a calamity to the nations around it. Assyria,

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Babylonia, and the Persian Empires fell because they neglected to assimilate and absorb the nations whom they conquered. That is also the reason why they taught little or nothing to the world in the art of government. The same danger, slightly different in form, menaces us too at this moment. If the British Empire has any but a negative lesson to teach to other nations, if it is to furnish them with an example, not a warning, it must be united. Therefore, if it seems that in this essay I have devoted a disproportionate space to one side of the question under consideration, and, even there, have been occupied more with the Past and the Present than with the Future, it has been because, to my mind, all other sides merge into that one; because, by its side, all others are of only slight importance, because it is imperative that the actual facts of this problem be brought home to the British nation, at this, the most critical moment in the history of Britain's newest, and largest, empire.

JAMES I. MCKIE.

SENIOR FELLOWS.

As the R.C.I. approaches its Jubilee an examination of the Fellowship List is not without interest. Two names still remain associated with the year of the Institute's foundation, that of H.R.H. Prince Christian, Honorary Fellow and Vice-President, and that of the Earl of Ducie, G.C.V.O., Two more Fellows have been associated for forty-six years with the Institute. Then comes a gap of two years; but from 1872 each year is represented. Below we give a list of Fellows whose association with the Institute covers forty years or more :—

1868.

H.R.H. Prince Christian, K.G.
Earl of Ducie, G.C.V.O.

1869.

Major R. Poore.
Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B.

1872.

H. L. Jenkins
H. N. Paint.
R. Ramsden.

1873.

D. Anderson.
W. J. Birch.
Colonel G. T. Denison.
G. Collins Levey, C.M.G.
W. Curtis Ward.

1874.

C. E. Atkinson.
M. P. Coode.
H. Chintamon.
W. T. A. Edwards, C.M.G., M.D.
Sir Henry Kimber Bart.
Rev. H. T. Kriel.
Hon. Henry S. Littleton.
H. F. Shipster.

1875.

E. R. Anderson.
Lt. Colonel J. D. Crawford.
P. Davis.
Hon. Sir Philip O. Fysh, K.C.M.G.
W. F. Lawrence.
J. Nairn.
Coleman Phillips.
Thomas Russell.
Hon. H. B. T. Strangeways.

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EMPIRE TRADE AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE.

THIS Committee has been extremely active during the past year in pursuing its objects to foster, stimulate, and assist British commercial and industrial interests, with special reference to their Imperial aspect as elements and factors of Imperial Union.

The methods by which the Committee seeks to achieve its aims are varied. In the first place, the Committee deals from time to time with such questions of inter-Empire importance as come before it for consideration, by means of resolutions forwarded to the Governments or bodies concerned, by deputations and in other ways. It is, further, the policy of the Committee to follow up official action of this kind by active propaganda work and by bringing the firms or persons directly concerned into an active interest and participation in the movement so inaugurated. Secondly, the great question of co-ordination of the conditions governing the trade and industry of the various parts of the Empire is continually an object towards which the Committee works, partly by arranging for papers and addresses before the Institute itself and before other bodies, and partly by organising, encouraging, or assisting conferences of men of affairs from the constituent parts of His Majesty's Dominions.

The third method by which the Committee strives towards the consolidation and promotion of inter-Empire trade is by means of answering inquiries from manufacturers, purchasers, and others throughout the Empire. This Inquiry Bureau for Empire Trade is so much appreciated by manufacturers, buyers, and men of affairs generally, and by the Press throughout the Empire, that it becomes more and more difficult to deal with the constantly increasing volume of inquiries.

In order to present some definite idea of the work of the Committee in the direction indicated, it may be of interest to briefly consider each of the above three headings.

GENERAL EMPIRE TRADE QUESTIONS.

Among the important matters dealt with under this heading we may mention first the Imperial Development Board and Fund. Upon this question the Committee, at the request of the Dominions Royal Commission, prepared two sets of Memoranda, which were discussed at length and with considerable approval by the Commissioners. Among the more important functions of the suggested Board were the following :—

To promote such schemes requiring inter-State co-operation and expenditure as it might be asked to undertake by two or more of the contributory Governments, and itself to suggest schemes appropriate to that common policy which the fact of the Board's existence would imply, and to take over the duty of arranging and financing all mail or telegraphic services which involve subsidies from two or more Governments within the Empire. Linked with this great object there were considered such matters as the pressing question of Through Bookings, the Co-ordination of Empire Statistics, the Imperialisation of the Consular Service, and the bringing into line throughout the Empire of such matters as Company Law, Commercial Travellers' Regulations, and the hundred-and-one discrepancies between the various commercial-legal systems of the different Dominions and Colonies of the Empire.

Although the active pressing forward of the above matters has been retarded by the War, nevertheless the Committee has continued to take an interest in them and has, in addition, occupied itself with two important questions arising directly out of trade and industrial conditions in war-time.

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For some months the Committee has been steadily at work in endeavouring to interest the manufacturers of the Empire in impressing upon the Imperial Government and the Dominion Governments that it is a patriotic duty to place all orders given out by Governments, Government Departments, Municipalities, Railway Companies, Dock and Harbour Boards, and, indeed, by all bodies spending public monies or enjoying Government Charters, with British firms employing British labour and raw materials, as far as possible, from British sources. The Committee has examined and collated the systems under which the various Governments in Europe have dealt with this question, and with no exceptions among the Great Powers and practically none among the small ones, a substantial preference is given to national firms in all public contracts of the type above designated. Having ascertained these facts, the Committee went farther, and decided to make a careful canvass first of the manufacturers in this country, with a view of enlisting their support on behalf of the movement. Accordingly, the leading firms in Great Britain were systematically approached, and of the communications received from them *only one* has in any way dissented from the proposal! It is now proposed to organise a deputation of leading men of affairs in Great Britain to urge the Government to take action on the lines suggested and to give a lead to the Dominion Governments, to whom the Committee is also making representations.

Another matter recently taken up by the Committee is that of the financial necessity of organising our export trade. Recognising that export trade ranks with men and munitions as a vital factor to success, the first thing to do would be for the Government to establish a temporary department—as they have done in the case of the Ministry of Munitions—to organise and stimulate production in this country with a view to increasing export trade. Trade needs sympathetic treatment and organisation; this could be secured by such a department as indicated, and its special interests could thereby be dovetailed with the needs of the Admiralty, War Office, and Munitions Departments. These views have been placed by the Council of the Institute before the President of the Board of Trade and also communicated to the Prime Minister.

Co-ordination of Trade Conditions.

The second function of the Committee, namely the consideration of ways and means to bring into line the commercial laws and regulations of the Empire by means of papers, discussions, and conferences, has been exercised systematically since the Committee was established. Among the more recent papers which have been read we may mention the following, in chronological order. At one of the City luncheons held under the auspices of the Committee, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, K.C.M.G., gave an illuminating view of the great productive possibilities of the Union of South Africa, laying special stress upon the great strides made by the fruit trade in the past, and forecasting that these would be much greater in the future. Mr. F. W. Young, the Agent-General for South Australia, at a subsequent luncheon, brought the South Australian State in its commercial aspect very clearly before the Fellows of the Institute and their guests. At an evening meeting held in November last, Mr. Ellis T. Powell, LL.B., B.Sc., read a paper dealing with the Evolution of Modern Finance, impressing especially upon his audience the immense influence of Finance as an Imperial factor, and in the last month of last year, the Chairman of the Committee wrote a paper for delivery before the Bristol Branch of the Institute entitled "The New Outlook in Britannic Affairs", which is a practical condensation of the principles upon which the commercial and industrial unity of the Empire may be established.

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The Committee as an Information Bureau.

This function is greatly appreciated throughout the Empire, and is the one which keeps the office of the Committee continually and continuously employed. Registers and files of information have been established and are kept in being, and these, together with the resources of information in the Library of the Institute, form a reservoir of useful and up-to-date information upon the products, industries, and trades of the Empire. In addition to this, a large number of influential honorary corresponding secretaries have risen to the commercial occasion with the greatest readiness and ability, and first-hand information from them and from other correspondents has been acquired of the greatest value and assistance to inquirers.

The Committee has been able to assist with practical advice, numbers of manufacturers and traders entering for the first time the uncharted and perilous deeps of oversea trade, in addition to supplementing the information obtained by large firms from its own independent and reliable point of view. The office of the Committee has also made it its business to find out not only what manufacturers can make certain broad lines of goods, but the special abilities of different manufacturers in each class. This experience is recorded in the office and naturally grows greater and more comprehensive as time passes, and, judging by the number of oversea inquiries on all conceivable topics of trade and industry, the Institute is obtaining the reputation which it has honestly striven to deserve in this particular.

There is no need to detail here the varied types of inquiries dealt with by the Committee. These are no doubt familiar to every reader of United Empire, and they are, together with the other activities of the Committee, set out shortly in the booklet describing its work, which will be gladly sent to any Fellow or other person interested on application to the Secretary of the Committee.

EMPIRE LAND SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met on October 29 and the following business was transacted :—

The new title of "Empire Land Settlement Committee" (for sailors and soldiers) was adopted in the place of "After the War Empire Settlement and Rural Employment Committee".

A letter was read from Lord Sydenham, suggesting that a letter be written, on the strength of a cable from Queensland, pressing that Sir Rider Haggard should go out and consider the whole question of Land Settlement with the Queensland Government and any other Government which has land at its disposal. The Committee thereupon approved of the suggestion made in Lord Sydenham's letter to the effect that a letter should be written to the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, urging that Sir Rider Haggard should go out and consider the question of Land Settlement with the Queensland and other Governments, and desired that Lord Sydenham should wait on the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and suggest that the Government should send out a representative to the self-governing Dominions to ascertain from the respective Governments whether they wished any steps taken in the direction of "After the War" Land Settlement of soldiers and sailors, other than for the benefit of those who come from their own territory, and that Sir Rider Haggard be appointed to act as that representative. Also, if His Majesty's Government were not disposed to adopt this suggestion, the Committee should submit to the

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Council of the Royal Colonial Institute that they appoint a representative to undertake the duty. The Committee further submitted that Sir Rider Haggard be appointed as the representative, and that, if possible, a secretary be provided to accompany him.

Lord Sydenham having reported that Mr. Bonar Law was not prepared to recommend that His Majesty's Government should send out an official representative, the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute have now decided to send out Sir Rider Haggard to Australia, New Zealand and Canada, to act as their representative in a private and unofficial capacity. It is probable that not more than £1,000 or thereabouts for the Australasian portion of the scheme will be required, and an appeal is now being sent out to a number of Australasian firms and individuals who are likely to be willing to assist. Thanks mainly to the efforts of Colonel the Hon. James Burns a generous response has already been made to this appeal, the details of which will be given later. After visiting New Zealand it is intended that Sir Rider Haggard should return by way of Canada, and arrangements for this part of the tour are already in progress. A short stay will be made in Capetown on the voyage out to Australia. Mr. Corbett will accompany Sir Rider Hagggard as Secretary.

W. A. Bulkeley-Evans,
Honorary Secretary.

STANDING EMIGRATION COMMITTEE.

It has been decided that, as no business of great importance is likely to arise during the period of the War, the next meeting of the Committee be postponed indefinitely.

W. A. Bulkeley-Evans,
Honorary Secretary.

THE WAR SERVICES COMMITTEE.

The R.C.I. War Services Committee reflects in miniature the wide range of the Institute's operations and influence. At the same time the records of the Committee probably will provide the most concise evidence of the fervent desire of loyal Britons in every part of the world to participate, at this period of crisis, in support of the Flag. Writers and speakers have combined in expressing their admiration of the many thousands of Britons who have come, even from the remotest outposts of the Empire, to join His Majesty's Forces. But few have borne equal testimony to those thousands who, without the support of Government or Flag, and at their own expense, have eagerly come from foreign lands. More than six thousand from Argentina; many from Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay; almost all of military age who were settled in Guatemala, and many from Mexico. They have come also from China and Siam. And one impulse has moved them all—the call of united Empire and of humanity. Their sacrifice merits the highest esteem.

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Almost nine hundred completed applications have been received and considered by the Honorary Secretary since the War Services Committee was formed in August 1914; and about a third of the number of candidates have, under the auspices of the Committee, been assisted to serve in the capacity they desired, most of them as commissioned officers in the New Army.

It is unfortunate that the well-intended zeal of many who have travelled far has brought to them keen disappointment. They have come home anxious to join the New Army, only to find that by the regulations regarding age they are ineligible. And the prospect of obtaining civilian employment has not appealed to them. Even with regard to those who have been anxious to obtain civil employment, in many cases vacancies could not be found of the specific character desired.

A number of those anxious only to enlist have since successfully applied for commissions. It must be gratifying to know that two gentlemen who secured their commissions under the auspices of the Committee have been awarded the Military Cross for gallant conduct in action: one a doctor from Guatemala, now in the R.A.M.C., the other from the Argentine Republic, now in the R.F.A. Many, since obtaining their first commissions, have received promotion.

On the other hand, there are those who have laid down their lives on the field of battle: one of them, an Australian, in East Africa, where he was serving as a lieutenant with the 25th Battalion (Frontiersmen) of the Royal Fusiliers. This was the Wilbur Dartnell upon whom His Majesty conferred the V.C. The *Gazette* record states that "he gave his own life in the gallant attempt to save others."

Irrespective of the applications registered, the Committee has served throughout as an Information Bureau—helpful in many ways not only to men from overseas, but to many others. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men serving within the British Isles, in France and in Flanders, have been advised upon many matters by the Honorary Secretary of the Committee.

In all this work there has been one desire—to assist applicants without avoidable delay; and there have been instances of men arriving from overseas on one day knowing on the next that they would be in khaki as commissioned officers within a week. In certain instances the commission has been promised on the same day as the candidate's first call upon the Honorary Secretary. All this has contrasted with the unfortunate delay so often incidental to the regular official means of communication.

The Committee conducted negotiations which led to the granting of the patronage of the Royal Colonial Institute in connection with the running of a motor ambulance-car for the conveyance of wounded soldiers between railway stations and hospitals. This has done, and is doing good work.

Another detail that may be mentioned is the convening by the Committee in March last of a meeting of Fellows under the presidency of Earl Grey, the result of which was the formation of a committee now known as the Empire Land Settlement Committee (for sailors and soldiers) to devise some means of providing for ex-Service men by settlement on the land at home and overseas after the War.

With the exception of expenditure incidental to typewriting, postage, and such small matters, the Committee has been carried on without cost to the Institute. On the other hand, it has been the means of adding a number of Fellows to the roll.

There have been several changes in the personnel of the Committee since its formation: Sir Godfrey Lagden, the first Chairman, was succeeded by Sir Harry Wilson, and the present Chairman is Sir John Page Middleton. Mr. Coleman Hyman, who has been Honorary Secretary throughout, reports that the average of applicants continues without abatement.

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UNITED EMPIRE

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The Progress of the War.

AFTER eighteen months of war the British Empire and its Allies, while having few commanding successes to place to their credit, are conscious that, in spite of startling fluctuations, the scales are slowly inclining in their favour. Or we may liken the War to a futurist picture, of which the general effect at a distance is satisfactory, while the details at close quarters seem to be all wrong. Against the victories that from time to time serve to hearten the German and Austrian people the Grand Alliance can safely set the growing economic stringency in those two countries and the constant drain that the War is imposing upon their fighting strength. In the West the initiative belongs to the French and British when they care to make use of it; in the East it is in the hands of the Russians. Only on the southern front does it still rest with the enemy. Serbia and Montenegro have been overrun; an Anglo-French force submits for the present to be cooped up within the defences of Salonika; Gallipoli has been evacuated and the Allied advance on Baghdad has met with a grave set-back. One and all are painful experiences for the Allied Powers; but they can console themselves with the reflection that, while the enemy can never reach final victory by way of the Balkans, the first blow that will lead to his ultimate undoing may well come from that direction. An expectant public has to be reminded that the days of "Up, Guards, and at them" warfare are over. An advance can only be made when a multiplicity of elaborate preparations is complete to the last detail—it may be the construction of the ten-thousandth ladder to facilitate the exodus of the troops from the trenches. Long intervals of apparent quiescence are, therefore, inevitable; but the steady pressure on the enemy in the main theatres of the War continues.

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THE knell of the voluntary system of enlistment was sounded with the issue of Lord Derby's "Report on Recruiting". Of the 5,011,441 men of military age in Great Britain, 2,829,263 had presented themselves. Some 428,000 were rejected; but owing to the great rush of recruits during the last week of the campaign a much larger number was passed unexamined or with only a perfunctory examination. Thus, after deducting men who had been starred for exemption, and after making allowances for those medically unfit or indispensable, the net gain of the campaign to the country's fighting strength may be placed at 1,046,000. But 600,000 of these were married men, and nearly half a million of them had joined under the Prime Minister's pledge that the single men of the nation would be enlisted before the married men were called up for service. More than a million single men of military age had failed to respond to the country's call, and when the starred had been deducted there remained a balance of 651,000 unaccounted for. Such a number could not be regarded as negligible, and in order to enable the country to avail itself of the services of the half million married men attested, it became necessary to compel the single men still holding back to come forward for enlistment. On January 5 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons making enlistment in His Majesty's regular forces for the period of the War compulsory for every unmarried man of military age who is not entitled to a certificate of exemption. A few days later recruiting under the Derby group system was reopened, and voluntary enlistment continued, until the Military Service Act, 1916, should come into force.

Lord Derby's Report.

THE decision to introduce a modified form of compulsion was not reached without a struggle within the Government. At least three Ministers were whole-heartedly opposed to the abandonment of the voluntary system. One, Sir John Simon, Home Secretary, refused to be a party to the measure and resigned his office. Two others, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Runciman, maintained their opposition until the eleventh hour, but did not resign. Mr. McKenna, indeed, voted for the Bill, while Mr. Runciman, after opposing it in the Lobby on the first division, abstained from voting on the second reading. The Labour Party was no less divided on the subject. Before the division on the first reading a special conference of the great federations of trade unions summoned to consider the Bill passed

Restricted National Service.

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a resolution calling on Labour Members in Parliament to vote against it. As a result of this decision the three Labour Ministers resigned their posts in the Government, but abstained from voting. Eleven Labour Members voted against the Bill, seven for it. A week later the national delegate conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain also registered an overwhelming decision against the measure, and a general vote against compulsory service was passed by the National Union of Railwaymen. In spite, however, of these adverse votes the Labour Members of the Government withdrew their resignations, and the Military Service Bill, on the second reading, was opposed by a minority of only 39 in a House of 470 members. On the first reading the discussion had turned mainly on the moral obligation of redeeming the Prime Minister's pledge to married men, and it was not until the second reading that official stress was laid on the absolute military necessity for the additional recruits. It is hoped, therefore, that, when this aspect of the question has been appreciated in Labour circles, the greater part of the opposition will subside. At the Labour Conference held towards the end of the month at Bristol a majority vote was given against conscription and the Military Service Bill, but the Labour party was empowered to continue its support of the Coalition Government.

The Attitude of Labour.

THE attitude of Labour to-day would seem to be summed up in the words of the man from Ethiopia, "How can I, except some man should guide me?" If inquiry could be made into the antecedents of the vote of the trade unions given against the Military Service Bill, it would be found that it was almost entirely due to the activities of a handful of agitators, themselves not necessarily insincere, but the victims of an obsession. Jealous of the rights acquired by Labour after a long struggle, they see in each innovation an attempt to undermine those rights, and they communicate their fears to a rank and file who rely entirely upon them for ready-made views on things in general. What is wanted to-day is a Philip, or rather many Philips, to expound to Labour the meaning of the words it does not understand. Mr. Asquith assumed the rôle for a moment when he won over a deputation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to the scheme for the dilution of skilled labour with unskilled. The fears of Labour have been worked upon by means of the bogeys of militarism and conscription; but, in the light of fuller knowledge, these bogeys disappear. Militarism in

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Germany is one thing, because the driving force behind it is despotism and Prussian institutions. It is another thing in France, where it is subservient to democratic ideals. There is no danger of Britain surrendering itself to militarism of the German type, because it is incompatible with the national characteristics. Those who set store on those national characteristics and our free institutions ought to be the first to accept the principle of national service, when it can be shown that by no other means can the permanency of the very things they value be ensured.

The Southern Front.

THE course of events in the Balkans is compelling the Allied Powers to co-ordinate their military efforts. Hitherto there has been a tendency to regard the operations in the Near East as belonging to separate spheres; but it is gradually being borne in upon the military commanders that there is now a Southern Front as there are a Western and an Eastern Front, and that it calls for the same unity of direction as the other Fronts. For the moment, the Allies have suffered a set-back on the extreme west of this line, where Montenegro, sharing in the fate of Serbia, has been overrun by the enemy. It may be that, when once the opportunity of saving the Serbians was lost, it was only a question of time before the Montenegrins experienced a similar misfortune. Certainly the Anglo-French force in Salonika could offer the small State no assistance. But Italy was only on the other side of the Adriatic. She had even landed troops at Avlona, and sent a column from there to Durazzo, a fortnight's expedition by land, which could have been accomplished in a day by sea. Italy, moreover, is united to Montenegro by close ties of relationship between the two reigning Houses, and has special reasons for not allowing Austria-Hungary to extend her domination lower down the Adriatic Coast. The Italians, however, made no move to help the Montenegrins. It is difficult to believe that, if there had been complete co-operation between the Allies, some means would not have been found to send troops to Montenegro's assistance. Now that the Allied line has been driven in at this point, the significance of the misfortune is appreciated. It coincides with the evacuation of Gallipoli, which cannot fail to liberate some Turkish troops and German officers and gunners for service in Macedonia. Accordingly the belief that the enemy will shortly feel himself strong enough to launch an attack on Salonika grows. The Allies have blown up the railway bridge at Demir Hissar and destroyed

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a long section of the railway which the Turks and Bulgarians might use in an advance on Salonika. This action may be a necessary precaution; but it emphasises the fact that the Anglo-French forces are still acting on the defensive. They have been sent to Salonika, however, not to reproduce the condition of stalemate that prevails in the Western theatre, but so to menace the Central Powers that they shall be obliged to weaken their other fronts to breaking point.

The Lesson of Gallipoli.

With the final evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula, the curtain has been rung down on the most conspicuous failure in a war of many disillusionments. Conceived in ignorance, and elaborated without conviction, the plan to force the Dardanelles has failed, as the Greek General Staff prophesied that it would fail. Two factors, however, redeem the campaign from the opprobrium otherwise attaching to a venture for which, as must now be generally admitted, the subordination of military knowledge to the gambling instincts of politicians was responsible—the heroism of the troops who took part in it, and the unexplained success which attended their ultimate withdrawal. The nation is living in a glass house, and no stones must be thrown. The proposal that an attempt should be made to reach Constantinople through the Dardanelles was the subject of two or three months' cogitation on the part of the British Government and its advisers. They arrived at a decision which ran counter to Japanese experience and the long-considered views of the military experts of a minor Power. The scheme was put to the test and resulted in a costly failure. It is perhaps well that the nation should not overlook the failure in the satisfaction derived from the success of the final retirement. The Dardanelles operations are but an incident in the Near Eastern theatre of the War, and the campaign is not yet over. So far, it has not been attended with any more success than that which marked the effort on the right flank of this Southern Front. It remains full of difficulties and pitfalls, which can only be surmounted by the careful weighing of expert advice. If the lesson of the Dardanelles be taken to heart, the Allies will yet win through in the Balkans, and all will be well. But from the evil of a luckless adventure a still more permanent good may come; for nothing is more calculated to weld the Empire into a homogeneous unit than the memory of the heroism with which the supreme sacrifice was made by our fighting men from home and overseas on Gallipoli.

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The Cameroon Campaign.

THE capture on New Year's Day of Yaunde, which has been for fourteen months the seat of the German Colonial Government, ought to bring the campaign in the Cameroon within measurable distance of the end, unless the British force under Colonel Gorges has advanced too rapidly for the complete success of the converging movement. A number of columns have been closing in from all points of the compass on the territory to which the Germans withdrew after their expulsion from the coast. It might have been more advantageous to leave the enemy undisturbed in his chief stronghold, until all the columns were near enough to limit the opportunities for escape; but the public is not in possession of sufficient information to decide this point. As things are, the Government and the bulk of the European troops eluded the Allied forces, the Governor and Commandant taking refuge in Muni (Spanish territory). The peripatetic existence to which the Germans are reduced, however, now that their last important base has been lost, must affect their powers of resistance and the hold they have on the native levies. There would seem to be still a considerable tract of country to be covered by the columns advancing from the north, and the slowness of their progress is evidence of the difficult nature of the ground. On the other hand, the French and Belgian forces converging from the east and south-east cannot be far from Yaunde, and the fact that the retreating Germans have been headed off in this direction encourages the hope that their capture will not be long delayed.

Persia.

ALTHOUGH British troops are not involved in the fighting in Persia, the safety of our diplomatic and consular officials, our interests in the country, and the use to which the Germans are trying to put the Persians in creating difficulties for the British in India make the situation there of special interest. There is good reason, moreover, to regard the Middle East as a single theatre of war; for the events in any one part can hardly fail to exercise either a direct or indirect influence on the course of operations in another part. At present we have the Russians advancing from the Caucasus and threatening Erzerum, the key of Turkish Armenia; another Russian force is already south of Lake Van, a third is clearing Persian territory south-west of Lake Urumiah of Turkish invaders. A somewhat formidable enemy force would appear to have been detached from the Baghdad command with a view to rallying the lawless ele-

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ments under German leadership in Persia, which have recently been either demoralised or overwhelmed by the rapidity of the blows dealt them by mobile Russian columns. The first conflict between this force and the Russians has, according to Turkish reports, gone against our Allies, who have been forced to yield ground at Kangavar, halfway between Hamadan and Kermanshah. But the Russians will be able to summon reinforcements more rapidly than the Turks. If the Mesopotamian expedition had proved successful, its presence at Baghdad would have enabled British troops to co-operate with the Russians in breaking the power of Turkish resistance in the Middle East. For the moment, however, the vision of an occupation of Baghdad fades away in the distance. We have to look to our Allies not only to rid Persia of Turco-German intrigue, but also by means of the operations in Armenia to keep the Turkish army just as much occupied as it was when Anglo-French forces were on Gallipoli Peninsula.

Mesopotamia.

THE satisfaction with which the earlier progress of the Mesopotamian Expedition was followed has had to give place to no little anxiety regarding the fate of the column under General Townshend, which was sent on ahead from Kut-el-Amarah by Sir John Nixon to occupy Baghdad. At Ctesiphon on the Tigris, eighteen miles from its objective, this force encountered the Turks in a strongly entrenched position. In the battle that took place on November 22 the enemy, despite their superior numbers, were ejected from their lines ; but after the losses it had incurred General Townshend's force found itself unequal to the task of holding the ground in the face of the reinforcements that were reaching the Turks. The British withdrew down the river, reaching Kut on December 5. Here they were able to check the Turkish pursuit, but at the expense of having their retreat entirely cut off. A relief expedition became necessary, and was dispatched up river under General Aylmer. The Turks, however, were in sufficient strength to invest General Townshend at Kut, and to challenge the advance of the relieving column. General Aylmer's progress was further hampered by bad weather and by floods, which may be so serious in this region that operations along a large portion of the river's length become impossible. In spite of three pitched battles a space of 23 miles still separated the two British forces at the end of January. In view of the heavy losses incurred by General Aylmer, it is to be feared that his further advance will depend as much on the strength of the reinforcements he can receive in time as on any improvement in the weather. Meanwhile

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General Townshend's position remains precarious. The last message from him that has been published announced that he had sufficient supplies, but it was not stated to what extent rations had had to be reduced in order to achieve this result. With the fate of this hard-pressed force is linked, in a large measure, the prestige of Great Britain in the Middle East, and we venture to hope that the responsible authorities are straining every nerve and pushing forward every available man to effect its rescue.

Canada's Contingent.

CANADA is taking up her share of the burden of war in no half-hearted manner. Early in January Major-General Sir Sam Hughes announced that it was proposed to raise twenty-one additional divisions in accordance with the Prime Minister's offer to the Imperial Government of 500,000 men, and he added that he was confident that the additional numbers would be secured before the end of the summer. The call extending enlistment to half a million is meeting with a ready response. Canada has now over 200,000 men under arms, of whom 120,000 have crossed the seas, and 100,000 munition workers. Returns from several military districts show that up to December 15 the number of recruits enlisted for all purposes since the outbreak of the War amounted to 198,000 men and 7,000 officers. Exclusive of officers, Ontario has raised 77,000 men, Quebec 24,000, the Maritime Provinces 20,000, Manitoba and Saskatchewan 37,500, Alberta 21,200, and British Columbia and the Yukon 19,700. The steady expansion of the Canadian contingent gives the "native born" element the opportunity of which the "British born" contrived to deprive it in the earlier stages of enlistment, and now the new regiments show a proportion of from 40 to 70 per cent. Canadian born. Sir Robert Borden has repeated his statement that the Government has no intention to introduce conscription; but both he and Sir Wilfrid Laurier point out that the attitude of Canada on this point has no bearing on the policy of the Mother Country, where conditions are not the same.

A Self-contained Empire.

THE exigencies of the War, and the spectacle of Germany, thrown back largely—in some cases entirely—upon her own resources, have directed attention to the desirability of making the British Empire, as far as possible, self-supporting. At a time of national crisis, when the need for husbanding our resources is paramount, the extent of our dependence on foreign countries is brought home with special force. Already foreign exchanges have risen against us, and the prospect of a serious

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depletion of our gold reserves has to be faced. It is not that the Empire is incapable of supplying its own needs. It grows the food, it has an incomparable list of raw materials. But in the absence of co-ordination its resources are not fully developed, and it lacks the organisation to enable it to meet the exceptional strain of a long war. The tendency, moreover, has been to turn to the readiest market available without stopping to think whether all sources of supply, of food and of raw material, within the Empire have been tapped before orders are placed abroad. The machinery required to rectify this state of affairs cannot be hurriedly improvised. It is well, however, that the need for it should be recognised now, and that such measures as are possible should be adopted to solve the problem.

Food.

THE first step in the direction of making the Empire self-contained was taken in 1912 when the Dominions Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into and report upon the resources of the Overseas Dominions, and the requirements of each Dominion and of the United Kingdom in the matter of food and raw material. In a Memorandum recently published the Commission establishes the share of the food and raw material needed for the United Kingdom which the Dominions and the rest of the Empire provide, and reveals the amount of leeway which has yet to be made up before the Mother Country can be relieved of the necessity of turning abroad for her supplies. A satisfactory feature of the information collected is that it shows a decided tendency on the part of the United Kingdom during the period 1901–1913 to draw an increasing proportion of its food supplies from sources within the Empire. There is, however, no similar tendency in the case of raw materials. The proportionate contribution from the Dominions and India to the total wheat requirements of the United Kingdom, which produces 22 per cent. itself, shows a marked increase, from 23·7 per cent. in the period 1901–1905 to 39·5 per cent. in 1911–1913. This increase is to be mainly accounted for by the great extension of wheat cultivation in Canada since 1900. It is of interest to note that while in foreign countries, both European and extra-European, the increase of the wheat area is proceeding at practically the same rate as the increase of population, in the British Empire the wheat area is developing far more rapidly, so that the Empire as a whole is becoming more self-supporting. The home production of barley (60 per cent. of the total consumption) and oats (75 per cent.) is more satisfactory, but the deficiency is suppli-

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largely from foreign countries. Maize, on the other hand, which is imported in larger quantities than barley and oats combined, comes almost exclusively from foreign countries, from the Argentine Republic (79 per cent.) and the United States (14 per cent.), a reproach which it is the duty of South Africa and Canada to remove. In regard to meat the home proportion of the supply has increased slightly during the last fifteen years and now approximates to 60 per cent. of the whole. Within this period the United States have dropped out as the main source of the supply of beef, leaving the Argentine Republic to contribute 80 per cent. and Australia 12 per cent. of the total imports; but New Zealand (40 per cent.) and Australia (25 per cent.) together supply most of the mutton imported, the balance being contributed mainly by the Argentine Republic (29 per cent.).

Raw Materials.

In a paper read before the British Association in 1912, Mr. R. H. Rew, C.B., arrived at the general conclusion that, omitting sugar, tea, coffee, and cocoa, of which there is no home production, the United Kingdom produced in value rather more than half of its total food requirements. When we consider raw materials the situation is not so satisfactory. Coal apart, the proportion of production in the United Kingdom only attains 50 per cent. of its requirements in the case of iron (actually 60 per cent.); it sinks as low as 5 per cent. in the case of copper. The country turns mainly to Spain for the balance of the iron needed, to Chile for copper ore, to Germany, Belgium, and Italy for zinc, to America for cotton, to America and Germany for leather, and to Sweden and Norway for wood pulp. In each instance the Empire contains within its own borders ample supplies for its own needs; but they are either wholly undeveloped, as in the case of iron outside the United Kingdom and Newfoundland, or insufficiently developed as in the case of copper and zinc. An anomalous state of affairs existed before the War in regard to the silver-lead and zinc concentrates of the Commonwealth, which found their way almost in their entirety to foreign countries; British Columbian zinc, moreover, goes to the United States. Australia, as we know, has already taken steps to deal with her metal problem; but an important field remains for the scientific development of the Empire's resources with a view to making it, as far as possible, self-contained and to preventing the drain upon its wealth. The labours of the Dominions Royal Commission must be supported by the establishment of special machinery for giving practical effect to the recommendations which fore[illegible] be confidently expected to result from its investigations.

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An Imperial Trade General Staff.

How much ground has yet to be covered, in the direction of making the most of the Empire's resources, was shown by the debate in the House of Commons on a motion introduced by Mr. Hewins, Member for Hereford, that His Majesty's Government should enter into immediate consultation with the Governments of the Dominions in order, with their aid, to bring the whole economic strength of the Empire into co-operation with our Allies in a policy directed against the enemy. It was essential to the mover's purpose that the policy should be specifically directed against the enemy and that the British Government should take the initiative. But in his reply the President of the Board of Trade, although considering the resolution "more than justified", ignored the issue and dilated on the efforts of individual traders and others, with or without the help of his Department, to improve upon the state of affairs that existed before the War. Between the frame of mind thus revealed by the spokesman of the Government, and the establishment of the necessary "Trade General Staff" for the vigorous prosecution of an economic war against a well-organised, well-equipped, and unscrupulous enemy, there is a wide gulf fixed. To bridge this gulf with the least possible delay is a task imposed upon the nation as a whole and in particular upon those primarily interested in trade. The subject is already engaging the attention of Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, and is being freely canvassed in the Dominions. Arrangements are in progress, at the time of writing, for a Guildhall Meeting; the matter is to come before the annual meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce on February 29. The burden of debt imposed on the United Kingdom as a result of the War can only be met by a vigorous extension, on organised scientific lines, of the Empire's trade and commerce, with special reference to the elimination of competition within the Empire and Allied countries by traders of the Central Powers.

British Columbia in London.

THE current month sees a change in the representation of British Columbia in London. Sir Richard McBride, until recently Premier of the Province, succeeds the Hon. J. H. Turner, who retires at the grand age of eighty-one years. The cordiality of the welcome awaiting the new Agent-General is in no way inconsistent with the feelings of regret with which good-bye will be said to his predecessor. Mr. Turner's tenure of the post will always be associated with the erection of the handsome new offices for British Columbia in Lower Regent Street, which have been his special care and delight. He brin

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long and useful record of public service to a close with the reflection that he has been instrumental in procuring for his province's Agent-General the finest offices of their kind in London—for no representative of the Overseas Dominions is as yet so handsomely housed as the Agent-General for British Columbia. Mr. Turner was a pioneer in Western Canada, having settled in Victoria in 1863. Sixteen years later he became Mayor of that city and was twice re-elected to that office. His parliamentary career began in 1886, when he was returned to the Legislative Assembly for Victoria, and from 1887 to 1898, and again from 1899 to 1901, he was Minister of Finance. From 1895 to 1898 he was Premier of the Province. He came to London as Agent-General for his Province in 1901, being the second to occupy that office. Sir Richard McBride is a comparatively young man, being in his forty-sixth year. He is a British Columbian born, a barrister by profession and has been engaged in Provincial politics for nearly twenty years. He has been Prime Minister since 1903, and was at one time so popular in the Province that the Opposition numbered only two members. The new Agent-General has paid many visits to London, and is well known and liked over here.

Sir George Reid, M.P.

The selection of Sir George Reid as a non-party member for St. George's, Hanover Square, is a testimony to the personal worth of the ex-High Commissioner for Australia, but is also in the nature of a public demonstration in favour of a practical measure of Imperial consolidation. When the War is over and the international situation has been regulated, problems of grave import to the future welfare of the British Empire will come up for further discussion and, we hope, for settlement. The War may not have evolved any entirely new conception of Empire, but it has enlarged very considerably the circles where something approaching an adequate conception obtains. To many, possibly to the majority of the nation, it has brought a fresh meaning to the word Empire, and if the new frame of mind is to be turned to advantage, there should be no unnecessary delay in giving concrete form to the desire to see Britain and the Overseas Dominions in closer co-operation for the good of the Empire as a whole. The presence of the daughter nations in an Imperial Council Chamber will make for freshness of ideas and increased motive power, and Sir George Reid's constituents as well as the country at large look to him to give them in the House of Commons an earnest of what will be when that Council Chamber has materialised.

for

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EMPIRE AND ARMAGEDDON: A STUDY IN POSSIBILITIES.

"*Also, we will make promise. So long as The Blood endures,*
I shall know that your good is mine; ye shall feel that my strength is yours.
In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all,
That Our House stand together and the pillars do not fall."—RUDYARD KIPLING.

To appreciate fully the present situation and future prospects of the British Empire, the student must first of all realise that both are unique in the world's history. We are faced with the stimulating spectacle of the greatest empire the world has known participating in the world's greatest war. This circumstance cannot fail to arouse curiosity. Not only do the issues, in their magnitude and importance, dwarf everything we have hitherto experienced, but the peculiar conditions on which our Empire has been established and maintained make it inevitable that a new chapter will be written in the world's story. Old empires and old imperial methods have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Assyria, Persia, Greece, Carthage, Rome, Spain, and Holland "abode their destined hour and went their way". We have had our reversion of world-empire, and now we are enduring the hour of trial. In it, we stand for a new epoch in the annals of world-empire, for new ideals, for new methods—in certain departments it would, perhaps, not be unfair to say "for new lack of methods"—and by the issue of the conflict they must stand or fall. The aftermath of Armageddon will not be an instance of history repeating itself. With a sense of reverence and awe we await the birth—or, perhaps it would be more exact to say, the gradual evolution—of a new order of things, which will bring in its train new responsibilities, new possibilities, new problems, and new destinies. To these issues, and to the new problems of Empire in particular, it may no longer be premature to devote some attention; for it has become obvious that their urgency is now apparent to the man in the street, who has been awakened, by untoward events, to a new consciousness of the meaning of Empire. This Imperial consciousness may easily become the greatest force created by the War, far exceeding in its importance and effect the fall of dynasties, the defeat of military powers and the alterations of frontiers. Compared with the results which this new impetus to Empire may accomplish, these are the achievements of a moment.

Before we proceed to enumerate the probable tasks of Imperialists in the future let us be sure we have a clear vision of what has already taken place, and how Imperial relationships have altered since August 4, 1914. A new practical unity between the Mother Country and the Colonies has replaced the old sentimental bonds. We have Canadians, Australasians, South Africans, Indians, and Maoris fighting as enthusiastic volunteers in a war in the inception of which they had no part. They did not join us in guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, nor did they participate in our *ententes* with France and Russia. By an odd anomaly of international law, however, they were at war because

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we were at war. They accepted the situation, not with resignation, but with a full-blooded enthusiasm. To place their attitude at its most unsentimental value, they realised that in the North Sea and in Northern Europe, their destiny, as well as ours, would be sealed; but one must feel certain, also, that, apart from selfish considerations, Germany's high-handed attempt to secure the hegemony of Europe—of the world, indeed—must always have been forcibly resented by these men to whom Freedom has been dearer than life itself. Many of them are the descendants of men who left home and Fatherland to escape religious and political intolerance; others, of later generations, had sought in new countries to escape the social and economic bondage of the older states. It would be strange indeed if these men did not draw sword in the name of Liberty at such a time! Their attitude, then, gratifying although it is, is more understandable than that of the coloured races who have rallied with such amazing favour to the British cause. The unceasing efforts of German *agents provocateurs*, skilled in their despicable craft, and well supplied with Teutonic gold, have utterly failed to seduce the coloured subjects of King George from the paths of loyalty. That is, perhaps, the most salient fact of the Empire's share in the War. It is at once a justification of our dealings with the subject races, and a unique tribute to the colonising and governing genius of the British people. Readers must bear patiently with the recapitulation of these well-known facts, because they are the premises on which we base our first great conclusion in this study of Empire and Armageddon. And our first conclusion is that Empire and Liberty have been shown to exist together in the British Empire. Had it been otherwise, the War might have spelt our downfall and ruin.

If we are satisfied that Empire and Liberty are co-existent, we cannot, however, close our eyes to the fact that our lack of Imperial organisation, and the co-ordination of forces and resources have militated greatly against our efficiency. The task of Imperial statesmanship in the future must be to discover how far Empire union and organisation of means are compatible with individual liberty. Many will argue that an Empire which may be described as a natural growth of unfettered individual endeavour should be allowed to develop along its original lines, but the experience of the War has shown us that such a course is attended by risks which it should be the aim of statesmanship to avert. Certainly it would be unpardonable to replace our present sentimental, elastic, and essentially human union with a material, unyielding, and mechanical federation. To do so would be to transgress against the spirit and tradition of the British race; but, without committing that blunder, it should be possible to improve and strengthen the fabric of Empire. The cement of Empire is the Imperial ideal of whose growth we have received so potent a proof. But empires are half spiritual and half material things, and an ideal, no matter how beautiful and just it may be, is of little value without an organisation to carry it into effect.

The political school which openly sought to achieve separation is dead, or, at all events, negligible. Men of all classes and political creeds are now looking eagerly forward to the foundation of a true Imperial Parliament which will be representative of the Empire. Whether or not we can proceed at once to

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the full accomplishment of this ideal is still a debatable question. Opinion may be divided on points of method and degree, but the aim is held almost unanimously. What has made most converts to this frame of mind is probably the anomalous condition of our foreign policy, which, although made by the United Kingdom alone, is binding upon the whole Empire. The War has been instrumental in drawing the attention of the man in the street to the injustice of this state of affairs, just as it has convinced him of the desirability of closer union on questions of defence. All these, with other matters which we shall consider later, urge the inclusion of Colonial representatives upon our Imperial Councils. If our kinsmen overseas claim that the citizenship of Empire should be enlarged, can we reasonably refuse them? Force of circumstance has already paved the way for a forward step. Public opinion is ready for it and, when peace is concluded, will even demand it. Already the Canadian Premier has, at Mr. Asquith's request, attended a British Cabinet Council, and we have been assured that the Dominions will be consulted as to the terms of peace. Surely these developments will not be "for the duration of the War" only.

The significance of these events and possibilities is not lost upon the man in the street, who is vaguely conscious that he is treading the threshold of a new era. This Empire, of which he had heard so much talk at General Elections, is becoming wonderfully real—almost tangible. Other men in the street have come from Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and the lesser outposts of Empire in response to an unspoken, yet irresistible, summons. Coloured races vie with one another in offers of service. Our fleet maintains a supremacy still unchallenged, and thereby enables men, money and material to be poured into the Old Country from all quarters of the globe. Surely, then, argues our man in the street, this Empire must, in truth, be very real and very great—not, as he had been wont to suppose, the convenient figment of political imaginations. Thus the mind, travelling further afield, asks why this Empire, so united, so determined, and so terrible in war, cannot achieve more in time of peace. This, briefly, is the process of reasoning by which the average man gravitates towards the problems of practical Imperialism. He says, in effect, if Empire, in the name of Liberty, can put up such a resolute fight against Prussian arrogance, can she not, in the name of humanity, wage an equally heroic campaign against poverty and destitution? Those of us, who, through good report and ill, have maintained a lofty faith in the cause of Empire, conscientiously believe that we can answer the man in the street's query with an unhesitating affirmative. The fact that such a question is being asked is, to us, welcome evidence that the time is ripe, or will be when peace is restored, for a long step toward the realisation of our Imperial ideals.

That Empire should be regarded as an upholder of Liberty, and as a possible instrument of economic progress, is certain to create a new political outlook for the man in the street. In the future the Empire, and not the mere nation, is to be the unit in all important problems. From thinking Imperially we may thus advance to living Imperially; for while the War has raised in British minds at home and abroad warm appreciation of the qualities of other nationalities,

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it has certainly killed the soulless cosmopolitanism which was making insidious progress in the United Kingdom. Blood, which is being shed so freely in the cause of Empire and Liberty, has proved itself thicker than water; but the natural bond between the Briton at home and his Colonial brother need not make our relations with our Continental allies any the less cordial. That this new spirit is a practical as well as a spiritual change is made manifest by the movement for the furtherance of Imperial trade which is stirring the commercial world at present. Current events, and their irresistible moral, are curing many business men of the obsolete belief that business and politics are essentially diverse and opposite phenomena, which must rigorously be kept apart—each in its own watertight compartment. Our enemy has shown us how military and commercial power may be welded together for the national advancement, and what they have achieved for aggression we may do well to imitate for defence. It is no political prejudice, but a sincere conviction of expediency, that is turning business men's minds to-day to the development of Imperial trade. The desire to trade with the young States overseas who are bearing so gallant a part in the War is naturally strong at the moment, but stronger still is the feeling that economic recovery after the conclusion of peace can best be assisted by a more systematic development of our Imperial resources.

This may lead us to the adoption of new economic expedients. It may compel us to turn our faces against much that we had hitherto accepted as unquestionable axioms. To this there will be natural opposition from many quarters; but the truth of the matter is that the future will find us the children of circumstance, not, as we have hitherto been, creatures of prejudices, fetishes and shibboleths. It will not, I trust, be regarded as touching upon a tabooed topic, if I assert that the modification of our Free Trade policy is a certain outcome of the War, which, it may be observed, has lifted the fiscal question entirely above the realms of party policy. Men are beginning to realise that economics were made for man, and not man for economics, and that the best system is the one which is the most elastic, and most adaptable to changing circumstances. A few reactionaries will doubtless remain to defend the inviolable sanctity of Free Trade or to assert the unassailable wisdom of High Protection, but the man in the street will be content to consign both to the winds, and to concentrate upon a practical adaptation of means to ends. This spirit may bring about precisely those things which Germany dreads most, viz.: the exclusion of her manufactures from the British and Colonial markets, and the establishment of a British Imperial Tariff Union, or Zollverein. The latter possibility had exercised the minds of German economists long before the war clouds broke over Europe. In 1893—ten years before the fiscal issue was raised in the United Kingdom—Carl Johannes Fuchs, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg, in his notable book, "The Trade Policy of Great Britain" discusses finally the lessons which Germany may learn from the experience of Great Britain, and concludes thus:

"The first thing is to hinder the carrying out of the scheme of a British Imperial Tariff Union with differential duties against foreign countries, as this, naturally, would be a great misfortune to Germany."

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Subsequently he points out how important it will be for Germans to "cultivate trade relations with the British Colonies, and so to create interests in them which would be hostile to any such scheme." Here we see the characteristic German policy of insidious permeation with intent to make effective interference with the economic and political destinies of the state thus invaded.

Those of us who are in close touch with Colonial opinion at present can hazard a pretty shrewd guess as to how the suggestion of Teutonic permeation would be received in the Colonies. It is for us to co-operate with them in rendering such a contingency impossible. As regards the other side of the question, the keeping of German goods out of our markets, our statesmen must recollect that here is no case of the sanctity of fiscal doctrines. We are at war with Germany; not merely at political variance, and it is, and has been, admittedly a part of her campaign against us to build up great commercial interests in the United Kingdom which could be used to exercise both economic and political influence in our domestic affairs. Then it must be recognised that, if the privilege of free importation is again conceded to Germany, we shall certainly alienate the vast body of Colonial opinion and that of our Allies, if, indeed, we do not give them actual offence. Our friend, the man in the street, will certainly oppose such a course. Although not naturally a vengeful person, he has not forgotten the studied savagery of the German, his faithlessness or his cruelty. The man in the street will, for many years to come, buy no German article, if he knows its source of origin. It is for our legislators to make his determination effective, by furnishing adequate safeguards against the entry of the unclean thing; and in passing it might not be amiss to remind our politicians of a poster which was very popular in the General Election of 1906. It represented the ghost of a British soldier who had lost his life in the South African war watching the Chinese labourers at work on the Rand and asking, "Is this what I gave my life for?" The cartoon was very effective; but I can foresee that, if occasion arises, a similar poster, with a German "drummer" substituted for the Chinese, might bring the Empire about the ears of the luckless statesmen who left the door unbarred!

Reference has been made to the Empire as an instrument of economic progress, and we have spoken also of the need for a more systematic development of our Imperial resources. The one is really the counterpart of the other; so we may consider them together. The War has shown us how, in spite of the vastness of the Empire's natural wealth, we have neglected certain industries, and the production of certain raw materials, being content to buy from others what we ourselves could produce. This economic weakness has made itself keenly felt in many quarters during the last eighteen months. To discuss the issue is no longer to run the risk of incurring partisan opposition, for all clear minds realise the position and are anxious to remedy it. In the meantime we can only hope that this very admirable frame of mind will continue after the conclusion of the War. If it does, the problem should speedily be solved.

From the material side of the matter we now turn to the human element. We have mentioned the awakening of the man in the street to the fact that Empire spells opportunity for the industrious and for the enterprising. Along

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with this fact we should consider the new value which human life has attained. It may seem paradoxical to say that at a time of unparalleled carnage human life has attained a new value in our eyes; but such is, nevertheless, the case. How often has the man-power of the British Empire been reckoned up by economists, strategists and publicists since hostilities began? Now we realise, in very fact, what we had previously been accustomed to accept lightly as an economic axiom—namely, that man-power is the fundamental wealth of every state. At a time when industry, even when actuated by the most patriotic motives, is jealous of every man required by the army, and when the military authorities demand every available man for the trenches, we look back with incredulous amazement upon our former apathy to the economic worth of the individual. Certainly we regarded him humanely as a fellow-being. We gave him, through the dubious agency of party politics, what we called social reform, and we thought ourselves philanthropists and humanitarians! Yet sweated labour, blind-alley occupations, bad drains and unhealthy dwellings took their toll every year from among those whose eyes had never been raised to the wider horizon of Empire.

Looking back upon such appalling waste of raw material, one can scarcely believe that Britain will go back to these conditions again. We note the introduction of female labour into many branches of industry, and ask whether these women will be content to revert to their old economic status after the men return. Let us ask ourselves also whether the men themselves will in all cases want to return to the occupations they have left. Among the young men in particular it seems tolerably certain that the physical fitness and the disciplined courage and self-confidence gained in the army will induce many of them to seek fairer opportunities in the Colonies. And what awaits them? Eleven million square miles of territory under the British flag inhabited by only about four hundred and seventeen million souls, and to the present area of the Empire will certainly be added new lands won from Germany and retained because of strategic reasons. When the War is over, the Dominions will demand men in greater numbers than ever before, because not only have they suffered serious depletion on the battlefields of Europe, but because the natural flow of emigration from the Old Country has ceased. A great work lies ahead of our Imperial statesmen in arresting the previous waste of man-power, in regulating the flow of emigration and in guiding and assisting each and every emigrant to that position in which he can work best for his own advancement and the furtherance of the Empire's destiny.

That brings us finally to the matter of Education, in which we would appear to be blind to the needs of an Imperial race. German children are taught to love their country and to know its history as a fundamental part of their education. Surely, in time to come, we might with advantage tell our children more of how the British people spread themselves over seas. Apart from our struggle for personal liberty, this Imperial development is our greatest racial achievement, but how many of us live and die without ever being aware of it. Even in the secondary schools the salient fact is often lost sight of in the welter of dates, battles, revolutions, personal episodes and expurgated scandals

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which go to make up our "history." How often have we heard the baser type of Socialist, from his vantage-point at a street corner, decrying the British Empire as a monument of our ancestors' cupidity, avarice and tyranny, with none to deny him. It is the knowledge of Empire, so often lacking in the past, that will breed the appreciation of Empire, and with it the desire to use the Imperial heritage as our supreme weapon for fighting poverty and destitution. It will enable us to create—as Cecil Rhodes simply wrote of Rhodesia—"more homes for British people".

It would be deplorable if the new impetus to Empire which this War has created were allowed to dissipate itself without being instrumental in creating those fresh links which are required to make the Imperial chain complete. To abler hands must be left the establishment of the Parliament of Empire for which altered conditions call so urgently. To naval and military experts must be left the formation of new and more closely co-ordinated schemes for Imperial defence. Infinite patience and tact will be required for these undertakings, which may have to be carried into execution by gradual changes, but the War will be an unprofitable and disastrous episode in our history if the lessons which it has taught should be neglected. It is to the hands of the man in the street, however, that we must now entrust the sacred flame of the Imperial gospel, which has burnt so brightly in these dark days of war. He must cherish it, and tend it, and keep it burning as a beacon to guide coming generations. He must testify to its efficacy, and tell his children how the British people at home and in the Dominions, as well as the coloured subject races, followed its gleam in the days of Armageddon and were not put to shame.

In the closing chapter of his admirable book on the War, Sir Gilbert Parker writes: "It is a great thing to have lived in these days of the giant things; it will be a greater thing to those of us who are spared to live on to face the giant tasks of to-morrow." That fact should be the inspiration of all who love the Imperial ideal and who seek its consummation. Men have been found—men of all classes, creeds and colours—ready to lay down their lives and to die, if need be, for the security of the British Empire. It is not enough that we applaud their heroism, and bestow a pittance on their dependents. For every man who dies for Empire, a hundred must be found to live for it, and by that is not meant merely to enjoy its liberties, its privileges and its opportunities, but to undertake also its responsibilities, to further its advancement, to secure its existence, and to give head, heart, and hand to its service. Who shall say which task is the more difficult? "'Tis not the dying for a faith that's so hard, Master Harry—every man of every nation has done that," said Dick Steele to Harry Esmond, "'Tis the living up to it that is difficult." True, indeed, but grave will be our default if we allow the work for which so much noble blood has been spilt to remain unfinished through our ineptitude or neglect.

WILLIAM LANG.

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THE STRANGLING OF GERMANY.

It is well that the Government has attempted to explain to the public the general principles upon which it is acting in exercising its control over the Fleet. There has been considerable criticism of the Foreign Office policy, and Sir Edward Grey and Lord Robert Cecil took a wise step in publishing an official declaration of policy on the vital question of Sea Power and how it is being enforced to strangle our enemies. This document* was supplemented by a debate in the House of Commons on January 26. It cannot be said, however, that either the official statement or the speeches were particularly satisfactory or comforting.

In an article in the December number of this journal I tried to show the perpetual conflict in opinion and interest between belligerents and neutrals in times of war. The Admiralty represents, or should represent, the purely naval view, the policy that seeks every opportunity to destroy enemy trade upon the seas. The Foreign Office, on the other hand, has to handle our relations with neutral countries, and therefore is constantly attempting to avoid friction by making concessions. When war broke out one might have expected that the Foreign Office would have realised the necessity for exerting Sea Power to its fullest legal extent. So long as our Allies, France and Russia, viewed questions of Sea Power solely from their own point of view, it was natural that, being military rather than naval Powers, they supported the limitation of Sea Power. But as soon as we threw in our lot with them, it became our duty to convince our military Allies that Sea Power was the greatest asset of the Allied cause. We understood naval warfare better than either France or Russia, and it was for us to take the lead. This is where the great mistake was made: we followed instead of leading. The official statement says that "when the present war broke out, it was thought convenient, *in order* among other things *to secure uniformity of procedure among all the Allied forces*, to declare the principles of International Law which the Allied Governments regarded as applicable". So the Declaration of London was adopted with slight modifications. In other words, we, the leading naval Power, followed the lead of our Allies who were military and not naval nations. They wanted the Declaration of London before the war, because naturally each nation seeks what is best for itself alone. But as soon as a country has allies, the point of view should be changed. Sea Power, which Russia especially dreaded before the war, became her great support as soon as we became her ally, and it was our duty to make this clear. Instead of this, having acted on wrong principles for ten years, we failed to give the lead and began the war hampered and fettered by all the rules and restrictions which the great military Powers had invented.

This is the keynote to the whole question. The official statement admits that "no blockade of Germany was declared until March, 1915, and therefore

* Statement of the Measures Adopted to Intercept the Sea-Borne Commerce of Germany Cd. 8145.]

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up to that date we had to rely exclusively on the right to capture contraband". But even this weapon was by no means fully used. The original Declaration of London included in the "free list" (*i.e.* goods which might not be declared contraband), such vital commodities as cotton, wool, oil seeds and nuts, copper, rubber, metallic ores, &c., &c., while forage, fuel, aircraft, &c., were only conditional contraband. In the form in which the Declaration was adopted, aircraft and a few other things were added to the list of absolute contraband; later copper, lead, rubber, &c., were made conditional contraband; then rubber and finally cotton were made absolute contraband, and so on. In all two Orders in Council and eight Proclamations were issued to modify these lists and even now, in spite of the changes made in March 1915, our lists of contraband are not nearly as complete as they might be. This I will show in a moment.

It is very difficult to sum up the methods by which Sea Power is now being enforced, mainly because the Order in Council of March last (which in the words of Mr. Asquith, was "to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany") is not wholly consistent with the other Orders and Proclamations and is certainly inconsistent with the Declaration of Paris of 1856, which the Foreign Office still professes to follow. The official summary is as follows :—

(i.) German exports to oversea countries have been almost entirely stopped. (ii.) All shipments to neutral countries adjacent to Germany are carefully scrutinised with a view to the detection of a concealed enemy destination. Wherever there is reasonable ground for suspecting such destination, the goods are placed in the Prize Court. (iii.) Under agreements in force with bodies of representative merchants in neutral countries adjacent to Germany stringent guarantees are exacted from importers, and so far as possible all trade between the neutral country and Germany is restricted. (iv.) By agreements with shipping lines and by a vigorous use of the power to refuse bunker coal, a large proportion of the neutral mercantile marine which carries on trade with Scandinavia and Holland has been induced to agree to conditions designed to prevent goods carried in these ships from reaching the enemy. (v.) Every effort is being made to introduce a system of rationing which will ensure that the neutral countries concerned only import such quantities of the articles specified as are normally imported for their own consumption.

The main difficulty is in regard to (ii.). In the Order in Council of March 11, 1915 (the Order issued by way of reprisals to German piracy), Article III. provides that "every merchant vessel, on her way to a port other than a German port, carrying goods with an enemy destination, or which are enemy property, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or Allied port". The legality of this, according to the Law of Nations, is a little doubtful, for, unless we blockade Germany (which technically we have not done), neutral traders claim a right to deliver goods that are non-contraband to Germany's neighbours. Our "sort of blockade", instituted by this Order in Council, is justified on "an unquestionable right of retaliation", in answer to German piracy. It was, however, a doubt as to the legality of this procedure that probably induced

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the Foreign Office to include in this Article a provision that all goods so discharged "unless they are contraband of war shall, if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty, be restored," and not confiscated. As this Article includes goods "which are enemy property", these later words mean that we are to restore to the Germans the goods that are German, a strange procedure in times of war; and as regards the goods of neutrals it is, as I have said, doubtful whether we have the right to seize them at all if they are not contraband. If the Foreign Office were quite certain that all this procedure was legal, it would have relied upon it entirely and would scarcely have taken so much trouble to make agreements with neutral traders as regards their imports and their exports to Germany.

The first weakness in our present position is that our lists of contraband are inadequate. We cannot forget how the lists in the original Declaration of London favoured the great military nations at our expense. Though these lists have, as I have shown above, been tinkered with *ad nauseam*, nevertheless they are hopelessly incomplete now. There is no legal reason, for instance, why copra (which produces explosives), forage, fuel, skins and furs, railway material, etc., should not be made absolute contraband. The President of the Board of Trade told the House on Commons of January 10 last that the reason why this was not done was that "our contraband list is the longest this world has ever seen". That is no answer. This world has never seen such a war as this, with whole nations organised to fight each other. The best thing that the Government could do is to appoint a committee of scientists to draw up a list of every commodity which is essential to enable Germany to continue the war. Every item on that list can legally be made contraband. If that is done, the agreements with neutral traders will be unimportant, for they do not include, so far as we are told, any arrangements for letting neutrals have contraband goods for re-export to Germany.

The Foreign Office makes a great difficulty about the necessity for proving that goods imported by neutrals are on their way to the enemy. The official statement says, and truly, that "a belligerent who makes use of his naval power to intercept the commerce of his enemy, has to justify his action in each particular case before a Prize Court: It is necessary to demonstrate in a Court of Law that the destination of the goods was such as to justify the belligerent in seizing them. If this is not proved, the goods will be released and damages may be awarded against the captor." This may sound a good reason for official inactivity; but Sir Samuel Evans, the judge of the Prize Court, whose decisions seem so feared by the Foreign Office, has been far more willing to be convinced of the real destination of goods than the Foreign Office. In the notable case of the *Kim*, Sir Samuel Evans expressly accepted the enormous increase in the quantities imported by Copenhagen, compared with the totals of previous years, as proof that the goods in question were on their way to Germany. To some extent the Foreign Office seems now to be taking a sounder view on this question. The official statement explains the steps taken for "rationing" the neutral countries, in other words "an arrangement by which the import

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of any article into a neutral country is limited to the amount of its true domestic requirements". Unfortunately the Foreign Office will not allow the Navy to do this rationing, and thus to prevent all goods beyond the permitted allowance from entering neutral ports. The Foreign Office thinks that "the best way of carrying this arrangement into effect is *probably* [a strange word in so important an official statement] by agreement with some body representing the commerce of the [neutral] country". This is the second great weakness in the present policy. Far too much reliance is placed upon these agreements with neutral traders, whose interests, be it remembered, are the very reverse of ours. Their objects, and they admit it, are to maintain their maximum trade with Germany; ours should be the direct opposite. How, therefore, can neutral traders be satisfactory policemen from our point of view? It is significant that Mr. Basil Clarke, writing to the *Daily Mail* from Copenhagen, has reported: "I found traders who told me point-blank that they would consider such agreements not morally binding upon them", as they were exacted by force. This may be so or not, but in any case the possibility should prevent us from relying for essentials upon agreements with neutral traders: "Rationing" is the work of the Navy. Agreements with neutrals may be wise—provided that they refer to details only.

There are many ways, then, in which the strangling of Germany could be rendered more severe. We can increase the number of articles on the list of absolute contraband, and thus really prevent them from reaching Germany through her neutral neighbours. We can also make the "rationing" more severe by accepting the abnormal increase in the imports of neutrals as sufficient proof that the goods in question are destined for Germany, and by leaving it to the Navy to exclude all imports beyond the normal quantities. Further, we can confiscate all enemy property that comes into our hands. To achieve these ends an excellent preliminary would be to repudiate the Declarations of both Paris and London, which are very largely the cause of the mass of "juridical niceties" in which all these questions are wrapped.

The Government has little right to resent criticism on this subject. The President of the Board of Trade has recently expressed his regrets "that the economic pressure which we have been able to bear upon Germany has not been felt sooner". It would have been, if we had exerted our full naval strength from the beginning of the War, as allowed by the Law of Nations. We cannot forget that, despite our concessions to neutral opinion, neutrals have bullied us, are bullying us, and will bully us. If we stand within our legal rights, we have nothing to fear. By refusing, however, to exercise our rights, we invite bullying—and get it. It is not too late to stiffen our backs in this great struggle with the nation that sank the *Lusitania*.

CLAUD MULLINS.

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"OCEANA"—AND AFTER.

By SIR HARRY WILSON.

It is now many years since Froude's brilliant description of his Australasian wanderings was published, and at once captivated the imagination of those who had listened eagerly to Seeley's lectures on "The Expansion of England", and W. E. Forster's exposition of his new doctrine of Imperial Federation. Optimistic it undoubtedly was, with its vivid pictures of a prosperity unsullied by any shadow of approaching depression. Its critics, not without some justification, said that it was "Australasia seen through rose-coloured spectacles", and "steeped in a kind of golden haze". Not long after its appearance the lean years of drought set in; the bubble of land-speculation burst, and a tidal wave of misfortune fell on the great island continent, while New Zealand had her own difficulties, mainly connected with labour troubles, to contend against. But few hints of such untoward possibilities were to be found in Froude's eloquent and glowing pages.

Now that the Commonwealth which he foresaw, when he conversed with William Bede Dalley, is an accomplished fact, and Australia and New Zealand, more powerful and prosperous than ever, have come to the aid of the Mother Country in the great struggle for freedom, and by the splendid achievements of their brave sons in Gallipoli have once for all asserted their nationhood, one's memory goes back with renewed pleasure to "Oceana", and recalls the strong appeal made by the book to the ardent spirits of the middle eighties of last century.

At the moment when the Institute is sending out Sir Rider Haggard, another distinguished man of letters and affairs, to the Dominions, to inquire into the possibility of finding homes on the land there, when the war is over, for some of those fine fellows from the old country who have been fighting side by side with their comrades from overseas, it may be not uninteresting to revive the echoes of a long-forgotten controversy aroused by the publication of some verses entitled "On Reading 'Oceana'", which were written by the author of this article, in the first flush of his enthusiasm as a lover of the Empire and all that concerned it. They made their unpretentious appearance in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and ran as follows:—

"O framer of a happy tale
Of marvels strange and manifold,
Of fields that know not how to fail,
And hills that teem with hidden gold,

In the great England overseas
Where, giant-like, our race renews
Its youth, and stretch'd in strenuous ease,
Puts on, once more, its manhood's thews—

We thank thee for thy fervent hope
That our dear land, in days to be,
May orb herself to fuller scope
Knit, heart to heart, in bondage free;

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Till all the peoples of our Queen
One undivided Empire know,
And round the world, in strength serene,
Our peaceful fleets unchalleng'd go.

We thank thee, too, for preaching fair
To those sad millions, grim'd with smoke,
Who yearly, daily, hourly bear
The bitter load of Mammon's yoke,

A glad evangel of release,
Of lessen'd cares, and lighter toil,
Of grave-ward mellowing age, at peace
Upon its plot of kindly soil.

Who fears the venture? Who would stay
To stifle in our murky streets?
Who would not fain escape away
And change the town's unblest retreats

For that bright air, that boundless blue,
Where Britain draws a deeper breath,
And patriot souls create anew
The England of Elizabeth."

Not long after the verses had been printed, there was published a small volume by Freeman, containing a couple of lectures, "Greater Greece and Greater Britain", and "George Washington, the Expander of England", the one delivered to the Students' Association at Edinburgh, and the other as a public lecture in the University of Oxford. With the former this paper has nothing to do; but midway through the latter, the professor came down on the unlucky poet like the proverbial "cartload of bricks", and tore him limb from limb with a ferocity, which seemed scarcely called for, considering his insignificance:

"I have just been reading some brand-new rimes, the literal translation of which might be toilsome, but the general drift of which it is not hard to see. We hear in the patriotic poet's strain of

"'The great England overseas
Where, giant-like, our race renews
Its strength, and stretch'd in strenuous ease,
Puts on, once more, its manhood's thews.'

Yet more mysteriously is the fervent hope set forth—

"'That our dear land in days to be
May orb herself to fuller scope
Knit, heart to heart, in bondage free;
Till all the peoples of our Queen
One undivided Empire know.'

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"In what the promised Elysium is to consist is a little dark, but it is plain that its blessings are to be confined to 'the peoples of our Queen,' and that, whatever may be the exact political condition described as being 'in bondage free,' it is reached only by those who are members of 'one undivided Empire.' A question which I put on another occasion is now answered. Till this doctrine was thus clearly laid down, I was allowed to hope that 'the great England overseas' at least took in that mighty company of free and independent commonwealths, speaking the English tongue, living under the English law, where, whether 'in strenuous ease' or otherwise, our race has surely renewed its strength on the shores planted by the Thirteen Colonies of England, and in the wider lands to the west of them. It is now at last plain that, in this new-fledged patriotism which can see national union only in 'undivided Empire,' no place is found for the country of the man whose birth and deeds we this day remember. It is plain that 'the great England beyond seas' is one in which Virginia and Massachusetts, Illinois and California, have no part or lot. Strange, indeed, to those earlier colonists, to the man of Hellas and to the man of Canaan, would the doctrine have sounded that there could be no national fellowship, save among 'peoples' of the same sovereign, that national brotherhood could take no shape but that of 'undivided Empire.' 'Empire,' forsooth! there is something strange, nay, something ominous, in the way in which that word and its even more threatening adjective seem ready to spring to every lip at every moment."

The victim, it must be regretfully admitted, was more amused than annoyed at finding himself thus "butcher'd to make an Oxford holiday". His withers were unwrung, and he wrote to the author of "Oceana," enclosing a copy of the offending verses, and drawing attention to the somewhat elephantine strictures which they had so unexpectedly called down. In reply he received the following characteristic letter, which amply repaid him for the castigation his "rimes" had undergone:

"THE MOLT,
"SALCOMBE,
"*May* 19 [1886].

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your verses on 'Oceana' are very good indeed, though perhaps I am not the person to compliment you. I do not suppose that Freeman can have hurt you. He hates me for reasons known to himself, and extends his malice to anyone who has a good word to say for me.

"But, alas, I fear very much that, as far as England is concerned, we are whipping a dead horse. The crowded population of this country will never rouse themselves to see what they are losing till hunger drives them, and then it will be too late. The politicians, however, do not know that vengeance is storing up against them. These islands cannot permanently feed 35 millions of human beings, and every year the number grows and the peril increases. But there is a more and less even in dangers so serious, and everyone who can do a little may help to lighten the shock when it comes. I am too old to take further part, and must leave the work to those who are younger and stronger. Wishing you all health and strength to go on upon the right course.

"I remain, faithfully yours,
"J. A. FROUDE."

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THE INSTITUTE'S LUNCHEON TO SIR GEORGE REID.

On January 19 a luncheon was given in the Whitehall Rooms by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute in honour of the Rt. Hon. Sir George Reid, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.P., on the occasion of his retirement from the High Commissionership of the Australian Commonwealth and his election as Member of Parliament for St. George's, Hanover Square. In the absence of Mr. Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was to have presided at the luncheon, the chair was taken by Viscount Milner, and among those who were present were :—Lord Desborough, Lt.-Col. Lord Hythe, Sir George H. Perley, Sir Thomas Mackenzie, Sir Peter McBride, Sir Hartmann W. Just, Col. Sir Thomas B. Robinson, Sir Charles Lucas, Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.P., the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, K.C., the Hon. B. R. Wise, K.C., Mr. F. W. Young, Lt.-Col. P. Pelletier, M.D., Lt.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, Admiral the Hon. Sir E. Fremantle, Admiral Sir James Bruce, General Sir Richard Harrison, Major-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Talbot, Lt.-General Sir Edward Hutton, Lt.-General Sir Henry Settle, Sir Robert Nevison, Bart., Sir Francis Fleming, Sir George le Hunte, Sir Godfrey Lagden, Sir John A. Cockburn, M.D., Sir William Grey-Wilson, Sir Thomas Holderness, Sir Charles Bayley, Sir E. Montague Nelson, Sir Joseph Lawrence, Sir Owen Philipps, Sir Roper Parkington, Sir James Mills, Sir Westby Perceval, Sir William H. Treacher, Alderman Sir George Wyatt Truscott, Sir Kenneth Anderson, Sir John Boraston, Sir Ernest Birch, Sir Frederick Green, Sir Edward Mann, Bart., Sir John Page Middleton, Sir J. R. Somers-Vine, Colonel Duncan Pitcher, Messrs. Lewis Haslam, M.P., J. A. Murray Macdonald, M. P., J. M. McLeod, M.P., Donald Macmaster, K.C., M.P., W. E. Hume Williams, K.C., M.P., Ralph S. Bond, Harry Brittain, A. S. Bull, Frederick Dutton, Robert Littlejohn, Ellis T. Powell, and the Secretary, Sir Harry Wilson.

The Chairman read a letter of regret for his unavoidable absence, owing to an unforeseen call of public business, from Mr. Bonar Law, who stated that he was particularly sorry to miss the opportunity of saying in public what he thought of the great services rendered by Sir George Reid as High Commissioner. Sir Harry Wilson, Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, announced that letters or telegrams regretting their inability to be present had been received from Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Crewe, Lord Emmott, Mr. Harcourt, Sir John Anderson, Sir George Fiddes, Sir John McCall, Colonel Sir Newton Moore, and Mr. T. J. Lennard. The last-named sent the following message : "Please accept my regret unable attend. Desire in Bristol's name to congratulate Sir George Reid on forging new link of Empire. Trust the sentiment of to-day may be practical politics of to-morrow."

After the toast of "The King and United Empire" had been honoured, Lord Milner said : I have now to propose the health of our guest. I feel a certain difficulty in addressing you, because I do not really quite know what is the occasion of this meeting. Generally these complimentary toasts are proposed to a man at the close of his career, and sometimes they are a send-off at its beginning. I really do not know whether we have met to celebrate the close of our guest's most distinguished career as High Commissioner, or to welcome him on the auspicious opening of a new career. If he is as successful in the career which lies before him as in that which he has just closed, I think some distinguished statesmen must be beginning to feel very nervous about

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their places. What does not admit of any dispute is that as High Commissioner our friend Sir George Reid has been a most unmitigated success. He has done the work of the country which sent him here in a manner which has not only been satisfactory to Australia, but extremely agreeable to all those in this country who have been brought in contact with him. He has been much more than the Official Representative of Australia ; he has been a real social link between Australia and this country, and has endeared himself to all of us over here by the whole-hearted manner in which he has thrown himself into all our interests, political, social, and philanthropic. I think some of us must have felt a little surprised that he should have chosen to utilise the period of *otium cum dignitate* which he has so richly earned,—that the form of leisured ease he should have chosen was Membership of the British House of Commons, for I can imagine a more peaceful life, a more perfect leisure, for the veteran statesman. But, after all, we feel that in view of his great youthfulness, the more enterprising and courageous course he has chosen only endears him the more to us, and ensures to him our still greater admiration and sympathy. We feel confident that in the career which he so well inaugurated last night he will win new laurels, and that he will occupy a prominent and honoured place among the members of the great Assembly to which he now belongs. I cannot propose the health of Sir George Reid on this occasion without reflecting—I am sure he will not take it amiss—that the honour done to him is also done to the great country he has so long worthily represented in our midst. It is impossible at this moment to afford a welcome to any Australian without giving expression, however briefly and simply, to the very deep feeling which exists among men of all parties and classes in this country—the deep feeling of admiration and gratitude for the magnificent part which Australia has played in the present great struggle. There may be differences of opinion amongst us about the origin and conduct of the War, but there is one subject on which there is no difference of opinion amongst any Britons worthy of the name, and that is the support—the magnificent support—which the Empire has derived from all the great Dominions under the British Flag, and the immense importance of that support not only in the present but in the future. We think primarily, no doubt, of the gallantry and heroism which have distinguished our fellow-citizens on the field of battle ; but there is one other reflection which ought not to be entirely overlooked. We ought to think also of the wonderful spirit shown by the statesmen and people at home. That Australians and Canadians would show themselves gallant soldiers under fire I do not think anybody ever doubted. They have, perhaps, been even more gallant and distinguished than we altogether imagined—that is, their achievements may take higher rank in the annals of the total heroism of the world—but that they would be thoroughly worthy of the Old Country and Flag we always knew. What is even more encouraging, perhaps, in view of the future, is the remarkable manner in which the statesmen of the Dominions and the public opinion of the Dominions, in spite of so much which might have incited them to waver, have never wavered, but have stood steadily behind the Imperial cause throughout the whole of this struggle. There were many occasions on which criticism or complaint might so naturally have arisen so that we could hardly have resented it. As a matter of fact the Dominions have gone on uncomplainingly and have thought of nothing except putting their whole strength into the struggle, and in so doing they have given the most enormous support, not only material but moral, to the cause, and I think that support becomes all the more valuable from the fact that it is given not merely, or perhaps not primarily, as the phrase is, to the Mother Country, but mainly to a cause which Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and

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South Africa all recognise to be their own—to be something greater even than the cause of the Mother Country—namely, the vast material interests and, more than that, the great moral ideals which all the nations of the Empire have in common. They are fighting not only for something greater than Australia, New Zealand, Canada, or South Africa, and Great Britain; they are fighting for the great Brotherhood of free and progressive nations over which the British Flag flies, and on whose success in the present struggle depends the whole future of mankind.

The toast was drunk with musical honours, and a special cheer was given for Lady Reid.

The Right Hon. Sir GEORGE REID, M.P.—Lord Milner, High Commissioners, Agents-General, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—A number of obligations of gratitude crowd upon me at this moment, but I think the chief one of all is that additional cheer which you gave in honour of Lady Reid. My obligations to her are infinitely greater even than the obligations of which I am deeply sensible in all other respects. I must thank you, Lord Milner, at once most gratefully for the honour which you have conferred upon me in occupying the chair and in making the speech you have made. I would also like to return thanks to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the pleasant testimony he has borne of the way in which I have discharged the duties of High Commissioner of Australia. It would, I know, be impossible for me to have earned that compliment but for the thoroughly zealous way in which I have been helped by my brother High Commissioners and by the great Departments of State in this country. I cannot sufficiently express the obligations of Australia during the past six years, more especially to the Colonial Office, the War Office, and the Admiralty I have also to thank the Council and Members of the Royal Colonial Institute for this splendid demonstration. This Institute, in my view, is, and has been for many years, one of the active and powerful factors in cultivating a good understanding between the different peoples of the British Empire. Some time ago I said that to the ordinary Australian London was the loneliest place in the world, and so it was and so it is. One of the penalties of greatness, the greatness of the City of London, is that it cannot, quite so familiarly as I am sure it would like, take to its personal affection the individual members of the Empire who happen to come to London. But the Royal Colonial Institute has done yeoman service in giving a flesh-and-blood grasp to the hand of Imperial friendship. Reference has been made to the glorious achievements of Australia on the field of battle. Yes, and I think their example might be followed with great advantage by men who are not exposed to the perils and hardships of this campaign. We know now that Australians, and when I say Australians I am thinking also of New Zealanders, for months and months were hanging on to those cliffs in a desperate resolve to maintain the strength of their lines and keep the flag flying. Events over which they had no control have made all the heroism of those who were killed there and wounded there, of those who survived there, appear to the superficial eye to have been in vain. Have they ever uttered one word of criticism or resentment? They fulfilled that memorable phrase of Tennyson's, "Theirs not to reason why, Theirs but to do or die." There are some unhappy individuals, who have never worn the uniform or risked life or limb, for whom I have a slight paraphrase of those lines: "Theirs all to reason why, Theirs not to do or die." The line at which criticism is healthy and patriotic must be drawn far more strictly in times of war than in times of peace. Everyone who cherishes a domestic resentment at a time of war —war of the most terrible sort—seems to me to belong to every other country and every other world but this country and this world. Think of the terrible strain upon the

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members of this Government at this time. If I could see in that House twenty-two men with larger experience and ability and patriotism, I would be very willing to see the present Government changed on the spot. But I have been in the House of Commons now, I think, for three days, and have been looking for these men, and I am hanged if I can see them. You know this truce in the bitter party conflicts of the previous five or six years has been copied as a rule by the Press of this country, and by members of Parliament and the masses of people in this country, and I think the way in which the masses of England, Scotland, and Wales, and, when you consider everything, of Ireland, because you have got to remember some things—when you think of the difference between August 1 and August 5, 6, and 7, 1914, you see the most magnificent transformation of party detachment into national patriotism the world has ever seen. I think the patriotism of the masses of England is not always quite recognised. There were thousands of men earning 10*s*., 12*s*., and 15*s*. a day in the mines and shipyards of England who deserted their job to earn something like 1*s*. a day, and in order to make sure they should not be dragged back to safety, like some of those single fellows, they actually gave false names and addresses. I think that little deviation from the path of rectitude will be looked upon benignantly in the heavenly regions.

We are now only in the beginning of this War—we are just beginning to get on terms. You know how the Old Country used to muddle through wars in time gone by, how it used to take years to lick it into shape. I sometimes forget there is war on when I hear some speeches lately. We can hardly realise we have had 800 years of security here on these islands, and we are apt to forget that the awful battle raging on several continents is a battle to secure the integrity of these islands, and the sanctity of the homes of the British people. We ought to work all the harder, to stand by our Allies all the more staunchly, because they are exposed to the horrors of war, in a way and to an extent of which we have only the slightest conception. I was favoured when a candidate for Parliament with a printed slip headed "Anti-Conscription Brotherhood." I looked through this leaflet. It was full of Christianity and virtue, but did not contain the smallest reproof or comment on the atrocious brutalities of Germany. How is it that, when our people are fighting to prevent this wave of cruel brutality overwhelming us, they have not a word to say against the unspeakable infamies of German frightfulness? They ask us to preserve the Brotherhood of Humanity—the solidarity of human brotherhood. I say there is only one way of doing that, and that is to show those who have allied all their culture and science with brute force in its bloodiest mood—we have got to teach these people a lesson which will once more vindicate the brotherhood of humanity and the solidarity of the peace-loving nations of the world, and the man who is not prepared to risk something, who is not prepared to do something in the cause of our flag, is a man who for all practical purposes ought to be—in Germany! Do not think when we have won this war our troubles will be over! Do not think the problems which threaten the prosperity of our Empire will all have been solved! The statesmen of this country and of the Dominions will be more highly tried after peace than before. Just think of the problems which will come up over the terms of peace. Think of the problems which will come up in reference to the relations between this country and its loyal and faithful Allies. Think of the inter-Imperial questions of relationship which must arise. Whilst we recognise the glorious staunchness of the men of our own race wherever they happen to be, let us not forget the greatest wonder of our Empire—the hundreds of millions of the King's subjects who do not belong to our race, who

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do not speak our language ; and we must remember, if they remain staunch and loyal to the end, as they will, they will have come nearer to our hearts than they ever were before. In the far-off continent which I represent, Imperialism had a sinister sound. In that young democracy we unconsciously thought of the term in connection with Empires of the past, for we knew Imperial power in the previous centuries of mankind was exerted not in the way of evolving the best qualities of a conquered race, but in the way of brutalising and oppressing and ravishing them, whereas the glorious fact of our Empire is that we have risen above the dark maxims of Imperial power as exhibited by history, and our Imperial power, extending over one-fifth of the world's inhabitants, has earned a right to the admiration and support of the most democratic of the subjects of the King. Can there be a nobler ideal than that of exercising despotic power in order to prepare subject races for conditions of equality and freedom with ourselves ? The noble ideal of our statesmen is that there is no race so obscure that we have not devoted all our energies to bring them out of the darkness and sufferings and wrongs of barbarism into the light of civilisation, enjoying the blessings of peace, of justice, and of equity. That is the mission of our Empire. That it is which has made the democracies of Australia and New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, join with the most conservative in this period of trial, because we feel that, whilst in the eternal management of our destinies we may differ on this or that, we know it is only by preserving this Empire in all its integrity, strength, and majesty we can render the best service to ourselves, the best service to hundreds of millions who stand side by side with us, and the best service to the future destinies of mankind.

Sir CHARLES LUCAS (Chairman of Council),—I rise to propose to you the health of the Chairman. When Sir George Reid accepted the compliment of the lunch, it seemed to me there was no necessity for a Chairman, for in a literal sense I felt that no one could fill the Chair so adequately as Sir George Reid himself. He attracted us to him by that law of gravitation by which smaller bodies are attracted to larger ones. I am glad to say I am a constituent of this larger body—a voter for what in future will be known as Sir George's, Hanover Square. I am delighted he should sit for that constituency, but I earnestly beg he will not sit upon it. I am one of those who owe untold gratitude to him for unfailing courtesy and kindness. We thought it would have been singularly appropriate if the first Secretary of State for the Colonies born beyond the seas (Mr. Bonar Law) had proposed the health of the first High Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Australia. But *inter arma silent leges*—in the midst of arms Law is silent, and we recognise that the claims on him rendered it impossible for him to pay this compliment to our guest and to ourselves. In his absence we have our great friend Lord Milner. He is always best in a time of emergency, and it is a wonder to me that his great talents have not been more utilised at this time. Mr. Bonar Law's absence enables me to propose the health of one who is not only a great man, but a great friend of mine. I judge men by whether they remain the same to oneself after the lapse of many years. All those at Oxford with Lord Milner know that through all his years of growing distinction he has remained precisely the same sure friend of all those who knew him in his Oxford days. If you had a man like Edmund Burke writing at the present crisis, he would tell us the qualities most needed are courage and constancy, and these are the qualities which have characterised your Chairman.

This toast also was drunk with musical honours, the large gathering being evidently desirous of recognising the way in which Lord Milner had stepped into the breach at very short notice. He briefly returned thanks, and the proceedings terminated.

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THE STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
(Considered in relation to the Central Powers).*

By VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.Sc., F.R.G.S.

It is my hope and desire to see the Strategic Geography of our Empire become a citizens' subject throughout the British lands, and, with this end in view, I submit the present paper to the consideration of the Royal Colonial Institute.

§ 1. The Principles of Strategic Geography.

During the Russian retreat from Poland in the summer of 1915 we were repeatedly assured by critics of repute that, the only true objective in war being armed forces, places do not matter. On the other hand, we have the dictum of Napoleon that "War is an affair of positions". This saying is illustrated by another of his maxims, viz., that "The greatest secret in the art of war is to make oneself master of the Lines of Communication," which are the routes leading from the Bases to the Army in the field. The dependence of an army on its Bases is greater and more immediate now than in former wars on account of the weight of ammunition. But, between the Eastern frontier of Poland and the great cities of Russia, where munitions are produced, there extends a belt of country about three hundred miles wide, so that what the critics said was correct for the particular case; for more places could have been abandoned without disaster, as the routes to the manufacturing towns, and to the ports of Archangel, Vladivostock, and Dairen (formerly called Dalny) beyond, were not exposed to attack. The saying that places are not a true objective has, however, been over-emphasised in recent years, and is likely to mislead, if left unchallenged. Perhaps the ready abandonment of Pretoria by the Boers and the prolonged resistance of their small army in a wide country may have had something to do with the tendency to belittle the importance of positions.

If it were true that "places do not matter" in war, in the sense that no position is a sound objective, Naval and Military Geography would be merely such description of the natural and artificial features of the Earth's surface as is necessary to acquaint members of the fighting services with the nature of their theatre of operations. But the topographical relation of the Base, the Field Force, and the Line of Communication connecting them makes strategic geography a specialised subject with its own problems, requiring and rewarding detached thought. A knowledge of general geography provides material for such thought, but is not a substitute for it.

Strategic Geography is, of course, the study of geography in relation to strategy. The great game of strategy goes on both in peace and war. During the period of hostilities it has to do with choosing the line of advance or position of defence, and directing the assembly and supply of forces there. The best single criterion of successful war strategy is superiority of concentration.

In accordance with these considerations I shall in this paper deal chiefly with three geographical conditions, viz. :—

* *Paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held on Tuesday, January* 11, 1916, *the Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.*

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1st—*The Situation of Naval and Military Resources.*

The supply of men and food is drawn from wide areas and that of munitions from towns. Moreover, it is very difficult to shift factories, and in war time generally impossible, so that the situation of the *technical* Bases is the chief matter requiring detailed geographical study.

2nd—*The Routes of Traffic.*

These are the avenues by which human movement proceeds, which are restricted by surrounding obstacles. In war they become known as the Lines of Invasion and Lines of Communication, the latter always leading from the army to its Bases, the former generally towards the main Base of the enemy.

3rd—*The Positions where Traffic necessarily Concentrates.*

If the map be examined with an eye to traffic it will be found that it consists of large areas where the possible routes are numerous and widely spread, so that, if one Line of Communication be cut, the supplies can be diverted to another, and small areas where surrounding obstacles compel all traffic to pass along a narrow avenue, the Lines of Communication leading from many Bases coalescing in one common Defile. These small areas constitute most of the strategic positions of the world. The sea-defile, or Strait, is particularly important because the approach of the opposite shores generally makes the position one which is not only a crossing place of traffic, but of the two kinds of traffic, land and sea, and hence of importance to the operation of both fleets and armies. Every defile causes a joining, crossing, and deflection of routes. Each Junction, Cross-ways and Pivot (i.e., turning point) of routes has some strategic importance, even though it be not situated at a defile.

§ 2. Strategic Grouping of British Lands.

A terrestrial globe gives a correct representation of the relative dimensions and positions of the lands of the British Empire, which no map can do, and in order to acquire facility in thinking on our strategic problems it is desirable that the use of the globe should become a habit among our citizens. It is not necessary to set apart time for the special study of the globe, since it is sufficient to have it habitually within sight. This can generally best be done by keeping a small globe upon the writing-table. The true form and positions will thus presently become familiar, and will correct the misshapen picture of the world-map which has become impressed upon the memory. One advantage of using a small globe is that true directions can be quickly ascertained by stretching round it an ordinary elastic-rubber band. It will also be found advantageous for strategic study to dismount the globe from its axis and keep it supported on some kind of cup, in order to avoid that restriction of view which results from the necessity for turning it on only one axis.

We all want to "think Imperially", but the process is much hampered if we carry about as part of our mental equipment a distorted picture of the Empire, and I do not exaggerate in saying that it is an intellectual obligation upon every educated

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British subject to add the globe to those appliances for reference, such as the dictionary, almanac, railway time-table, and atlas, which he already regards as indispensable.

Turning now to the Mercator Map of the World, which, subject to correction by the globe, we must continue to use, we find that the form in which it is most frequently drawn happens, fortunately, to emphasise an important fact in the strategic geography of the British Empire. The aspect of strategic geography which requires and receives most study is that of Communications; the Pacific Ocean is the great gap in our naval Communications, and a Mercator Map divided, as is most often done, along the 180th meridian, *i.e.* the middle of the Pacific Ocean, is in accordance with the important fact that, from the standpoint of our naval stations and our present naval policy, the strategic ties of Australasia are with India and South Africa, not with British Columbia. There is an additional reason for this, viz., that, the lands on the Indian Ocean being occupied or dominated by us, it is only from the Pacific side that Australasia is open to attack. Thus from the strategic point of view we may regard the principal lands of the British Empire as grouped in the following manner, viz., the British Isles and Canada facing each other on opposite shores of the North Atlantic Ocean; South Africa, India, and Australasia at the three corners of the triangular Indian Ocean; and Egypt half-way between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. This Protectorate is situated near the middle of the Great Maritime Defile of the world, which is known in its several parts as the Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea, Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean, the last being divided into an Eastern and Western basin at the Straits of Tunis, which Malta guards.

Of these lands, the British Isles, Canada, and Australasia are separated by sea from the territories of the Central Powers, and, in the present state of Communications, South Africa also is not accessible by land to European or Asiatic armies. On the other hand, Egypt is conterminous with the Turkish dominions, and the Indian Empire is only separated therefrom by the length of Persia, or, to be accurate, by the half of it, since the sphere of influence of the Indian Government extends over Persian territory as far as the Straits of Ormuz.

Considered as Recruiting Bases for the Navy and Army, the lands of the British Empire fall into two categories, the first comprising those which are the racial home of European people, the second those peopled by indigenous races of other stock. The first category comprises the United Kingdom and the Colonial Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa), all of which, as I have pointed out, are accessible only by sea to European or Asiatic armies. The second category, the Native Dominions, are almost all situated on the mainland of the Old World, and the chief members, the Indian Empire and Egypt, with the Soudan, are, as I have said, respectively in contact with, and within possible reach of, the armies of the Central Powers. The situation of Egypt with reference to other British territories, and that of the Suez Canal with reference to the tracks of our sea commerce, are singularly central. On a Mercator Map of the World divided along the 180th Meridian we have Canada in the upper left, and Australasia in the lower right corner. If now a great circle be drawn upon that map connecting Wellington, N.Z., with Halifax, N.S., we shall



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find that it passes somewhat south of Albany across the Indian Ocean to the Gulf of Aden, through Lower Egypt, and, passing across France, traverses the Atlantic very nearly by the shortest course from the English Channel to Halifax, N.S. It is not without interest also to note that the prolongation of this straight line passes along the coast of the United States to Florida and thence across that Peninsula to the Gulf of Mexico. The straight line drawn through Wellington, N.Z., and Halifax, N.S., is therefore nearly coincident with one of the greatest lines of movement of the world's shipping, and lies centrally with reference to the Naval and Mercantile shipping tracks of the Empire. Egypt, as we have seen, lies on this line, and its position upon it is remarkably central. The table given in the Appendix shows that Port Said occupies a more central position in the British Empire, reckoning by steaming distance, than Bombay, Cape Town, Halifax, Melbourne, or Southampton. Thus Egypt, though not a Recruiting Base, is admirably situated as a Central Dépôt or Camp for the Imperial forces, and, as long as we control sea Communications, it is also a central situation for the dispatch of expeditionary forces to attack or support Mediterranean positions. In addition, the country is singularly defensible against land attack, and on the only side accessible to the operations of considerable armies the Canal itself enables naval artillery to assist in the defence.

§ 3. Our Naval Communications.

As the territory of the British Empire is discontinuous, we have to guard not only the routes to our armies in the field, but those by which they are assembled. Against this initial disadvantage may be set the fact that the wide distribution of our lands endows the Empire with such a variety of resources that it is capable of producing all the supplies which we need in war. It would therefore be possible for us to make the same lines of sea Communication serve both for the Recruitment and Supply of our armies, thereby effecting an economy of naval force, as well as endowing the State with a control of Bases of Supply which is physically impossible to most of the Great Powers.

I proceed to examine the Lines of naval Communication used in the assembly of our forces. If troops were required for the Indian frontier when the Egyptian route was not available, the Canadian Contingent might proceed by the shortest route from Vancouver to Singapore, which is almost a coasting voyage by way of Japan and Hong-kong. Except for this route we may regard the Pacific Ocean as a gap in our communications, and consider that the task of the Navy in assembling our forces consists in guarding the routes across the Indian Ocean, across the North Atlantic, and the two routes from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, those via Egypt and the Cape. At Aden we have a station assisting the Fleet to stop entry to the Indian Ocean by ships from the Red Sea ports of the Central Powers at the Strait or Defile of Bab-el-Mandeb. It may be convenient to refer to this kind of naval station as a Stop, a term familiar in the sport of shooting and applicable to one of the two purposes for which Defiles are held, viz., that of holding up traffic. We also have coastal and insular positions on and near the Straits of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, but these

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do not afford good naval facilities, a fact which increases the advantage of our occupation of the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, a position of capital importance with reference to the security of our sea Communications across the Indian Ocean, as well as to the defence of the Indian frontier by our land forces.*

It will be convenient to refer here to the proposed German naval Base at or near the head of the Persian Gulf. This would not by itself give free access to the Indian Ocean on account of the narrowness of the Straits of Ormuz, the position to which our recognised sphere of influence in Persia extends. The present effort to raise the population of Persia against us and to induce them to make common cause with the Mesopotamian forces of Turkey throws light upon the German intention, probably entertained from the first, of obtaining control of the Eastern shore of the Persian Gulf as the necessary accompaniment of a naval Base at or near Koweit. In Egypt we have a Stop preventing access to the Red Sea from the Mediterranean. The station which assists the Navy to secure communication from the Atlantic to the Suez Canal against the Austrian Fleet is Malta, which is conveniently situated for superintending the stoppage of the Straits of Otranto, the bottle-neck of the Adriatic.

In the event of our losing Egypt, or even losing the use of the Suez Canal, communication between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans would be maintained via the Cape of Good Hope, a route along which we have many naval stations. It is at Gibraltar that we protect this route from menace by Austria (in the present war) and, generally, from any Mediterranean Fleet, against which its situation on the narrow Straits makes it an effective Stop. This is perhaps as important to our permanent communications as its function of guarding the Straits from stoppage on the route to the Canal.

The table of steaming distances at the end of the paper shows the relative centrality of Southampton, Halifax, Cape Town, Bombay, and Melbourne, ports of embarkation of expeditionary forces in the five great divisions of the Empire, the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, India, and Australasia. It will be seen from the table that Cape Town is the most central of the five. The route from Southampton to Bombay is, however, about 4,500 miles longer than that by Suez, which, for transports making fifteen knots, entails an additional thirteen days at sea. This would only be a vital matter if the change of route were necessitated by a surprise attack when India was simultaneously threatened.† Thus, having worked inwards from the outskirts of the Empire, I come to the positions on the English Channel and the North Sea which confer on our Fleet a geographical advantage over that of Germany in the contest for control of sea Communications between the United Kingdom and Canada, the Cape and Gibraltar, as well as with the country (France) where our largest expeditionary army has to be reinforced and supplied. The island of Great Britain restricts the entrances to the North Sea to a Strait

* We are so much accustomed to think of the burden entailed by the land defence of India that we are apt to forget the advantage for offensive action which its position bestows upon a naval power

† The deflection of sea routes caused by the huge southward projection of Africa confers upon a fleet based on the Cape a dominating centrality at the pivot of movement, Moreover, the routes to the East being long, a port of call is required, and the opposite shore, that of the Antarctic Continent, affords no alternative harbour.

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of about eighteen nautical miles between Kent and France, and a passage of about 250 nautical miles between Scotland and Norway. As long as these two passages are held, ships based on the harbours of Germany cannot interfere with the Communications between any part of the Oversea Dominions and the Southern or Western Ports of the British Isles. The development of certain appliances enables our Fleet, as I understand, to block the Straits of Dover pretty effectually against the passage of submarine vessels, but the Northern opening to the North Sea is too wide. Access to the ports of our Eastern Coast is now secured not by geographical advantage, but by a superior fleet and by the remarkable development which our Navy has effected since the beginning of the war in the methods of dealing with submarines and mines.

But the holding of the shortest line between the North of Scotland (or the Orkneys) and Norway would not suffice for the commercial blockade of Germany, since there lies a long stretch of the Scandinavian coast to the north of it, and another patrol-line is held for commercial blockade. This runs from the Orkneys to the Eastern extremity of Iceland, and thence beyond the Arctic circle to the fringe of the Polar ice off the Greenland coast. The whole distance is about 750 nautical miles. A point of capital importance with reference to the Communications between the island of Great Britain and the Dominions remains to be mentioned, viz., the position of Ireland. That island stands to Great Britain as Great Britain does to Germany, viz., across the line of sea routes to all the oceans. The passage between Cape Clear, in Ireland, at the western entrance to St. George's Channel, and Ushant, off the Coast of Brittany, at the western entrance of the English Channel, is the same width, about 250 nautical miles, as the passage between Scotland and Norway. A shorter line held from the Irish coast would block the entrance to the Bristol Channel, and a yet shorter line the southern entrance to St. George's Channel. Again, the North Channel between Fair Head, in Antrim, and the Mull of Cantyre, n Argyll, is much narrower than the Straits of Dover, having a width of only eleven nautical miles, and if this line were held, it would block the northern entrance to all the important commercial ports of the Western coast of Great Britain, for there are none in the Western Highlands of Scotland. There would remain the route round the North of Scotland apparently open for the use of ports on the South and East coasts of Great Britain, but, since the trans-oceanic ports lie further South, the proper steaming tracks would pass close to the North Coast of Ireland. The South, West and North coasts of Ireland are indented by long, sheltered, deep-water inlets which afford magnificent shelter for Fleets, though their advantage as harbours is apt to be forgotten by civilians, owing to the circumstance that most of them are distant from any manufacturing or trading centre, and have therefore no commercial use. The strategic importance of Ireland is not realised by the average citizen, because its foreign relations have long been merged in those of the neighbouring island. There are many other positions in the world besides Ireland which, if ever the British Navy were defeated, would suddenly be seen to possess a strategic importance which the course of historical events has concealed from the casual observer.

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§ 4. The Cologne Position and Belgium.

Germany is the Main Recruiting Base of the Central Powers for both naval and military forces. Its Main Base of technical supplies for armies is situated in the district of which Cologne is the metropolis and Essen the chief arsenal, and its naval Base is the district of Hamburg and Kiel, where the North Sea and Baltic are connected by the Kiel Canal. The development of this region as the chief, and practically the sole, naval centre is due to the circumstance that Germany does not possess the mouths of the Rhine (greatest of all the inland waterways of Europe, which traverses the centre of the Cologne district), or those of the Scheldt, which form with the mouths of the Rhine a single great water-gate to Europe.* If we take Cologne as the centre and with a radius of 600 statute miles describe a circle, that circumference will be seen to comprise an area of human activity far more important than can be found of the same extent in any other part of the world. The number of cities of more than half a million inhabitants within the radius is twenty, including many of the largest in the world and many of the greatest ports. Pittsburg, in the United States, and Hankau, in China, have only six or seven such cities within the same radius.

Western Europe, including the British Isles, is the hub of human activity, within which Great Britain and Germany are the two chief centres. But when we compare the condition of the regions which centre on London and Cologne respectively, we see that the latter needs for the full development of its commercial and military resources the control of the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium). We who own the whole of the Thames have a difficulty in realising the potency of the forces which impel a nation to get control of the entrance to its own waterways. The control of the Low Countries is the most important feature in the preparation for the final attack of the Germans upon the British. Their occupation would give the two things wanted—viz., first, increased naval resources; second, improved naval positions. The key to the position is Belgium, as the following considerations show. It will be noticed that these considerations relate, as usual, chiefly to Lines of Communication. They are, first, that the occupation of Belgium cuts the Communications between Holland and France; second, that Belgium itself is the necessary Line of Communication with the French Departments of *Nord* and *Pas de Calais,* or the "Calais Corner," as I shall call it, the position on the Continental side of the Straits of Dover. Now let us consider how the occupation of the Low Countries and the Calais Corner of France would affect the problem of the invasion of Britain from Germany. For the purpose of raids, any point on our coast may be chosen (a circumstance which throws a great burden on our land forces), but when invasion is attempted the hostile forces are based on one or more fixed points at which supplies have to be landed. Strategically, the problem of invasion then becomes mainly that of securing the sea Communication between the hostile ports

* I have not Mr. Mackinder's book on *The Rhine* beside me for reference, but I am conscious that my appreciation of the position of Cologne dates from my reading of that interesting work.

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and the landing place. Now the general distance from the German North Sea Bases to our East Coast ports is about 300 nautical miles; from the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt about 100; and from the Calais Corner about 20; so that it is obvious that the mere reduction of distance would increase several-fold the difficulty of our task of interrupting communication, when and if the German Fleet grows to such dimensions that it can contend with ours. But the advantage to the enemy of positions on the English and on what I may call the Dutch Channel is not confined to that of a shorter crossing, for they would be on the flank of our line of naval Communication between the English Channel and the North Sea, as well as threatening our line of military Communication across the English Channel.

It used to be thought that the presence of an allied French and English army in the North of France would be the best military defence against naval invasion based on Belgium, since this army would menace the German line of land Communication. The development of defence by trench fortification has, however, falsified this anticipation as far as the present war is concerned. It will be seen, therefore, that Belgium is the key to the German plan of attack on Great Britain. Neither must it be forgotten that as Belgium, entered by Liége, provides diverging roads to Paris and to Calais respectively, so the routes to Cologne from both London and Paris lead convergently through Belgium. Before leaving the consideration of the Low Countries, reference must be made to their importance with respect to aerial attack, a form of warfare which may be expected to be of much greater importance in the next war. The Eastern frontier of the Low Countries, along the German border, runs parallel to the shores of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and East Kent at a distance of about 200 statute miles, of which the width of the Low Countries is about one-half. Thus, if the Low Countries were permanently occupied the German aerial attack could be delivered from half range.

§ 5. The Balkan Peninsula.

We must consider the Balkan Peninsula in two aspects, of which the first is of importance at the present moment, and the second of great and permanent importance. The first (*a*) is as the Line of Communication between Turkey and the German arsenals which are her Technical Base; the second (*b*) is as the Line of Communication between Germany and the Constantinople Position, from which she intends to dominate the Near and Middle East, including Egypt and India.

§ 5. (*a*) The Line of Communication between Turkey and the German Arsenals.

The Turkish Empire is self-supporting in the matter of food, but the principal Bases of its technical supplies are in Germany. Thus, unless some route from Germany can be kept open for transit of munitions, the fighting strength of Turkey must rapidly diminish after the stock, or "reserve," of munitions is used up. This is also the case with the German Colonies, but Turkey has the advantage over these that she has

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land as well as sea connection with Germany. Since the changes in the political map of the Balkan Peninsula which resulted from the Balkan War of 1912–13, all westward routes from Turkey-in-Europe pass through Bulgaria. Bulgaria has thus become a Corridor-Country, that is a political, as distinguished from a physical, defile, leading to the Constantinople Position. Bulgaria, having at length decided to join forces with Germany, there remained only a short stretch of country across which it was necessary to restore communication, which might be done either through Rumania or Serbia. The latter country provides the better route, the main railway to Constantinople, and being already an enemy the attack did not bring in additional hostile forces, as pressure upon Rumania might have done. There are only two lines along which the mountainous Peninsula of the Balkans can be crossed at low elevation and with easy gradients. These are the line of the lower Morava, Nisava, and Maritza Rivers, from near Belgrade, via Nish, Sofia, and Adrianople to Constantinople; and that via the Morava and Vardar, diverging from the above route at Nish and leading to Salonika. Both routes are provided with a railway, in a land where railways are few and where the character of the ground makes it impossible to do much in the way of building them quickly. The line from Nish to Salonika was the only route capable of carrying heavy traffic which connected Serbia with the Allies, on whom she was dependent for reinforcement and munitionment. The western frontier of Bulgaria lies parallel to, and at only a few miles' distance from, this railway line, and the valleys of several rivers tributary to the Morava and Vardar descend to it from the Bulgarian heights. Thus the Bulgarians occupied positions dominating the vital Line of Communication connecting Serbia with her Base of external supply, and, by seizing points on the line, they compelled the Serbian Army, which was retreating before the German advance, to fall back, not on the new Base which its Allies had established for them at Salonika, but into the wilderness of Albania. Apart from the Macedonian territory acquired by Serbia in 1913, that country, as defined in 1878 by the treaty of Berlin, is sufficient in extent and suitable in frontier for the defence of the railway which leads from Belgrade to Sofia. Indeed, the line of high ground running from north-west to south-east, which formed the frontier between Serbia and Turkey (trenched by the Morava, near Vrania), seems perfectly adapted for the purpose. In the territory of Bulgaria itself, the Constantinople railway is guarded by the lofty ranges of the Balkans on the north, and the Rhodope Mountains on the south. From the west the mountains of Montenegro and Albania, having no railways and no good roads, do not permit of heavy traffic, and hence prevent any strong military pressure. Our direct attempt upon Constantinople not having succeeded, it is evident that the Turkish Line of Communication with the arsenals of Germany is for the time being secure against all the Powers at present participating on the side of the *Entente*, and that she is therefore in a better position to renew her attack on Egypt, the only part of the British Empire which adjoins her territory, as well as to undertake a counter-offensive against our invading forces in Mesopotamia.

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§ 5. (*b*) The Constantinople Position.

The strategic importance of the Balkan Peninsula with reference to the British Empire is due to the fact that it is the land-link between Central Europe and the commanding Constantinople Position, where, in a situation singularly defensible from sea attack, is a naval station of enormous potentialities, as well as the one land route (except that through Russia) which leads from Central Europe to Asia, and thence to Africa, a route which is also easily defensible at the Defile. How truly the Constantinople Position may be described as a Land Defile is evident when we consider that the two river-like crossings of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles occur in the middle of a water-gap which is 1,000 statute miles across, reckoning from El Arish, on the Peninsula of Sinai, to Rostow, on the north shore of the Sea of Azof. It is necessary to think of the permanent strategic relationship of the Balkan Peninsula to the British Empire apart from the present phase of the war. In order to clear our ideas on this important matter, let us see what would be the position of our Native Dominions on the mainland of the Old World if the Germans remained after the war in the position they now occupy, viz., with good and sheltered Communication with Constantinople, and having the Turks, reorganised and reinvigorated, as Allies. The possession of the continuous territory, Germany, Austria, Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey-in-Europe and Turkey-in-Asia, would enable the Germans to take full advantage of the strategic capabilities of the Constantinople Position. That Position is one of the most remarkable in the world, but, except in the days of Constantine and his immediate successors, and during the time of Ottoman greatness, while Turkey was still a sea Power, its strategic potentialities have never been developed. With Constantinople as the middle point in the territory of the Central Powers, its combined naval and military advantages could be utilised beyond previous experience. The task of defending Egypt would be rendered much more difficult, if the Central Powers had a well-equipped naval Base on the Sea of Marmora to assist the attack of their armies. These could also advance across Persia to Kabul and Quetta, i.e. to the same gateways of India which can be approached by the northern routes which start from Moscow, whilst a third Line of Invasion, the southern route to Karachi, would be more readily open. It is interesting to notice in this connection the coincidence that Quetta is almost exactly the same distance from Constantinople as from Moscow, the direct distance, expressed in round figures suitable for remembrance, being 2,000 statute miles. Although the strategic possibilities of the Constantinople Position are enormous, the constraints upon their development are numerous and complex, and only in connection with Central Europe, and as planned by the Germans, can they be fully realised. To Russia its use would be purely naval, and for her it is not the route to Turkey-in-Asia. In view of our recent campaign in this part of the world, it may be well to draw attention to the conditions under which the Constantinople Position could be held from Overseas. This strategic "Position" includes the Sea of Marmora and its exits, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Two land frontiers would have to be defended instead of the one which the Turks have to keep, the length of which, measured directly from sea to sea and not

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reckoning the windings which are really a necessary feature of frontiers, are respectively 100 miles on the European and 200 on the Asiatic side. It would be a heavy commitment. The task of occupying Anatolia, and thus blocking the advance of armies, from Central Europe, would be a vast undertaking on account of the size of the country and the bad communications; and, all things considered, it appears that it is in the Balkan Peninsula itself that the German-Turkish combination must be severed.

§ 6. On the Question of Providing a "Kiel Canal" for Britain.

The aspect of strategic geography which most nearly concerns the safety of the British Empire is that of Naval Bases and Lines of sea Communication. The lowness and narrowness of the land between the Forth and Clyde appear to make it mechanically possible to effect a great improvement in present conditions in this respect. The waters from the Firth of Forth to the Orkneys are the commanding and central position of the Fleet which controls the German coast and the entrance to the Atlantic. The stations which squadrons take up for the performance of their duties are often described as Bases, but there is another class of naval station to which the term more logically applies, i.e. the place where ships-of-war are built and repaired. The ideal situation for such a Base is one protected by nature from attack, and at the same time accessible by a short Line of Communication, also sheltered, from the service-stations of the active Fleet. The Clyde Sea-area is better situated in respect of natural protection from a sea attack based on Continental harbours than any other ship-building centre in Great Britain, but the Line of naval Communication with the East Coast of Scotland is singularly bad. The distance even by the northern route is considerable, and the West Coast of the Highlands, with its deep indentations and numerous off-lying islands, is, moreover, an almost perfect lair for hostile submarines.

With a battleship canal from Forth to Clyde we should possess on the west coast a base for the building and repair of ships of war which, in its combination of local resources, accommodation, natural protection, and accessibility to damaged ships, would be equal or superior to any that the world possesses, and far superior to any that we now have. Further, the canal would provide the active-service stations on the east coast of Scotland with short and protected access to other important shipbuilding centres besides the Clyde, e.g. Belfast and Barrow. Lastly, it would increase the centrality of the east coast stations for the purpose of operations, giving a shorter and safer route for the transfer of fighting ships from the gap between the North of Scotland and the Continent to that between the Continent and the South of Ireland.

The experience of the present war, and the indications which it affords of future developments, make it advisable to re-open the consideration of this scheme. In deciding whether the cost of providing this protected access to a sheltered base be prohibitive or not, account should be taken of the *Military* saving, not merely on the cost of the defences at an exposed base, but by setting troops free from garrison duties. *Per contra* the engineering problem needs further consideration in the light of the experience which has been gained at Panama on the subject of landslides in deep cuttings.

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APPENDIX.

Table showing relative Centrality of Embarkation Ports and of Port Said. The Ports are selected, as representing the five Chief Recruiting Bases of the Empire, viz. the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, Australasia, and India.

The figures represent the steaming distance between ports, in Nautical miles. (1 *Nautical mile* = 1·15 *Statute miles.*)

Port Said to Bombay	3,047 miles
,, ,, ,, Cape Town	5,346 ,,
,, ,, ,, Halifax, N.S.	4,571 ,,
,, ,, ,, Melbourne	7,842 ,,
,, ,, ,, Southampton	3,043 ,,

Average distance of Port Said from ports of Embarkation, 4,770 miles.

Cape Town to Bombay	4,604 miles
,, ,, ,, Halifax, N.S.	6,423 ,,
,, ,, ,, Melbourne	5,814 ,,
,, ,, ,, Southampton	5,947 ,,

Average distance of Cape Town from other ports of Embarkation, 5,697 miles.

Bombay to Cape Town	4,604 miles
,, ,, Halifax, N.S.	7,618 ,,
,, ,, Melbourne	5,535 ,,
,, ,, Southampton	6,090 ,,

Average distance of Bombay from other ports of Embarkation, 5,962 miles.

Southampton to Bombay	6,090 miles
,, ,, Cape Town	5,947 ,,
,, ,, Halifax, N.S.	2,540 ,,
,, ,, Melbourne	10,885 ,,

Average distance of Southampton from other ports of Embarkation, 6,365 miles.

Halifax, N.S., to Bombay	7,618 miles
,, ,, ,, Cape Town	6,423 ,,
,, ,, ,, Melbourne	12,413 ,,
,, ,, ,, Southampton	2,540 ,,

Average distance of Halifax, N.S., from other ports of Embarkation, 7,248 miles.

Melbourne to Bombay	5,535 miles
,, ,, Cape Town	5,814 ,,
,, ,, Halifax, N.S.	12,413 ,,
,, ,, Southampton	10,885 ,,

Average distance of Melbourne from other ports of Embarkation, 8,662 miles.

Before the reading of the Paper :—

THE CHAIRMAN (Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.) said: Dr. Cornish is one of our small band of scientific geographers—all too small a band—which we hope will be very much added to after the War. We have also with us one or two other representatives of that select company, notably Mr. Mackinder, whom we all know in connection with geography and questions connected with public education.

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The subject is one of the greatest possible importance, and Dr. Cornish will touch on problems which ought to come home to every member of the British Empire, and which, I hope, after the War will come home with fresh force and find solutions we unfortunately did not find before the War.

After the Paper the following discussion took place :—

THE CHAIRMAN : The Paper to which we have listened will, I hope, do much to draw public attention to a large number of most important subjects. The more we can succeed in making all the members of our Imperial Family understand the bearing of strategical geography on the problems of Empire, the better for the future of that Empire. Dr. Cornish has clearly defined the lines of communication which link together the scattered Dominions under our flag, and has indicated where their strength lies and the points from which they might be menaced. There are some few criticisms which I offer, not in any carping spirit, but in order to bring out still more the importance of the subject. I do not think strategy is quite sufficiently defined as "the work of assembling and supplying forces on the field of battle." That is only one aspect of the matter. Strategy, as I have learnt to believe, is the art of directing and distributing naval or military force in such a way as to gain the maximum of advantage when the time of battle arrives on land or sea, and it therefore embraces all decisions which have to be taken before the forces become actually engaged. It is a most difficult task, because it demands the ascertaining and balancing of the importance of a large number of widely differing conditions, and also the selection of what is the true objective upon which the main efforts should be brought to bear. It is an art that can be learnt only by deep study of the wars of the past, although a genius may sometimes arise who can reach sound conclusions by a process of intuition. In this War I see few signs of real strategic insight, and there have been too many violations of strategic principles.

On the whole, I am inclined to place the tremendous Austro-German drive through Galicia, which began in the first days of May last, as the greatest strategic conception we have yet seen. The silent massing of great armies with an imposing artillery force near Cracow was a fine example of good organisation, of which any country might be proud. The stroke, when delivered, had most important results. It quickly cleared the Carpathian passes and saved Hungary from invasion. It was followed up by a wheel of two German armies to the North after the recapture of Lemberg on June 22, which largely determined the retirement of the Russian armies in Poland and helped to secure the abandonment of great fortresses. It had a powerful effect upon the attitude of the Balkan States, which saw in it proof of the irresistible force at the disposal of the Central Powers. It spent itself; but the effect still remains, especially the political effect. The lecturer seemed to question the statement that the armed forces of the enemy are the true objectives in war, but I do not think we really differ. There can be no doubt that decisive military success can be gained only by breaking down the enemy's armed forces; but that end may be reached by occupying the territory or the bases upon which those forces depend for existence, or by cutting them off from sources of necessary supply, and that is why action against an enemy's line of communication may be of primary importance, as Napoleon said. In their great sweep through Poland, the Germans made determined attempts to envelop and cut off great masses of the Russian armies; but those attempts failed because of the splendid fortitude of the Russian troops fighting under circumstances of a most discouraging character. The deficiency of the Russians in munitions, which told so heavily against them, is being rapidly made good, and in a short time, certainly in the spring, they will be able to make an effort such as we have not seen before. Meanwhile Riga and Dvinsk have been firmly held, and already our gallant Allies have begun to strike hard in Bukovina.

I think, perhaps, Dr. Cornish has not brought out sufficiently one great difference in the aspect of strategic geography in our day and in the times of Napoleon. At

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the beginning of last century, armies were relatively small bodies; good roads were very few, and the means of transport were slow and restricted. Now all this is changed, and in Europe railways have become dominant features in strategic geography. Within limits, distances are far less important than formerly, and striking successes by cutting lines of communication of an enemy are much more difficult to obtain. In fact the strength of the Central Powers depends largely on great railway systems created, to a great extent, for the purpose of aggressive war. At the same time, the numbers being so vast, and the holding power of field entrenchments being so great, turning movements are often impossible, and some of the possibilities of strategy are curtailed. Thus have arisen the great lines of trenches from the coast of Flanders to the Alps, where all the requirements of the siege of a great fortress have to be met on both sides. The most striking instance of the cutting of the communications of the enemy during this War has been shown in the case of Serbia. Strategic geography pointed plainly to this danger. When the Bulgarians struck at the Serbian communications from their closely adjacent frontier, the Serbian resistance was paralysed, and the Allies arrived too late either to bring them supplies or to receive their retreating forces into safety. Similarly, danger to the communications of the advanced forces of the Allies quickly caused them to fall back and entrench their base. Whether they will be attacked or not depends on whether the enemy have armed forces enough to undertake such a formidable operation, and whether they can be supplied during the winter months. In any case, the danger which might have arisen, if the enemy had been able to attack while the Allies were still in small force, has passed. I agree with Dr. Cornish as to the danger of a permanent occupation by the Germans of Belgium and the mouths of the Rhine. It was to avert that danger that the historic "scrap of paper" was designed. We now understand that part of the German plan was to make these annexations first, and then prepare for a second great war, which was to be fought against Britain alone after France had been crushed and Russia disabled for a long period; but, as we all know, events turned out as the German plotters did not expect, and already ideas of annexation are beginning to be regarded as visionary, and I believe in time we shall be told they never existed at all.

Passing to the great waterways which are so vital to our widespread Empire, I am sure the lecturer realises that their security depends entirely on the possession of a dominant navy. Naval stations assist in the exercise of naval force; but their existence does not in the least diminish the amount of such force which the security of the Empire demands. It may be said that such stations as Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Singapore, and Hongkong are of more value to the dominant navy than they would be to the inferior navy. Kiaochou, for example, was of no use to the Germans, because the Allies possessing great naval superiority were able to attack and capture it. If the naval conditions had been reversed, the Central Powers would have been able to take such of our stations as they desired. I am inclined, therefore, to demur to the description of Aden as a "stop" to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and to the statement that Gibraltar protects our Cape of Good Hope route from menace by Austria. In a sense this may be true; but I think it is misleading. The Austrian fleet judiciously remains in the Adriatic, because if it came out it would be instantly attacked by a superior fleet. For the same reason the German fleet remains at Wilhelmshaven or Kiel, but if we were in inferior force in Home waters, it would come out and no number of naval stations could help us. We see that enemy submarines are able to act freely in waters where no naval stations exist to provide them with supplies, and we have suffered accordingly. The part played by the remote and neglected station at the Falkland Islands is particularly interesting and instructive. It served as a magnet to Admiral Von Spee who intended to take possession of Stanley Harbour; but by great good fortune Admiral Sturdee arrived first, was able to coal, go out, and win a decisive victory. If he had arrived a few days later, it might have been necessary to take special measures to recapture the position.

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The greatest lesson of the War is the dominant influence of superior naval force, due to the British Navy, which is being felt in every part of the huge theatre of military operations. There is no doubt that the War might have been ended before this if there had been a clear idea as to how sea power ought to be used. More than seven precious months, before the Orders in Council of March 11, were almost wholly wasted, and the action of the Navy during that time was effectually crippled. Now, however, economic pressure is beginning to tell heavily on the side of the Allies, and it will hasten the end. I hope that will never be forgotten by the British people at home or overseas. Shakespeare was right when he wrote

> Let us be backed with God and with the seas
> Which he hath given us for fence impregnable.

The lecturer has given us an interesting sketch of the strategic geography of the Balkan States, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. The Germans have succeeded in the first step in their plans of Eastern dominion, but only by calling in Bulgaria to do what they were powerless to accomplish for themselves. Trains will run through from the German bases to Constantinople; but very much more remains to be done before the German dream of reaching the Persian Gulf can be realised, and Koweit cannot be the terminus of the railway they have partly constructed. This dream, in common with others, will fade into mist before long. I do not think that Constantinople will remain under the control of the Germans, or that it would suit their purpose, if it did. As a position where a great fleet could be built and sheltered, it possesses advantages; but a naval base of which the only exit into the Mediterranean is a "defile" will have certain drawbacks. I am afraid I have dealt with the great problems which the paper suggests in a very crude and incomplete fashion. The great results of this terrible War will be to draw the scattered members of our Empire closer together and thus to assist, in the most effectual manner, in the work which the Royal Colonial Institute has so long tried to carry out. The problems laid before us to-night are shared by every unit of the Imperial Family, and I trust they will receive the fullest consideration in the bright light which this War has thrown upon them. I am sure I speak for you all in tendering our warm thanks to the lecturer for his thoughtful and suggestive paper.

Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P.: With you, Sir, I listened with the greatest possible interest to Dr. Cornish. There are two orders of strategy in the thoughts he has laid before us. There was the strategy which is concerned with the ordinary operations of a campaign, and there was the great strategy which is concerned with what I will describe as the whole architecture of the Empire. At a discussion at which I was present some time ago, there were a number of laments as to the deplorable condition into which the teaching of geography had fallen, and I remember a Professor from an American University got up and said: "This is all very interesting; I have listened to one lamentation after another on the subject. Any stranger who accepted what you say at its face value would go away with the idea that those who built the British Empire had no knowledge of geography, but I have been about the world a good deal and I have come to the conclusion that somewhere or other there must have been somebody with a good deal of geographical sense in your Kingdom." However it has come about, there can be no question that the British Empire as it is to-day is not a mere scattered group of communities to be enumerated in an almanac, but that there is a coherence about it which is very remarkable. We practically own the Indian Ocean. At the Cape and at the Canal we hold the two entries from the west. At the Cape, in India, and in Australia we hold the springs and the keystone of the arch of coast, and in the Persian Gulf, by the set policy of Foreign Ministers of both parties, though we have not occupied territory, we have refused to allow any other Great Power to establish itself in a position where it could have made a naval base. As a consequence we have been able to dominate the Indian Ocean without any fleet riding there, for our fleet in the Indian

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Ocean is negligible. Then, of course, we have Canada as a great bridge between the Western and Eastern Oceans. In the Cape and Egypt, moreover, we have what might be called Imperial depôts of power. In the Home Country we have not only the historical centre, but the chief industrial centre so essential to the manufacture of munitions, while in Canada and Australia we have great areas of potential productivity, partially developed already. In India we lead and organise one half or nearly half of that vast populous 'monsoon' area, which if it were not caught into the political system of the world would be a standing menace to that system. Now the main fact I point out is that that large strategy has to be considered in peace quite as much as in war time—that strategic geography is not merely a study for war, but for peace time. In connection with the Imperial Defence Committee, the great strokes of strategy which have counted in this War were prepared in peace time. At the beginning of the War the chief positions were taken up which have governed the War ever since. We may have been inefficient in many ways in the conduct of the War subsequently, but at no time in the long history of the country have we ever acted so efficiently as in the first fortnight of the War, and that was due to the fact that strategic conditions—world conditions—had been carefully weighed and considered beforehand. Our fleet was ready to go to its station at the entrance to the North Sea, our Army instead of being confined to these islands was immediately flung into the scale on the Continent, with the idea that the proper frontier of sea power is on the land beyond the sea. Sea power as we have learnt to-day has its communications on the sea, but the essential function of sea power is first to pen the enemy's sea forces up and then fling your own land forces boldly on the opposite land. In these matters we have to see things whole. I remember that, in the early part of the War, a writer who has obtained a considerable name in connection with the War—Mr. Belloc—suggested that after all human initiative was never on a grander scale than in this War. It may be easy to say that the German Army and the British Fleet—the products of the vitality of two great nations—are more or less independent of all but the very largest facts of geography, but, as Mr. Balfour indicated the other day, we are fighting an enemy whom we can grip from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf with our Navy, because he is in a peninsula You have got to think on the great scale in these days, and when you do so, you come back to the old fact that both humanity counts and geography. I cannot help thinking that nothing has come out more in the course of the War than the necessity of considering all things as relative. Dr. Cornish advocated the construction of the Clyde and Forth Canal. It is not a new suggestion to me, of course. At the cost of a good number of millions of pounds, there is no doubt the canal could be constructed and that the canal would have a certain use; but when not only strategical geography, but whole problems of possible war were being faced before the War, what was the way the project was looked at by the Admiralty? It was admitted the canal would have a certain use; but if, they said, you would give us the money that would make that canal we could build so many more battleships and with these battleships we believe we should be able to serve the Empire better than the canal would serve it. I do not underrate the importance of the application of geography to strategy, but what I do feel strongly is that I would not teach strategical geography as such in schools. What I want taught is geography itself. There is a geographical aspect of most things. I am persuaded more and more that thought before war will count as against thought in war.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR EDMOND SLADE: I shall endeavour to put before you an aspect of naval strategical geography which I think is rather important in connection with the work of the Navy in this War. In naval warfare the lines of passage and communication, to use an ancient term are essentially different from the communications of an army. In the latter case they run back from each army to the bases, and are covered by the respective forces; while in the former they run forward on identical lines from the respective bases to the fleets and vessels in distant seas, and the securing

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of the communications by one side renders those of the antagonist unsafe. If you look at the map you will see the line of passage and communication from our islands to South Africa is exactly the same as from Germany to South Africa. It is the same with the Indian Ocean, and the same with the Pacific, and on that fact depends the whole of our success. We have been able to occupy and hold the vital lines of communication, and by so doing we have denied them to the enemy, and that is the main reason why German life on the ocean has ceased to be. The term line of passage and communication means a route along which something has to be carried. What the German requires in the distant oceans, in order to enable him to move his ships from one place to another, is fuel; and without a constant supply of fuel the ships become immobile. Now the bases from which fuel is supplied are mainly the British Isles and Westphalia; and since we occupy the line of communication there is no room for the German to carry his coal along it, and that I think is one of the main features we have to consider when we look at what has been happening in the War. If you think of it, that will explain why the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean remain British seas without the presence of large British forces. Take, for instance, the *Königsberg*. She died, not because she was defeated in battle, but of inanition, because she could not get her stores and coal. The lines of passage and communication between her and her base were in our hands instead of the enemy's, and nothing belonging to him could pass along them. If we look at the problem from this point of view it will, I think, explain a great many things which at first appear inexplicable.

Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield noted that Dr. Cornish thought strategical geography ought to be a "citizen subject." How far it was a subject suited for general study he had his doubts; but, provided the public did not presume to be experts, he agreed that it would be an advantage to create what might be called a geographical atmosphere—an atmosphere in which the ordinary citizen might be able to grasp the elementary facts of the political geography of Europe, and of the seas that encompass it. Comparatively few people two years ago recognised the extraordinarily dangerous position for the rest of Europe of one Central Power (or combination of Powers) lying right across the heart of Europe—a power which, holding the sources of the Rhine and the Danube, was bound to be ambitious to reach their mouths, and then to attempt to make the Balkan Peninsula a bridge for the realisation of its Asiatic ambitions. The Chairman had said that Constantinople would not be a very suitable base for naval power. It was interesting to note in that connection that, according to a paragraph in that morning's newspapers, papers had been discovered at Salonika showing that the Germans were especially anxious to have that place, because it would make such an admirable naval base, thus showing they were fully aware of the limitations of Constantinople and were prepared to surmount them. He trusted that in the future we should take such steps as would prevent us from ever again being in the position of danger we were in two years ago; and that we should use such influence on our politicians in Parliament and the Cabinet that we might never again, when faced with a great war, have to improvise our armies or to sanction "gambles."

Professor Lyde: I should like to refer to two points raised by Mr. Mackinder and Mr. Freshfield before noticing three points in what Dr. Vaughan Cornish said. I entirely agree with him about the Forth and Clyde Canal. No doubt the Admiralty were right from their own point of view (assuming that the battleships would last as long as the canal), but the canal would be used in peace as well as in war and for ordinary trade. I do not understand what Mr. Freshfield thinks a "Citizen Subject" is, but I entirely agree with Dr. Cornish about it, and I mean a subject that helps people to be useful citizens. Even in an elementary school a boy stays long enough to have, if properly taught, such familiarity with the main geographic facts and geographic principles that, as an adult citizen, he will no longer be predoomed to be bamboozled by politicians. May I give you two illustrations? During recent years

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patriotic teachers who have taught the frontiers of Germany have carefully described the strategic railway along the Belgian frontier. No comment was needed, only the description of this extraordinary railway with its stations every three miles and its tiny traffic. The mere description proved to the hilt that Germany deliberately intended to violate the neutrality of Belgium. Again, similarly patriotic teachers, who have been dealing with German trade in less civilised parts of the earth, have drawn attention to the wide distribution of the most worthless articles—intentionally worthless, because the process of manufacture included marking them with forged British trade-marks, in the hope that the utter rottenness of the goods would prejudice illiterate peoples, who can only "read" the trademark, against really British goods bearing apparently the same trademark.

Then I would like to say a few words about what I would call that Holy Roman rail-road, the projected Berlin-Baghdad line, with its pivot at Constantinople. It is obviously a deliberate counter to that natural sea-road along the great circle from New Zealand to Nova Scotia, with its pivot in Egypt. It was just because Serbia broke the continuity of the rail-road that she was attacked and has been outraged. And the way to avenge her is to break permanently the continuity of that road—by building a railway from one of the lagoons near the mouth of the Drin up the Albanian Gap to the junction of Nish, where the great route is really most valuable to sea power. I know that German surveyors surveyed the route, and pronounced it impossible —that the range immediately on the Adriatic is very pure limestone, and therefore typical Karst, and so will give trouble. But there is little or no trouble inland; the Germans themselves built a line up the more difficult Narenta Gap, the Romans built a fine road up this Albanian Gap, and along that road for centuries thousands of tons of iron ore were carried, and iron ore is not a product that you can carry in your pocket. I assert, therefore, that a line can be built, and that the German report was typically German. And by such a line you guard Egypt, guarantee the continuity of your sea-road, give Serbia her desired and deserved access to the Adriatic, and break the continuity of the German land-road.

Then a word as to Germany on what Dr. Cornish called a techincal base. She is such by means of her steel and chemicals, based on her coal, iron, and salt. She has a monopoly of the two richest fields of potassium salts known, and her coal and iron fields are more useful than those of any other Continental Power. But one of those salt fields is in Alsace, and 75 per cent. of her iron-ore comes from Lorraine, while her richest coal-and-iron field is in South-East Silesia, where also she has the richest known zinc field. If at the end of the War Alsace and Lorraine return to France, and South-East Silesia goes to Russia, the German monopoly will be broken, and Germany as a technical base will cease to be a danger either to the peace of Europe or to the prosperity of honest trade.

One final point. In early days the wealth of the Indies went overland by the Danube and Rhine valleys, and gave Germany a monopoly of the transit trade. The Cape route to India upset the monopoly, flung Germany back 200 years economically, and implanted in Germans that jealousy of sea power by which they are still obsessed. In modern times, Germany has created for aggressive purposes an extraordinary system of strategic railways. And by using them economically on interior lines and reaching the mass of Europe without "break of bulk," she has regained the old monopoly. Sea power, therefore, must again break that monopoly, and it can—if the lawyer politicians will allow. For the shortest route from London to that Egyptian pivot, or even the Constantinople pivot, is not through Germany and Austria, but through France and Italy via the Simplon, and it is perfectly feasible to divert ninety per cent. of the particular trade to the lands of the Latin sea Powers. But you must remember that, during the past fifteen years, incredible sums have been spent by Germans here in the attempt—not always unsuccessful—to dominate England politically and economically, and it will be a Herculean task to break the net of intrigue and vested interests, and to

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throw off that grip which is the most degrading and defiling that the world has ever known.

Dr. VAUGHAN CORNISH said that the task of replying to the speakers who had taken part in the discussion was less formidable than might at first sight appear, since their opinions to a great extent neutralised one another. Thus the remarks of Mr. Mackinder and of Admiral Sir E. Slade, with respect to the influence of positions on naval events in the Indian Ocean, lent strong support to his estimate of the use of such positions in assisting the action of the Navy, an estimate which the Chairman (Lord Sydenham) appeared to regard as excessive. Then, with regard to the Forth and Clyde battleship canal, Mr. Mackinder banned the scheme and Professor Lyde blessed it, so that he felt confirmed in his own attitude, which was that of advocating reconsideration of the project in the light of this War's experience. Finally, while Mr. Freshfield doubted if Strategic Geography were a suitable citizens' subject, Professor Lyde had shown them by striking examples how he had correctly forewarned pupils of impending dangers by demonstrating from the time-tables that certain railways were built as strategic and not commercial lines of communication. In Professor Lyde's "Geography of Europe" they would find much information of strategic value. The conduct of operations during the War was outside the scope of the subject in which he proposed to give instruction, or desired to express views; first, because his special knowledge was of the field of operations, not the handling of armed forces; and secondly, because the information published about operations was not sufficiently trustworthy to form the basis of sure induction. Most of his time since the beginning of the War had been given to instructing officers of the New Armies in Strategic Geography pure and simple. While anxious to teach, he was still more anxious not to mislead; and the experience of the last seventeen months made him profoundly thankful that he had kept to a subject in which he was not dependent for his facts upon doubtful information.

In conclusion, he asked them to accord a vote of thanks to Lord Sydenham for his kindness in presiding. The size of the audience present that evening was, he knew, attributable in great part to a desire to hear Lord Sydenham's views.

FAREWELL LUNCHEON TO SIR RIDER HAGGARD.

As this issue of UNITED EMPIRE goes to press to-night, we can only make a brief reference to the Luncheon given to Sir Rider Haggard on the occasion of his departure to the Dominions as representative of the Institute and its Empire Land Settlement Committee. The Luncheon took place on February 1 at the Hotel Cecil, and was very largely attended. Lord Curzon occupied the chair and proposed the health of the principal guest in an eloquent speech, in which he laid emphasis on the Imperial work Sir Rider Haggard had done both in the sphere of literature and affairs. The toast was seconded by Lord D'Abernon (Chairman of the Dominions Royal Commission). Sir Rider Haggard in his reply spoke of the importance to the future of the Empire of peopling its empty lands and guiding the migration which, as history showed, invariably followed a great war. Sir John Taverner expressed regret for the unavoidable absence of Lord Grey and Lord Sydenham, and briefly sketched the work of the Institute's Committee. A full report of the speeches will be published in our March number.

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THE EMPIRE'S OUTPOST IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC.*

By Major J. QUAYLE DICKSON, D.S.O. (late Colonial Secretary of the Falkland Islands).

THE Falkland Islands and their Dependencies, the most southerly outposts of our Empire, where I resided from June 1913 to July 1914, are full of interest to the traveller, and are object-lessons as to what can be done by perseverance and industry to obtain a fair return from what would appear to the ordinary man unlikely propositions. It would be hard to find more unattractive conditions for the farmer settler than the dreary wind-swept Falklands, or for the whaler than the stormy seas and severe cold of South Georgia and the other islands which comprise the Dependencies of the Falklands. The Falkland Islands proper consist of about 200 islands lying between 57° and 53° South latitude and between 57° and 62° West longitude. Only two of the islands are of any considerable size, many of the remainder being mere islets, while others of larger size are the property of prosperous farmers who live a happy though isolated life with their families and employés. The largest island, East Falkland, is 95 miles in extreme length with an average width of 40 miles, and the smaller West Falkland is 80 miles long and about 25 miles wide. The two principal islands are separated from each other by the Falkland Sound, a narrow strait of about 18 to 20 miles in width, running north and south. These islands have been a portion of the British Empire since 1833. They were first discovered early in the sixteenth century, and Spain, France, the United States of America and the Argentine Republic have, at different times prior to their cession to Britain, laid claim to them. The first British Administrator was an Irishman, named Mathew Brisbane, who met the fate of many a pioneer by being murdered, six months after his appointment, by the Gauchos who remained in the Colony after the Argentine occupation. The remainder of the British residents escaped a similar fate, and not long afterwards the murderer of Mr. Brisbane was captured. From that date up to 1842, when a civil administration was established, the jurisdiction of the islands was in the hands of naval officers sent out to compile charts of the Colony.

Stanley, the capital of the Falkland Islands, is situated on the east side of East Falkland, and is the only town in the Colony. It has a population of about 1,000, and has for its size some very fine buildings, among these being Christ Church Cathedral, the Town Hall, a building erected in 1913 and 1914, the upper portion being used as a hall for entertainments, a drill hall for the Volunteers and other purposes, and the lower portion being occupied as public offices, a home for an interesting little museum, a library, &c. There is also in Stanley a modern hospital, erected in 1913 by the inhabitants of the Colony to the memory of King Edward VII., a boon to the inhabitants and to travellers on passing steamers who may have been struck down by illness.

Practically the whole of the population of these islands is connected with the sheep-farming industry. The soil is poor and does not support a vigorous growth of grass, but

* *Paper read (with Lantern illustrations) at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held on Tuesday, December* 21, 1915, *at* 4 P.M., *Sir William Grey-Wilson, K.C.M.G., in the Chair.*

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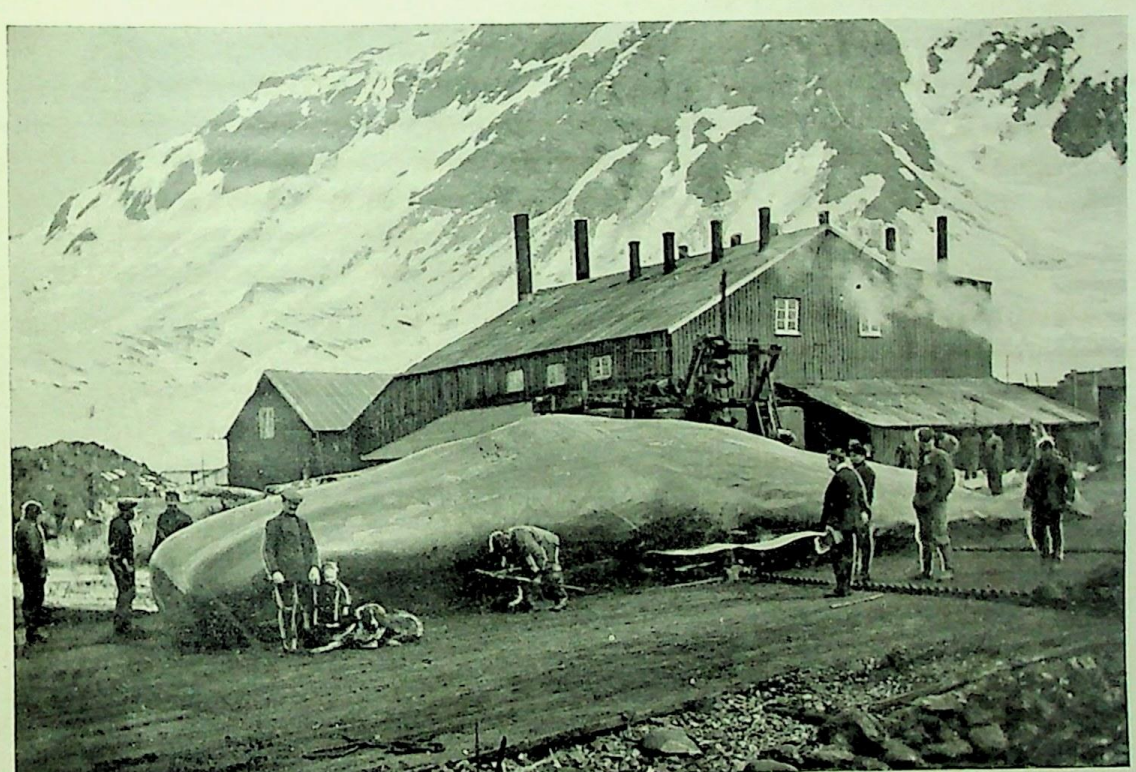
sheep thrive well and put on a lot of fat during the summer. Nearly all the land of the Colony has been purchased from the Government and divided into large sheep-runs. On an average about five acres is required for one sheep. An island-farm often has as its only human inhabitants a man, who owns or manages the island, his wife and children, and his few employés. The total number of sheep in the islands in 1913 was 870,000. The flocks, generally speaking, vary from 2,000 to 30,000, but in one instance there are 200,000 sheep on one station. The shepherds have a busy time, especially in spring, when they have to be in the saddle from daylight until dark on the alert for sheep who are, owing to their poor condition after the long trying winter, and the heavy fleeces of wool they are carrying, unable to rise without assistance. It is surprising, seeing the condition of the country in winter time, how any animal can live through it after being exposed to the elements night and day. The farmers' losses are naturally large, and it is found in practice that the less the sheep are disturbed the better. The busiest time of all on the farms is shearing time, which takes place in December and January. At the chief settlement on each farm all is bustle and noise, with the bleating of sheep and barking of dogs. In the shearing sheds the scene is very interesting. Around the middle pen stand the shearers who quickly catch a sheep and get to work, and in three or four minutes the animal is kicking its heels in farewell as it plunges through a trap-door into an outside pen. Some of the shearers are wonderfully smart, being able to shear from 200 to 230 sheep in a day, the record number for one individual being about 270. The ordinary average number for a mixed lot of farm-hands is from 100 to 130 a day, according to the kind of sheep. At a farm which I visited in January 1914 ten shearers, two of whom were young lads, averaged 170 wethers each on the day of my visit. While the shearers are at work other men are busy in another shed. Boys are carrying to them the fleeces as they are shorn, and it says a great deal for the shearing that each fleece can be spread over a grating like a quilt; any loose ends are allowed to fall through the grating. The fleeces are then rolled tightly together and classed according to quality by the classers, who throw the fleeces as they think right into either Nos. 1, 2, or 3. The fleeces, which are first tied together with a piece of their own wool, are piled into a sort of truck and pressed down as tightly as possible. Not far away stands the wool press, usually an hydraulic one. The truck is run under the press and, when canvas has been stretched above and below, the machinery is set in motion, and the wool is pressed very tightly together. The canvas is then sewn up and the whole bale bound round with iron-bands which are fastened into place with the aid of a crowbar. Meanwhile, outside in the pens, work of no less an interesting nature is going on. This is the drafting of the sheep from the different flocks into the rightful ones for next year. A man stands in one pen leaning over a narrow passage which has two doors opposite each other. The passage leads to one, each door to another, so that the man can command three pens at once. The flock in question is driven up the passage with lightning quickness, and the man, seeing what sort of sheep are coming, opens the correct door accordingly. It is wonderful to see him work, and the three pens are quickly filled with the right description of sheep. March is another busy time, for it is the dipping month. As many as 1,600 sheep on one farm

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KING EDWARD COVE, SOUTH GEORGIA.



SPERM WHALE ON FLENCHING FLOOR, LEITH HARBOUR, SOUTH GEORGIA.

[*To face p.* 162.

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CORMORANTS AND ROCK-HOPPER PENGUINS, SOUTH GEORGIA.



SEA LIONS ON NEW ISLAND, IN THE FALKLANDS.

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are sometimes passed through the dip before breakfast. After dipping comes "trying out," when the old sheep are killed off and boiled down for tallow. The men work in pairs, and the two men will maintain an average of 200 sheep in a day. Experts have been known to kill as many as 300 sheep in about ten hours. Until recently the only sheep killed for mutton were for local consumption and for the supply of meat to passing vessels, but now two canning factories are at work, and the preserved mutton, tongues, and extract manufactured by these establishments are excellent. In 1913 and 1914 a large trade was done in the sale and shipment for slaughter of live sheep to the Argentine. It has been my lot in many parts of the Empire to see the pioneer farmer fighting against adverse circumstances, but the successful attempts of some of the progressive farmers to cultivate the poor soil of the Falklands, and grow successfully forage oats and suitable grasses for hay-making, is an object-lesson of a successful achievement of what to most men would seem the impossible.

The rivers of stones are considered by many to be the most interesting feature of the Falklands. These rivers are found in various parts of the camp, varying in length from a few yards to two miles. In appearance from a distance they look like rivers, but when one gets close to them one finds them to be huge blocks of stone lying in all sorts of positions. There is, I believe, no accepted explanation of their existence, but one theory put forward is that the whole country (including Patagonia) was at one time covered with ice. When the ice melted these stones were left bare and slipped down the hill-sides into the valleys where they are now found. It is also suggested that the boulder streams are due simply to the natural disintegration of the solid rock. In many parts of the islands the bottoms of the valleys are covered in this extraordinary manner by myriads of great, loose, angular fragments of rock forming streams of stones. These have been mentioned with surprise by every voyager who has explored the islands. The blocks are not water-worn, their angles being only a little blunted; they vary in size from one to two feet in diameter to ten or even twenty times as much; they are not thrown together in irregular piles, but spread out into level sheets or great streams. It is not possible to ascertain their depth, but the water of small streamlets can be heard trickling through the stones many feet below the surface. The actual depth is probably great, or the crevices between the fragments must long ago have been filled up with sand and peat dust. The width of these sheets of stones varies from a few hundred feet to a mile; but the peaty soil yearly encroaches upon the borders, and even forms islets wherever a few fragments happen to be close together. In a valley south of Berkeley Sound, which has been called the "great valley of fragments," it is necessary to cross an uninterrupted band half a mile wide by jumping from one pointed stone to another. So large are the stones that, being overtaken by a shower of rain, one could easily find shelter beneath one of them. Their little inclination is one of the most remarkable circumstances in these stone rivers. On the hill-sides they may be seen sloping at an angle of ten degrees with the horizon, but in some of the level, broad-bottomed valleys the inclination is only just sufficient to be clearly perceived. In some cases a continuous stream of these fragments follows up the course of a valley, and extends even

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to the very crest of the hill. On these crests huge masses, exceeding in dimensions any small building, seem to stand arrested in their headlong course. There also the carved strata of the archways lie piled on each other like the ruins of some vast and ancient cathedral. These scenes are, on the spot, rendered more striking by contrast with the rounded forms of the neighbouring hills.

A voyage of 800 miles from Stanley, over some of the roughest seas in the world, takes one to the desolate island of South Georgia, which of all the Dependencies of the Falklands is the most important. It was discovered by Antony la Roche in 1675, and was explored and taken possession of by Captain Cook in 1775. Along the southern coasts it is almost perpetually icebound, the snowstorms in winter being numerous and exceedingly strong. There are nevertheless considerable areas, especially in the west of the island, covered with a coarse tussock grass which grows to a height of from two to three feet. The island is generally mountainous, and possesses several heights of over 5,000 feet. After Cook the sealers came. From the year 1800 onward they searched the island for fur seals, which they nearly exterminated. Visits were paid by Von Bellingshausen in 1819, and by Weddel in 1823. Then followed a long period during which the island appears to have been forgotten except by the sealers, many of whom lost their lives there. Fur seals had rapidly diminished, and the sea-elephant had then to pay a heavy tribute of blubber to defray the cost.

Scientific expeditions visited South Georgia in 1877–1878, and again in 1882–1883. During the first part of the antarctic winter of 1902 the Swedish Antarctic Expedition explored the island and made a valuable zoological collection. When the Expedition returned to Europe, Capt. C. A. Larsen determined to establish a whaling station at South Georgia. During his repeated voyages to the antarctic waters he had come to the conclusion that such an establishment, equipped with modern machinery of the kind invented and used in Norway for the whaling industry, should prove to be profitable. At Grytvyken, as round several of the other harbours of the island, numbers of large pots used by the American sealers for boiling down the blubber from seals are found. The former name of this harbour was "Great Pot," of which the name Grytvyken is the Norwegian equivalent. The island is well provided, especially on the north side, with sheltered coves, and once one arrives in one of these it is hard to realise the fury of the wind and the heavy seas which have been sweeping over the small whaler a short half-hour before.

South Georgia has the most southern church in the world, the Norwegian Lutheran church. It is situated near a small stream, of which many are to be found everywhere along the coast of the island. Waterfalls are numerous. At Larsen Harbour (so little has South Georgia been explored that this harbour was only discovered five years ago) the cliffs rise to a height of over 1,000 feet, and at the time of my visit more than a dozen separate streams of water were running down the cliffs into the sea. This harbour, about half a mile or more in length, is a veritable haven of refuge. The south of the island, and a considerable portion of the north-east, is just one huge glacier after another. I was fortunate enough to visit a large one after what, in that part of the world, was called a few hot days, which means that the sun had been

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shining for a few hours each day. Hence large portions of ice were breaking away, and the noise was like batteries of heavy artillery fire in quick succession. Even at a distance the noise was deafening as the huge masses of ice went tumbling down into the sea below. Icebergs are numerous, and navigation is difficult on that account, and also owing to submerged rocks, especially near the south coast. The glaciers of South Georgia are slowly receding, the water from the melting snow cutting its way round the base of the glacier and leaving mounds of earth and stone some six or eight feet high, about six feet broad at the base, and two to three feet at the top. Mount Paget, the highest peak, is over 6,000 feet in height. In these latitudes storms quickly gather. It only takes a short time outside of a harbour for the calm sea to be lashed by the wind into a surging mass of water. Up to eleven years ago South Georgia was practically uninhabited, but, owing to the whaling industry started by Captain Larsen, South Georgia is now one of the most important whaling centres in the world, and in April 1914 seven companies were engaged in the business, with an invested capital of about £625,000, and employing some 1,700 men in summer and about 500 in winter. Of the seven operating companies four are Norwegian, two British, and one Argentine. All the managers, navigators, and gunners are Norwegians; in fact, all over the world the men of this nationality have the whaling industry almost exclusively in their own hands. In some cases tank steamers are being employed to transport the oil, but generally speaking old steam and sailing vessels are employed, and many a well-known ship of years gone by is now used to carry the whale oil in barrels to Europe. The largest whaling factory on the island is owned by Messrs. Salvesen and Company, of Leith. At South Georgia there are five land stations, where large and up-to-date factories have been built, but experience has shown that to carry on this business successfully floating factories, mostly old passenger steamers which have been converted for the purpose, are the most economical and satisfactory. These floating factories are as a rule fitted out in Europe in September or October, and return on the approach of the severe winter weather about the end of April. They are fitted with boiler digesters for use with the blubber and guano plant to turn the whale meat and bone into fertilisers. All stores are carried on the ships, and they can thus be worked at far less expense than a land station. The smallest land station requires almost double the quantity of oil to pay expenses as compared with a floating factory.

In the South Shetlands and Graham's Land and the South Orkneys, also Dependencies of the Falkland Islands, we find floating factories only, with one exception. In the South Shetlands and Graham's Land eleven companies were operating in 1914, and in the South Orkneys three companies. The whaling season in these Dependencies, especially in the latter group, is very short. The vessels used are clean, considering the work, but the smell is almost overpowering, although, like everything else in this world, one could get used to it after a time. The flenching of whales at sea is a hazardous undertaking, as no one is anxious for a dip in the cold South Atlantic waters. It is wonderful how quickly the large quantity of blubber is removed from the animal, and the long strips of fat are hauled up on deck, where they are quickly cut up and thrown into the boilers. On a land factory almost the same procedure takes place,

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but here electric power comes into play, working both the hauling and cutting-up machinery. Twenty-one steam whalers were engaged in the pursuit of whales from the harbours of South Georgia at the time of my visit. The tonnage of these vessels varies from 43 to 85 tons. Except when in harbour for repairs or coaling, these little vessels are constantly at the whaling grounds, returning to harbour only if the weather is too rough to permit of their pursuing the whales with any chance of success. As a rule, the whaler leaves the anchorage at 5 A.M., returning to harbour about midnight; and when it is considered that the hunt is carried on through every day in the week, from early October to the end of May, it will be seen that the life of those employed on steam whalers in what are said to be the roughest seas in the world is not an easy one. All the men employed in the whaling industry have a share in the profits, the man receiving the highest reward being the harpooner or gunner, who is paid for each whale he manages to shoot. One gunner had the good fortune on a day in January 1914 to shoot five right whales, the most valuable species found in South Georgia, and his bonus for the day was over £56! When in pursuit of whales the steam whaler's decks are nearly always more or less under water, and from all quarters one hears that the whales are more difficult to capture than they were at one time. To one watching the hunt of a whale for the first time it would appear, from the manner in which the quarry seems to dodge the whale steamer, that it is well aware of its danger. When the industry was started in South Georgia the humpback whale was its mainstay, but this variety is now caught in much fewer numbers. The total number of humpbacks harpooned during the season 1910–1911 was 6,197; during 1911–1912, 5,635; during 1912–1913, 2,360; and during the season 1913–1914 the total number did not, I believe, exceed 600. Whalers consider the humpback a great traveller, and if this is so, it will account for the rapid decrease in numbers, as when little whaling is taking place in South Georgia the whaling season is in full swing in South Africa. Several of the men who are employed by a firm owning steam whalers which are employed in South Georgia from October to May, and in South Africa from June to September, related to me an experience of theirs. Having killed a humpback whale in South Africa, they found it carrying a harpoon which had wounded it, but not mortally. This harpoon bore the marks of a South Georgia whaling station. It is an exciting moment when, by skilful manœuvring, the gunner manages to creep gradually up within shooting distance of the whale. After being chased for a considerable time the whale does not remain for any long period under the water. A ninety feet blue whale which I saw shot was easily discernible for the last three minutes of the chase just ahead of the whaler. This whale produced ninety-five barrels of oil and over forty bags of fertiliser, of a total monetary value of over £300. Sometimes a whale will give a long chase. I saw one shot after being pursued for four hours and ten minutes. The average speed of a steam whaler is from ten to eleven knots an hour, but so powerful are the larger whales that after a blue or fin whale has been shot and the engines are turned full speed astern the steamer will proceed at a rate of five or six knots ahead. The larger whales sink after death; hence it is necessary to bring the whale alongside the steamer as speedily as possible and pump air into it, the whale being thus kept afloat. The rope which is attached to the harpoon is made

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of particularly good material. Nevertheless I saw a new five-inch rope snapped by one plunge of a large fin whale. The blue whale and the fin whale inhabit the waters of South Georgia all the year round, and do not travel in large numbers or schools as does the humpback.

Practised harpooners can tell by the spout from a whale whether they are following a finback or a blue whale, the spout of the former being higher, narrower, and denser than that of the blue whale. In consequence of its more rapid movements it is not easy to get as good a shot at a fin as at a blue whale, and if the harpoon does not hit a vital spot, so that the whale is badly wounded, the crew of the whaler have in these rough seas often a very unpleasant time with no success wherewith to compensate themselves. The following story, told to me by an old harpooner, illustrates the fruitless voyages which those engaged in the chase of these leviathans of the deep sometimes experience. After a successful shot the gunner had succeeded in procuring a good grip with the harpoon; the engine was stopped, but the whale tugged the steamer onwards at a speed of from three to four knots an hour. It continued to do so during the whole of the day and through the next night. The following morning orders were given for full speed astern, but the fin whale continued to pull away northwards with hardly diminished speed. Finally steam was put on the winch for the purpose of shortening the line if possible, and reducing the distance from the steamer to the whale so that a further shot might be tried. All these efforts were in vain, as towards noon, in consequence of the double strain on the harpoon, it loosened its grip and the whale got away. An average fin whale produces about sixty barrels of oil. Numbers of the large blue whales are found in the waters of South Georgia, but so long as the humpback whales, which are very much more easy to kill, were plentiful, they were not much hunted, as the huge carcass of a blue whale is very difficult to handle, especially in bad weather. The blue whale is to be found in these waters all the year round, and it sometimes remains below the surface for a quarter of an hour at a time. Its average yield of oil is about eighty barrels. The right whale is the most valuable of all the whales found around South Georgia, as in addition to the oil, which from one of this species averages forty-five barrels, they produce balleen, or, as it is often called, whalebone, to an average value of £600 a whale. Since fashions have changed the only whalebone which is not dumped is that from the right whale. Like the blue and finback, this whale travels in twos and threes, and is said to remain at times under the water for from twenty to forty minutes, and some harpooners even allege an hour. The right whale is comparatively slow in its movements, and is very easily frightened by the noise of the steamer's screw. If it perceive anything unusual, it disappears beyond shooting range and is not easily approached by the whaling vessel.

The humpback found at South Georgia is a small whale and does not attain a size of more than thirty-eight feet in length, though I am told that the humpback of the northern hemisphere is a large whale. The beaches around the northern harbours of the island are covered with the bones from these whales. The humpbacks are easier to kill than the larger whales owing to their inquisitive nature. They allow the whaler to approach within a convenient distance, or even swim up to the

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steamer themselves. This permits the gunner to choose his opportunity for a good shot. The curiosity of these animals is made much use of by the hunters, and when they have shot one of them they leave the wounded one on the line in order that its movements may attract others, which swim up to see what is the matter and fall easy victims to the harpooner's gun. A humpback whale yields from twenty-five to thirty barrels of oil. The Sei whale is about the same size as the humpback and produces about the same quantity of oil. The value of the oil and fertiliser produced in South Georgia in the years 1911, 1912, and 1913 averaged about £500,000 a year. Everything possible at a whaling station is done by means of electric power, even to the manufacture of very good sausages made from the meat of young finback whales with pork added. Young finback steaks cut up into strips and smoked are good eating and taste very much like dried venison—that favourite food of the South African farmer.

A considerable industry is carried on in hunting down the sea-elephant for the oil which it produces. This animal is the largest of the seal family, a full-grown male being from eighteen to twenty-two feet, and a female from eight to ten feet in length. The colour of the quite young calves is very dark, almost black in fact, but the older bulls and cows are of a lighter colour of a greenish-grey shade. The bulls are very kindly disposed towards the calves and do their best to take care of them. If a calf is driven into the water the bull hastens as quickly as possible to its aid; he swims out to the young and, getting before it, catches it by the neck, as a cat does her kittens, and tries in every possible way with mild force to get the calf ashore again. He does not cease in his endeavour until he has been successful in returning the young to its mother. The cow, on the other hand, is quite passive, and does not seem to care anything about the whole proceeding.

Sea-leopards are also found in South Georgia. In fine weather these seldom go ashore, but are seen on the floating ice. If a severe storm is raging they lie on the shore, although in the evening and early morning they are always in the water feeding. When the sea-leopards haul up they prefer the sandy beaches, and avoid, in opposition to what is the case with the sea-elephants, the tussock grass. Their long and comparatively slender bodies make their movements even on land much quicker and more graceful than those of the sea-elephants. Sea-leopards are never seen in herds, and they are not aggressive when on land; they only open widely their mouth without emitting any sound, but showing their formidable teeth as if to try to scare off the intruder. In the water, however, they are more courageous, and if a man is afloat in a small boat the sea-leopard is very apt to come and swim partly behind the stern and partly to the side, often coming so close that it looks as if he wanted to get into the boat.

Weddel seals are said not to be regular inhabitants of the seas around South Georgia. I only saw one of these pretty little animals during my visit. When one approaches them they give a call somewhat like the cry of a young child. Fur-bearing seals are now almost extinct in the waters around the Falklands and South Georgia.

Sea-lions are almost the only species of seal now found around the Falklands; they

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are large beasts, though not so big as the sea-elephant, being from eight to fifteen feet in length and from five to ten feet in girth.

Both the Falklands and South Georgia are very plentifully supplied with bird life, and even in the latter island some twenty-five species exist. When Cook visited South Georgia he relates that "thousands of shags nested on the small islands and rocks near Possession Bay. Other sea-birds swarmed around the vessel, and a lark was heard singing, but perhaps this was a straggler from the Falklands." As it was in 1775 so it is to-day. The islands, many of which are named after Cook's lieutenants, are literally alive with birds, and the harbours are crowded with them. They simply move to let the little steamers in, and then quickly close up again. Large numbers of rock-hopper penguin rookeries are to be found both in South Georgia and the Falklands. A rookery on one of the islands close to Stanley was estimated to contain about three million birds. Some strange and interesting tales are told about these rock-hoppers. Old hands contend that they arrive on the islands at the same hour every year, and, much amused at this assertion, I had arranged with a gentleman in November 1913 to visit Kidney Island, near Stanley, to see the arrival of the first birds upon the day stated. Unfortunately, I was at the last moment unable to go, and so cannot vouch as to whether they arrived to time or not, but the next morning their arrival was reported by a cutter which had passed the island. At first they come up from the sea in ones and twos, then in twenties and thirties, and finally in hundreds. The eggs of the rock-hopper penguins, as also those of the gentoo penguins, which are larger birds, are a staple article of local food, especially in South Georgia. Many of the eggs are put down for use during the winter. The taste of these eggs is very much like that of the eggs of the plover. The rock-hoppers are very inquisitive little birds, and they will strut up towards you upon your landing at one of their rookeries, but if you interfere with them or rob them of their eggs they are apt to give you a nasty bite. The early eggs are mostly collected for local consumption; visiting a rookery in February, you will see the young penguins in all stages of development. The stately king penguin is a beautiful bird which is now almost extinct in the Falklands. In South Georgia, however, four small rookeries, totalling about seven hundred birds, still remain. It is to be hoped that the measures now being taken by the Government to preserve this bird will meet with success. The breeding habits of the king penguin appear to be singularly irregular. Freshly laid eggs have been found in Antarctic Bay, South Georgia, at the end of March, which is the beginning of the autumn of the Dependency. The duties of incubation are shared by both the sexes. The king penguins carry their eggs about on the rookery by holding them between their legs. When the eggs have been taken the penguins will often obtain a rounded stone and sit upon it as a substitute. They have no nest worth mentioning, and will only hatch one egg during the season. The sexes can be distinguished by the colour of the bill, which in the cock bird is of a bright yellowish red, and in the hen of a dull yellow. Large rookeries of the gentoo penguin exist in most of the islands both of the Falklands and the Dependencies, and their habits are very much the same as those of the rock-hoppers. There are also numerous jackass

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penguins in the Falklands. These birds make a burrow in the earth about six feet deep, and generally lay their eggs at the inner end. The jackass derives its name from the strange noise it makes on shore, which is very much like the braying of an ass. At sea when undisturbed its deep and solemn note is often heard at night, and sounds like a prolonged "calm."

An interesting and successful experiment has been made in South Georgia by the introduction of reindeer, which have become quite acclimatised and are likely in a few years' time to be a valuable asset to the meat supply of the island. This is of considerable importance, as all livestock, sheep, &c., have at present either to be imported from the Falklands or Buenos Aires.

The waters around all the islands of the Falklands and its Dependencies are teeming with good fish, and the time cannot be far distant when an industry with up-to-date vessels and appliances will be established.

In a short paper like this it is not possible to more than touch lightly upon a few of the many aspects of life in these islands of the South Atlantic, but in the future it may be hoped that some more qualified traveller will treat other phases of life in this far distant Colony, which, as the years roll by, will, I am confident, become a still more important outpost of our Empire than it is at present.

Before the reading of the Paper:—

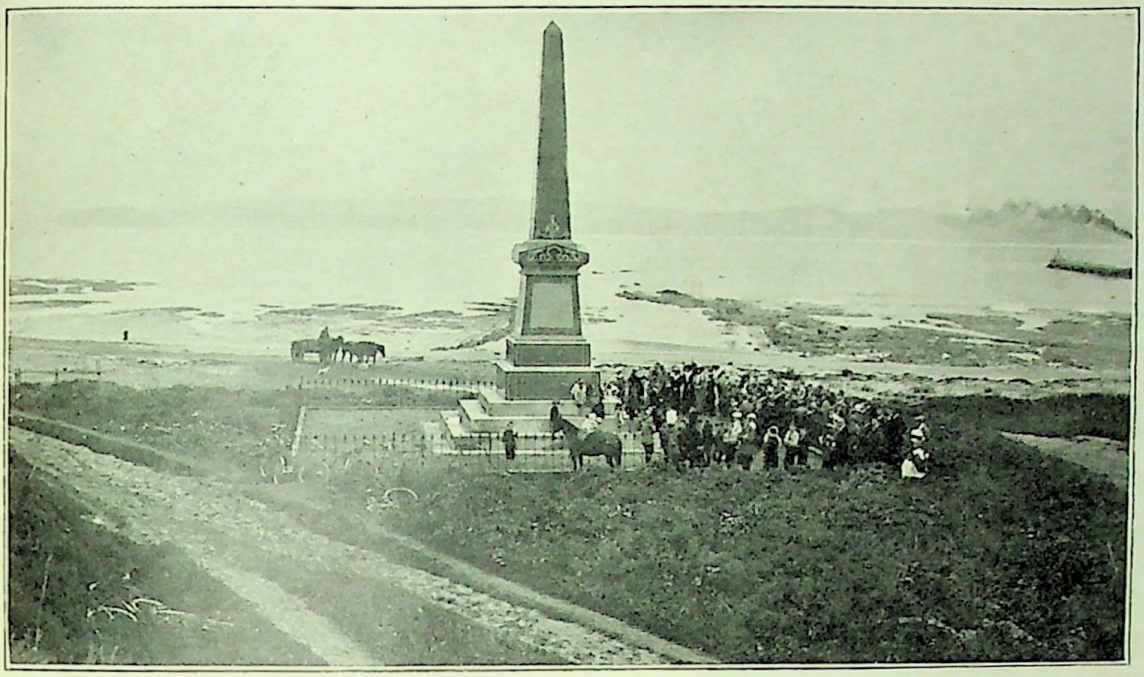
The CHAIRMAN (Sir W. Grey-Wilson, K.C.M.G.) said: I have been asked to take the chair as having spent many years—I am happy to say—in the distant dependency which is the subject of the lecture. Some two years ago, I doubt not, there would have been a great many people in this room who hardly knew where the Falklands Islands are, but I do not think that can ever be said again, because, after the glorious victory of Admiral Sturdee, the Falkland Islands will be engraven on the minds and hearts of generations to come. I do not know whether your popular Secretary (Sir Harry Wilson) is responsible for the selection of this day for the lecture, but I ask you to realise—coming out of the damp and cold of London—that this is midsummer day in the Falkland Islands, and although the summer is neither as long nor as hot as many accustomed to the Tropics would like, still we get there an enormous amount of sunshine—a great deal more sunny days than in this climate of ours. One great disadvantage of the Falkland Islands is that they have not got a single tree, but there have been one or two efforts in the direction of introducing them. We had one at the Government House. It reached nearly twenty feet when I was there, and looked for all the world like a lady's osprey feather in a gale of wind—a few straggling branches blowing hither and thither. There is one great compensation for the absence of trees, and that is that you don't know when the autumn has come, for you pass insensibly from summer to winter.

After the reading of the Paper the following discussion took place:—

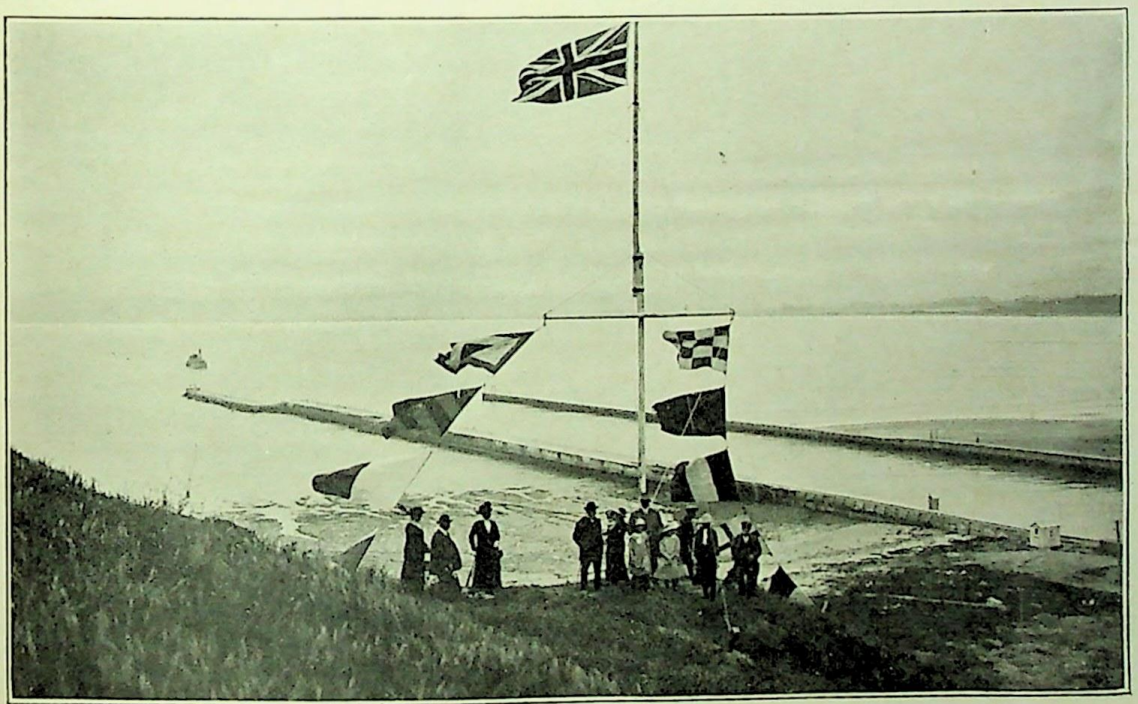
Dr. B. G. CORNEY said reference had been made in the Paper to the periodicity of the arrival of the penguins. This reminded him of an occurrence in certain parts of the Western Pacific—the islands of Fiji and Samoa and a few other neighbouring ones—in connection with the swarming of the *balolo*, a marine worm-like object which made its appearance over the coral reefs at a particular date in October or November of each year. It was not a mere calendar date, but depended on the day of full moon in those months of each year. The *balolo* was seen on the seventh, eighth, or ninth day after full moon towards the end of October. It came up again in smaller numbers one month after, but, excepting on those occasions, was never seen from year-end to year-

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MONUMENT RECENTLY ERECTED AT GISBORNE TO THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN COOK.
The Union Jack was hoisted and British Sovereignty proclaimed over New Zealand by Captain Cook, at Gisborne, on October 10, 1769.

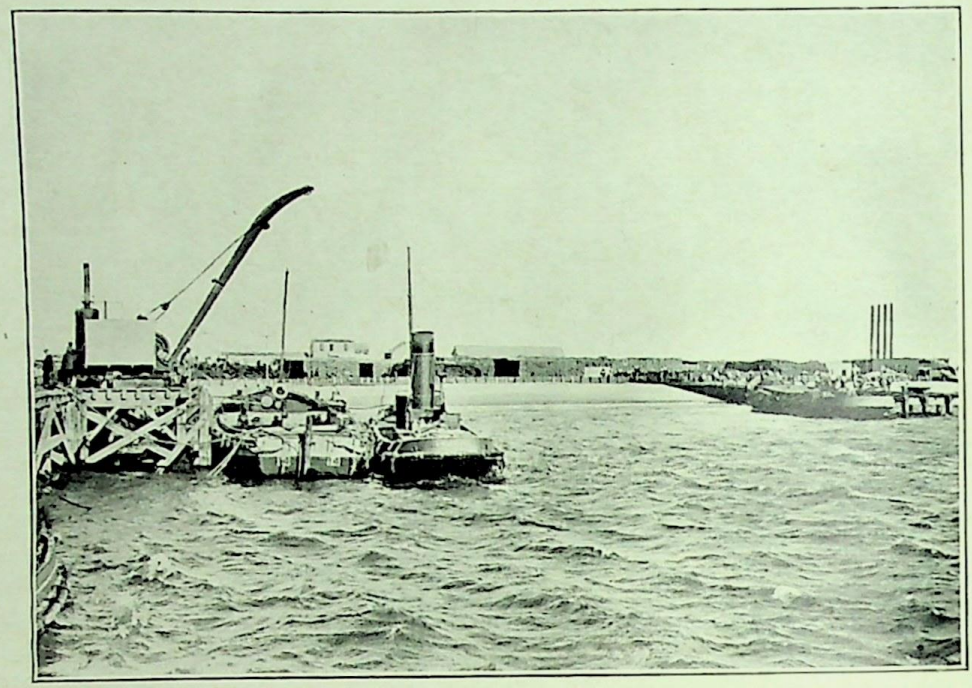


FLAGSTAFF ERECTED AT GISBORNE (above the Cook Monument) by Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute (in conjunction with the Borough Council), 1915.

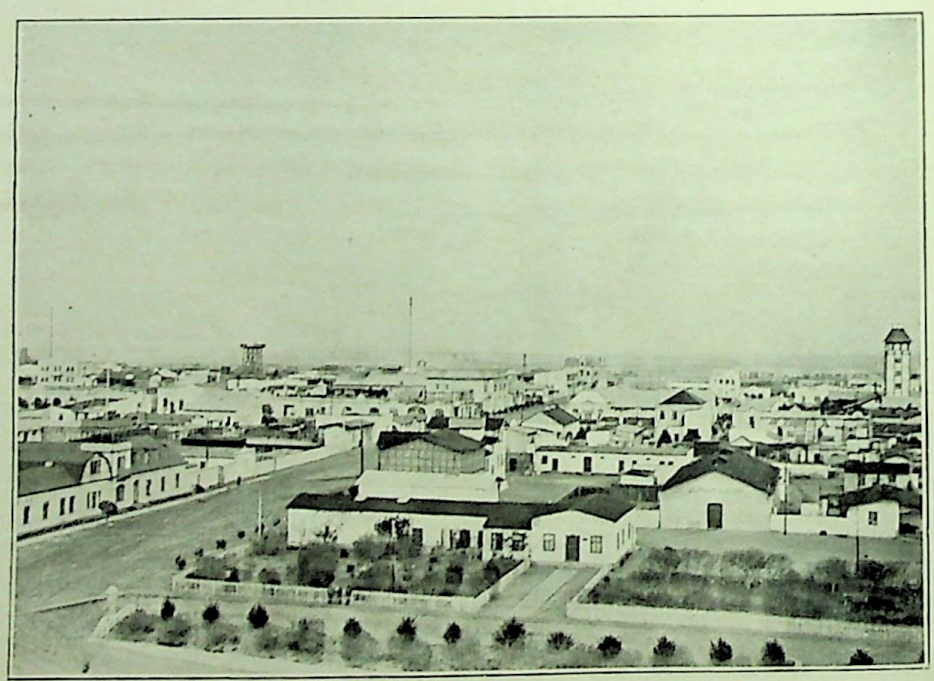
[*To face p.* 174.

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WALFISCH BAY. Photograph of the Settlement, showing Military Stores and Condensers.



SWAKOPMUND. From the top of the Lighthouse, looking S.S.E.

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end. It was regarded by the natives as a delicacy, and they looked for certain signs in the water and other indications which enabled them to know approximately when it was going to appear. From seven years' observation he once ventured to calculate the day in the following year on which the *balolo* should appear, and published his statement in the February number of *Na Mata*, the semi-official native newspaper of Fiji. It happened to be the 9th of November—the late King Edward's birthday—when the *balolo* came due that year, and he predicted its appearance on that day to welcome the King and congratulate His Majesty on his birthday. By great good fortune the prediction turned out correct, and he was acclaimed in the native newspaper as a somewhat remarkable prophet.

Touching on the early history of the Falkland Islands before their settlement, Dr. Corney mentioned that they were discovered by an Englishman named Cowley, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but their position was wrongly stated in his reports, and this gave rise to the belief that an island, to which the name of Pepys was given, existed some 4 degrees further north, and this island was diligently sought for by the Spaniards, who claimed a right over all islands and coasts situated in the seas adjacent to the South American dominions of Spain. For many years they did not know where the Falklands were, and when they found them they called them by another name, the Malvinas. It was not until 1764 that we sent the Hon. John Byron to fix the position of the islands and annex them in the name of King George. This had been recommended by Commodore Anson, who sailed past them in 1743 and thought they would be of great service to British ships trading into the Pacific Ocean. But in 1763 M. de Bougainville, a French officer, conceived the idea of forming a settlement in these islands, and early in 1764 he put this idea into practice by establishing a small colony of people there from Nova Scotia, and annexing the islands in the name of the King of France. Byron celebrated the corresponding event some six months later, "over a merry bowl of punch," not knowing that M. de Bougainville had been there before him. On the Spaniards hearing of these things they became very jealous and objected to a French colony being allowed to continue in proximity to the Spanish dominions. Meanwhile we had acted on Captain Byron's recommendation and sent out a frigate—the *Jason*—under John McBride, afterwards Admiral and M.P. for Plymouth, to plant a small settlement there, on the shores of Port Egmont. While he was there he set a party on shore to explore the island. They came upon a cairn under which they found a bottle, and in that bottle a document, which was now in the Record Office in London. It was to the effect that certain officers of M. de Bougainville had visited the hill on which the cairn was built; and their names were recorded on the paper. Bougainville had returned to France, leaving his nephew, M. de Nerville, in charge, and Captain McBride thought it his duty to proceed round the coast and discover this French settlement. In two days' time his ship sighted a bay on the east coast, and presently came in view of a settlement. The bay was Berkeley Sound, as now known. The French Governor and his people were very much disturbed by the appearance of the frigate, and sent their harbour master to inquire into the reason of it. He came back with the message that the frigate was flying the British ensign. A certain Captain Desperiers, who knew a few words of English, was then sent off, and requested Captain McBride to send one of his officers to confer. The result was that Captain McBride said his orders were to explore the islands, that they had been annexed to Great Britain, and he did not know by what right the Frenchmen established themselves there. The French replied that their orders were not to allow any foreigners to land, and that if Captain McBride attempted to go on shore they would blow his ship out of the water. In the end Captain McBride pulled in and had another interview with Desperiers, who agreed to take his letter to the Governor. The Frenchmen made McBride understand that the guns on shore were mounted, and McBride made the Frenchmen understand that the frigate had a broadside equally good. McBride in the end went on shore and paid an official call on the Governor. They showed each other their Commissions and

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came to a friendly understanding. As the record put it, the Englishman's manner "became softened"; and as a matter of fact he invited the French Governor and the members of his staff to come off and dine on board the *Jason*. But in the morning the weather changed, a fair wind coming out of the harbour; and McBride, having executed all the duties he had to do there, went away—much to the relief of the Frenchmen, no doubt—and so the dinner never came off. The French were soon afterwards bought out of the Falklands by the Spanish Government for a very large sum. The British occupation continued until 1770, when the Spaniards evicted us by main force. This nearly brought about a rupture between England and Spain, but war was finally averted, and we resumed possession two years later, only to abandon the islands again, of our own motion, in 1774. They remained a sort of No Man's Land, visited only by whalers and sealers and nondescripts of all sorts from that time (1774) until the transactions which took place between the Argentine Government (who next claimed the group) and the British Government in the early part of the nineteenth century. From that point in their history the lecturer had related all that could be said about the Falkland islands.

Sir HARRY WILSON said that, as a very old friend and colleague of the lecturer, he had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to him for his admirable paper. Major Quayle Dickson and he first became acquainted in South Africa, where Major Dickson served the Crown with distinction during the Boer War and afterwards became one of the best authorities on native administration in South Africa. Whenever any trouble arose with the natives in the Orange Free State he was always sent out from headquarters to deal with it, and in a very short time he usually managed to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Had Major Dickson been in the country when there was the outbreak at the Jagersfontein mine a short time back, he left sure that there would not have been any bloodshed and no Basutos would have been killed. Since then he had served the Crown in another isolated dependency of the Empire in the far Pacific and done excellent work, and afterwards he was a valuable servant of the Crown in the Falkland Islands.

The CHAIRMAN said that in his very interesting remarks Dr. Corney had pointed out how easily the Falklands might have belonged to other nations; but we must be thankful that, "in spite of all temptations," they still belonged to the British Crown. It was curious to note how the Falklands had gone entirely into sheep. Long before the sheep era the Falklands were absolutely overrun with foxes, and he was not prepared to say that the fox industry, if developed, might not have been of equal or greater value than the cultivation of sheep. But that was not the idea of the early settlers; they thought the foxes the great enemies of the sheep, and finally completely exterminated them.

After MAJOR QUAYLE DICKSON had replied, a vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

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DIARY OF THE WAR (*continued.*)

Dec. 23. Germans retake ground on Hartmannsweilerkopf. Russian success in Persia; Kum captured; advance on Teheran continues.

,, 24. Severe fighting at Kut-el-Amarah; Turks occupy part of a fort, but, after repeated attacks, are finally driven out by British forces.

,, 25. Arab force attacked and dispersed in Western Egypt.

,, 26. Successful artillery bombardments by the French in Champagne and the Vosges. German armed steamer captured on Lake Tanganyika (Central Africa); German officers all killed.

,, 28. Renewed attacks in the Vosges; French capture enemy trenches.

,, 29. Russian and Austrian armies heavily engaged near Roumanian border. Russian advance in Persia continues; Kashan occupied.

,, 30. German ammunition depot blown up by French in Artois. Naval encounter between Austrian and Allied war vessels off Cattaro; two Austrian destroyers and a French submarine sunk. French occupy island of Castellorizo. Enemy aeroplanes drop bombs on Salonika; German, Austrian, Turkish and Bulgarian Consuls arrested and sent aboard French battleship. H.M.S. *Natal* blown up in harbour; great loss of life.

Jan. 1. P. & O. liner *Persia* torpedoed in Eastern Mediterranean; many lives lost. British force occupies Yaunde (Cameroon); enemy in retreat.

,, 2. Russians occupy several heights in the Bukovina, and drive enemy back on the Strypa.

,, 5. British air raid on enemy aerodrome at Douai.

,, 6. Russian success on River Styr; advance towards Kovel; enemy fall back north-east of Czernowitz.

,, 7. British relief expedition for Kut-el-Amarah encounters Turkish forces; heavy fighting on both banks of Tigris, Turks defeated; heavy British casualties. British submarine sunk off coast of Holland; crew saved.

,, 9. Evacuation of Gallipoli completed; one British casualty. British battleship *King Edward VII.* mined; crew rescued.

,, 10. Fierce fighting in Champagne; French lose some ground. Austrians defeat Montenegrins, capturing Mount Lovtchen.

,, 11. French troops land on island of Corfu to occupy the German Emperor's property, the Achilleion, as sanatorium for the Serbian army.

,, 12. Explosion at Lille; 70 Germans reported killed and 40 injured. Allies blow up railway bridge at Demir-Hissar, cutting Turkish and Bulgarian communications.

,, 13. Austrians occupy Cettigne. Further fighting on Tigris; Turks defeated at Wadi.

,, 14. French submarine sinks Austrian cruiser off Cattaro.

,, 17. Successful British attack on Givenchy. Capitulation of Montenegro announced in Hungarian Parliament.

,, 18. Turkish army in Armeniá routed by Russians, who capture Köprikeui. German Governor and Commandant of the Cameroon take refuge in Muni (Spanish territory).

,, 20. Capitulation of Montenegro denied. King Nicholas and Royal Family leave country *en route* to Lyons.

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Jan. 21. British relief expedition attacks Turkish forces 23 miles east of Kut; heavy losses. Flight of Turks before Russians to Erzerum: forts bombarded by Russian artillery.

„ 23. Air-raids—German, on Dover, three machines, midnight and noon; French, on Metz, 24 machines; French, on Monastir, 32 machines. Senussi camp attacked and tribesmen dispersed (Western Egypt). Austrian troops occupy Skutari (Albania).

ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

Canada.

Lower Grain Rates.—It is announced that the Dominion Minister of Railways has fixed a rate for carrying grain over the Transcontinental Railway which, though a winter rate, is almost as low as the summer rate by water. The new rate strikes a new level for the winter movement of wheat between the head of the lakes and tide-water. The charge is to be six cents per bushel between Armstrong (on the National Transcontinental line) and Montreal and Quebec. An important feature of the new arrangement is that the port of Halifax will have equal opportunity with other Atlantic ports, so far as the wheat traffic is concerned, being no longer handicapped by an adverse differential rate. It is generally acknowledged that the Government has, at a stroke of the pen, enormously facilitated the movement of grain at a time when congestion threatened to become acute, but it is declared in railroad circles that the new rates cannot be made to pay, and if this view proves to be correct, it is improbable that the other railroads will drop their rates to the same level.

Manufacture of Shells.—The Shell Committee of Canada has finished the work of placing additional orders for heavy shells. No details are given concerning the firms securing the new contracts; but it is stated that Montreal, the commercial capital of Quebec Province, heads the list with £16,000,000. Generally speaking, the orders are on the basis of renewals. All the big firms previously engaged in shell making have secured further contracts.

Newfoundland.

Increasing Demand for Fish.—The fishing industry of Great Britain and other European countries has been greatly restricted owing to the War, with the result that the demand for fish, of which there is already a serious shortage in many of the markets of Europe, has now very largely to be met by supplies from transatlantic centres. Newfoundland is benefiting enormously from existing conditions. The supplies of codfish sent last year to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece would have broken all previous records but for the interruption of shipments to the latter country; and, even in spite of the increased quantity thereby offering in the other three countries, the prices paid were higher than ever. The demand in Southern Europe for codfish, even the cheaper grades, continues to be unprecedented. There is also a prospect that, owing to the scarcity of fish in France, the French Government will enter into negotiations with Newfoundland, thereby opening up another valuable market for the Colony's produce. Large quantities of fish are being shipped to Brazil, in spite of the greatly increased prices which have resulted from the scarcity of vessels for the carriage of this commodity. It has been found necessary to use a large number of fishing schooners from Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, which ordinarily are laid up during the winter season. The West India market is also proving an important one for Newfoundland, because much of the fish formerly sent to this region from the United States and Canada is now being absorbed in those countries.

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AUSTRALIA.

The Commonwealth "Derby Scheme."—Although it has not been considered necessary as yet to adopt conscription in Australia, steps have been taken to prevent eligible men leaving the country. At a meeting of the Federal Executive Council, held in November last, a regulation under the War Precautions Act was passed to prohibit persons of military age from leaving the Commonwealth without a passport. The regulation is as follows:—"No male British subject whose age exceeds 17 years and does not exceed 45 years shall leave, or attempt to leave, the Commonwealth unless a passport has been issued to him by the Department of External Affairs. Any person authorised for the purpose by the competent naval or military authority, or any police constable or officer of Customs, may arrest without warrant any person who attempts to leave the Commonwealth in contravention of this regulation." It will be remembered that the Commonwealth recently decided to raise, within a few months, another 50,000 men for active service, in addition to the quota of 9,000 per month. It is proposed to raise these troops by voluntary enlistment, a direct personal appeal being made to the men of fighting age, and it is confidently expected that the appeal will not be made in vain.

Supporting the War Relief Funds.—The Acting Government Statistician has had a statement prepared showing, so far as can be ascertained, the amount contributed by the people of each State of Australia to the various War Relief Funds, from the commencement of the War to October 31 last. The States appear in the following order:—New South Wales, £1,995,119; Victoria, £1,152,592; Queensland, £707,264; South Australia, £376,189; Western Australia, £142,024; Tasmania, £119,549; making a grand total of close upon 4½ millions.

Equipping the Forces.—It is satisfactory to note that the entire expeditionary forces of Australia have been supplied with rifles of the latest pattern, 25 per cent. of which were manufactured at the Small Arms Factory. Also, all requirements in small arms ammunition have been promptly met, while the large initial reserve for each rifle is being steadily maintained by regular shipments, to replace that expended in action. It is stated that approximately 8,000,000 yards of material has been used in the manufacture of military clothing.

Employment for Returned Soldiers.—The Commonwealth Government has agreed to the proposals of the Federal Parliamentary War Committee with regard to the employment of returned soldiers. To obviate the danger of a number of separately controlled organisations springing up, which would inevitably cause confusion and overlapping, it is recommended that the responsibility of providing suitable employment for men at the conclusion of their military service be made a matter for the nation. The Minister for Lands in New South Wales is developing his scheme for the settlement of wounded and disabled soldiers on the land. Altogether, 1,000 farms should be available through the State during the next twelve months, and each applicant will be able, if necessary, to secure an advance of £100 to develop his holding.

NEW ZEALAND.

High Interest for Saving Bank Deposits.—The Post and Telegraph Amendment Bill, introduced in the New Zealand Parliament by the Postmaster-General, provides that fixed deposits of amounts not less than £50 may be received in the Post Office Savings Bank at such rate of interest, not exceeding 5 per cent., as the Minister for Finance may determine and gazette from time to time. Such deposits are to be lodged for not less than twelve months.

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Supplies of Farm Produce.—It is stated that the War Office has offered to take a thousand tons of cheese a month from New Zealand, and at a meeting of the National Dairy Association recently, it was decided to recommend the Government to commandeer 20 per cent. of the output of New Zealand cheese *pro rata* from every factory making cheese at 7*d.* per pound at the grading store. So large is the new season's supply of butter and potatoes, that by a Gazette Extraordinary the embargo on their export has been removed.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Benguella Railway.—The Benguella Railway, which has its starting-point at Lobito Bay, Southern Angola, will, when completed, be the shortest route from Europe to Central Africa. Its main objective is the Katanga copper and tin belts traversing Angola and Katanga. It will not only open up these countries, but, linked with the Rhodesian and Congo systems, and with the German Centrallandbahn, will provide the main highway across Central Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean—from Lobito to Beira and Dar-es-Salaam. The effect of this railway on the economic development of the centre of the continent may be compared with that of the Canadian Pacific on the development of Western Canada, or of the Trans-Andine Railroad in South America. It possesses distinct advantages over rival lines from the east coast, both on account of the saving of time for mails and travel for passengers, and the less distance for freights, and also because the route is a direct one, without let or hindrance of any kind, whereas the Eastern route is handicapped by payment of the Suez Canal dues. The line has been opened to traffic to Huambo, 255 miles, since September 1912, and to Chinguar, 153 miles, since November 1913, while east of the latter place earth-works have been built for another 50 miles. The revenue derived from the trains run on this section has exceeded the working expenses for the last five years. The railway has opened up Southern Angola in a way never possible before, by substituting for carriers and ox-wagons steam transport at a far cheaper cost. The charge for the transport of mealies, for which the world's demand is practically unlimited, is the same from all parts of the line, namely 15*s.* per ton to Lobito. The total freight to Europe works out at £1 12*s.* per ton to Lisbon, and £1 17*s.* per ton to London.

Recruiting on the Rand.—It is reported that nearly nine thousand men have been provisionally enrolled on the Rand in response to General Smuts's appeal to the Union to raise 10,000 men for the campaign in German East Africa. The aggregate results for the eleven days' canvass for recruits show that out of 8,753 men medically examined, 6,035 were pronounced fit for service in East Africa and overseas. It is a significant fact that this successful result has been achieved solely by voluntary effort, no compulsion of any sort having been resorted to, and it is recognised that the Rand's recruiting resources have by no means been exhausted yet. Between three hundred and four hundred municipal employees have provisionally enrolled for service in German East Africa, and these are awaiting the decision of the Town Council on their applications for leave and allowances. No announcement has been made up to now, but it is confidently expected that the municipality will allow as many men to go as can possibly be spared.

Income Tax Figures.—The number of assessments made under the Income Tax Act, 1914, in the Union of South Africa was 5,742. All incomes not exceeding £1,000 were exempt. The average taxable income of individuals liable to tax was about £1,959, but there were eight districts in the Union in which this average was exceeded. Of these, Durban heads the list with £2,575, and it is interesting to note that the average generally was higher at the coast than inland, the towns of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town being ranked in that order after Durban.

EGYPT.

Trade with India.—The most recently published statistics show that commercial relations between Egypt and India have increased considerably in importance since the

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War. In 1914, Egypt purchased from India goods to the value of £E887,652, and sold to her goods to the amonut of £E137, 195; whereas, during the ten months of the year under review, the figures are £E930,166 and £E223,033 respectively. The chief imports from India are rice, coffee, tea, flour, natural indigo, sacks and cotton-thread. Egypt exported sugar to India for the first time last year, the quantity purchased being valued at £E150,000. Trade with other British possessions also has increased, and much is being done to promote closer commercial relations with the rest of the Empire.

India.

The Upper Jhelum Canal.—The Upper Jhelum Canal, which was opened officially by H.E. the Viceroy at Mangla on December 9, is the most important as well as the third and last link in what is known as the Punjab Triple Canal Project. The other two links in the scheme are the Upper Chenab Canal, opened by Lord Hardinge in the spring of 1912, and the Lower Bari Doab Canal, opened by Sir Louis Dane (then Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab) in the spring of 1913. It was hoped, at one time, that the Upper Jhelum Canal would be completed in the spring of 1914, but owing to serious damage caused during construction by an unusually high flood, the work was delayed for a full year. These three canals, which together form what may perhaps be regarded as the most notable of the many important irrigation works carried out in India, bear witness to the magnitude of the task designed and accomplished by a succession of engineers. The gross area commanded by the combined scheme is very nearly 3,980,000 acres, of which no less than 1,600,000 acres are Crown waste hitherto uncultivated. The annual irrigation anticipated is 1,865,000 acres. The importance of this additional irrigation to the general agricultural development of the Province is enormous. When the scheme was first sanctioned it was estimated that the bulk of the work would be completed in 1915, and in spite of unanticipated delays, this programme has practically been fulfilled, thereby reflecting the highest possible credit upon all the officers of the Punjab who have been directly connected with the construction of the Triple Canal.

Straits Settlements and F.M.S.

Firm Financial Position.—Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, the retiring Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, has been appointed Governor of Sierra Leone. At a banquet given in his honour by the Chamber of Commerce in Singapore, Mr. Wilkinson, referring to the financial position of the Colony, said that the latter had not received, and did not need, any help from the Imperial Government. On the contrary, the Colony had not only carried on improvements from the revenue, but had helped the Imperial Government with £4,000,000 sterling on a conservative estimate, and had also increased its colonial and London reserves.

Gift of Aeroplanes.—The Secretary of State for the Colonies states that sums exceeding £15,000 have been collected in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States for the purchase of aeroplanes for the use of the Royal Flying Corps. The organiser of the fund, Mr. C. Alma Baker, of Kinta, is himself the donor of one aeroplane. Funds for the provision of ten aeroplanes, which will be numbered "Malaya 1" to "Malaya 10" have already been gratefully acknowledged by the War Office. Subscriptions were received from all nationalities in the Malay Peninsula, several of the aeroplanes being presented by the Chinese residents.

West Indies.

Aeroplanes from Trinidad and Jamaica.—Two Fighter Aeroplanes for the Royal Flying Corps have been presented to the British Government, one by the members of the Trinidad Chamber of Commerce, Incorporated, and the other—the most recent gift of the kind from overseas—from Jamaica. It will be remembered that Dominica was the first colony to send an aeroplane to Great Britain.

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REVIEWS.

TWO CANADIAN EMPIRE BUILDERS.*

A MARKED change has come over Empire politics through the War partnership with Canada and the other Dominions in the field. Mr. Percy Alden, who used to have the reputation of being an Anti-Imperialist, said in the House of Commons the other day: "Even those of us who are called Little Englanders are believers in the Empire now." With this change in view, any book that helps to confirm and strengthen Imperial ideas is doubly welcome. Two books on great Canadians—one of them Lord Strathcona, and the other Mr. Sandford Fleming—recently published, will, it is hoped, reach a larger audience than has sometimes been the case with works dealing with the Dominions overseas. Both Lord Strathcona and Sir Sandford Fleming lived to a good old age, and the story of their lives makes a long chapter of Canadian history. Of both these subjects of biographies it is perhaps early yet to give them exactly their right niches in the history of Canada. Lord Strathcona died two years ago, and Sir Sandford Fleming only about six months ago. But whatever the future judgment may be, there is no doubt that each will, in his own way, be deemed worthy of the title of Empire Builder.

For Lord Strathcona, a very Boswell has been found in Mr. Beckles Willson, who has produced a bulky volume of over six hundred pages; and it is not too much to say that the work is valuable not only as a biography of a man who made a great name for himself, but also as a history of Canada for the past three-quarters of a century. The book is brimful of interest. Never once is Mr. Willson dull, and he has happily blended his history and biography into a most readable instructive whole. Of Lord Strathcona, Mr. Beckles Willson is naturally a strong admirer, and boldly says: "Had Lord Strathcona's particular genius tended in any other direction, Canada would not now have been opulent and strong, and heartened for the fray which is to decide the fate of the British Empire." This is a large claim, and seems almost to repeat the statement once made that Lord Strathcona had made Canada. To which the retort was promptly made that it would be truer to say that Canada had made Lord Strathcona. Canada is too great a country to be the work of one man; but, at the same time, she certainly does owe very much to Lord Strathcona and other far-seeing men to whose courage and faith in the future is due the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the consequent development of the great North-West.

But we do not wonder that sometimes Mr. Willson is tempted to be a little too emphatic, for the man of whom he writes had a career that compels admiration. Especially interesting is the story of how young Donald Smith began his life's work in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and how he who was ultimately to become the Governor of the Company, and whose name has become a household word, began his service by counting rat skins till the skin of his hands peeled off. Incidentally, the picture we get of that tyrant of his day, George Simpson, Governor of the Company, is admirable. Donald Smith spent over twenty years of his life in Labrador. It was towards the end of his term of service here that Sir Leopold McClintock came to Labrador on a Cable Survey expedition, and met Donald Smith at the latter's house. Sir Leopold McClintock was deeply impressed with his host's personality and was especially interested in the farm which Donald Smith had established. Twenty-six years later, in 1886, when the honour of knighthood had been

* *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.* By Beckles Willson. Portraits and Illust. Pp. xvi.-631. London: Cassell & Co. 1915. 48 oz.—25*s*.
Sandford Fleming, Empire Builder. By Lawrence J. Burpee. Portraits and Illust. Pp. 288. London: Humphrey Milford. 1915. 24 oz.—10*s*. 6*d*.

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conferred on Donald Smith, Sir Leopold McClintock wrote to congratulate his old host: "Few of your friends can have greater satisfaction than myself at seeing your name in the Honours List as I do this morning. It is now more than a quarter of a century since I leaped from the *Bulldog* and shook hands with you at North West River, Labrador, and I shall never forget my astonishment at the things I saw there and the impression your achievements (especially in the agricultural line) made upon me and my shipmates. I remember saying then, 'Labrador won't hold this man.' At the same time I am convinced that, if you had remained, that particular wilderness would have 'blossomed as the rose.'"

In telling the story of these twenty-six years spent in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Willson gives a very interesting insight into the affairs of this great fur trading company; and we see the change gradually coming over the face of Western Canada as the land was opened up by settlers, as the Canadian Pacific Railway tapped the country. The making of that railway will always be a great chapter in the history of the Empire, and Lord Strathcona's share in the financial end of it loses nothing in the telling by Mr. Willson.

Of Lord Strathcona's part in dealing with the Riel Rebellion, of his dispute with Sir John Macdonald, of various glimpses into Canadian politics of the time, his princely munificence, and finally of Lord Strathcona's tenure of the office of High Commissioner for Canada, there is a mass of deeply interesting matter to which reference cannot be made in a brief article. We may remember that Sir Charles Tupper, who preceded Lord Strathcona as High Commissioner, said of his successor: "Without mentioning his other great claims to public confidence, I say that the *magnum opus* of Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway, would have no existence to-day, notwithstanding all that the Government did to support that undertaking, had it not been for the indomitable pluck and energy and determination, both financially and in every other respect, of Sir Donald Smith." Mr. Beckles Willson has written a book worthy of the man of whom he has written.

Of the other great Canadian, Sir Sandford Fleming, whose biographer is Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, it must be said that while in this country his name is not perhaps as widely known as it should be, in Canada he is justly regarded as one of her most distinguished sons. Like Lord Strathcona, Sir Sandford Fleming was a Scot. He went to Canada in 1845—seven years later than Lord Strathcona—and was destined to win fame, like the late High Commissoner, through the making of the Canadian Pacific. Mr. Burpee's book deals practically with the same period as Mr. Willson's, and might with advantage be read at the same time. Sir Sandford Fleming must have been a remarkable boy. It appears he kept a diary, in which we find an extract copied from "Poor Richard's Almanack": "Do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of." The child, it is said, is father of the man, and not to squander time was one of the guiding principles of Sandford Fleming's life. On arrival in Canada, young Fleming nearly became a farmer; but, fortunately for the Dominion, fate decided otherwise. He might have made a successful farmer, but Canada would have lost perhaps her greatest engineer. He began his career by passing the examination necessary for employment in the Government Survey office. Very soon young Fleming made his influence felt in many directions. Among the many important projects with which he was associated, none, perhaps, gave him more satisfaction than the founding of the Canadian Institute, created the "Royal Canadian Institute" by the King in 1914. The Institute has counted among its members many of the most eminent scholars, scientists, and statesmen of the country. Lord Minto, at the Semi-Centennial meeting, said: "One of its functions has been to encourage workers in all parts of Canada, however remote, to induce them to bring forward the result of their investigations, and, when of sufficient importance, to publish them." The success achieved by the Institute has been undoubtedly great, and a large proportion of it has been due to the personality and influence of Sandford Fleming.

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From 1855 to 1863 Fleming was Chief Engineer of the Northern Railway, having begun his association with that line in 1851. From small beginnings in Ontario in 1851 have grown up the Grand Trunk Railway system—an amalgamation of several lines—the Canadian Government Railway System, the Canadian Pacific and several smaller companies. The chapter of this development is well told. Then we find Fleming early engaged with the idea of building a trans-continental railway. The Red River Colony interested him especially, and it was to bring it within touch with the rest of the world that was his first object. But, in spite of all he could do, it was not until 1881 that the Canadian Pacific Railway was begun. And before this, Fleming had been appointed to survey the route of the Intercolonial Railway which was to connect the Maritime Provinces and Quebec. That work practically completed, he was offered the position of Engineer-in-Chief of the C.P.R. Here indeed was a task well described as Herculean, and it appealed to Fleming not only as an engineer but as an Imperialist. Mr. Burpee's account of Fleming's work on this great undertaking is extremely interesting; and as one reads, one cannot but feel that Fleming was more than a great engineer, that he was a man of far-seeing Imperialism, and has well deserved a place among the Empire Builders. Indeed few men have more abundantly earned such a place. The All Red Line—a British state-owned cable across the Pacific to Australia and New Zealand—was a movement initiated by Fleming, and carried to a successful conclusion, mainly through his efforts, after nearly a quarter of a century of persistent agitation.

Mr. Burpee closes his biography with a retrospective summary in which he says: "It is close on seventy years since Sandford Fleming first landed in Canada with no other assets than his own brave heart and indomitable will. He came with a young man's ambition to make a place for himself in the New World. Looking back across these seventy years one finds that he did this and something more, something very considerably more. His life has been one of action, of essentially constructive effort. The bent of his mind is both too practical and too optimistic to waste time on the destruction of other men's failures. These can always safely be left to fall of their own weakness. Whether he is building a railway or advocating some measure of Imperial importance, his plans have been invariably carefully thought out, thorough and eminently workable; and they have been designed always to make for the welfare of mankind."

A. B. T.

RAILWAYS AND WAR.

THE importance of rail-power in connection with modern warfare has long been recognised; yet it is to be doubted whether the average citizen fully understands the enormous influence of railways in the conduct of the present war. Apart from their use in the mobilisation of armies they have been, and still are, of immense service during actual hostilities. One has only to remember how, for example, they are the chief means whereby the combatant forces are provisioned and kept supplied with munitions, or how in Germany large bodies of troops have been hurried from frontier to frontier, to realise that rail-power is, if not a decisive, at least one of the most important factors in modern warfare. Rail-power has served Germany for aggression. On the other hand, in Russia, the absence of those numerous frontier railways, which are such a feature of the German system, has enabled the Russian forces to withdraw and to act upon the defensive when they could no longer withstand the Teutonic onrush. The connection between the operation of railways and the prosecution of the War is made clear, for the first time in any English book, so far as we are aware, in Mr. Pratt's illuminating and closely reasoned volume. "The Rise of Rail-power in War and Conquest, 1833–1914,"* is to be recommended for its clever analysis of this subject,

* *The Rise of Rail-power in War and Conquest*, 1833–1914. *With a Bibliography.* By Edwin A. Pratt. 8vo. Pp. xii–405. London: P. S. King & Son. 1915. 7*s.* 6*d.*

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for its clear array of facts, for the masterly grasp of principles shown by the author, and, above all, because it deals adequately and fully with a topic of great importance at the present time.

Commencing with a short account of the evolution of this new factor in time of war, Mr. Pratt proceeds to deal with the more important practical questions connected with the military use of rail-power, such as the control of railways in war, the protection of railways, their use for the conveyance of troops and supplies, armoured trains, ambulance transport, and preparation in peace for war. He then proceeds to show the important part railways have played during recent wars, especially during the Franco-German War of 1870–1, the Boer War, and the Russo-Japanese War. In the latter, as is well known, the operations of the Russians were entirely dependent upon the steel thread binding Moscow to Manchuria. As Mr. Pratt observes, that war "was a test not so much of the military strength of the two combatants as of their respective means of communication and concentration." Moltke had stated in 1876, with reference to the German railway policy, that "every railway is welcome, and two are still more welcome than one." It is probable that had the Siberian railway been a double-track line instead of a poorly constructed single line the result of the war would have been different. It is also probable that in that event the present war would not have taken place.

Every chapter in Mr. Pratt's book is of great interest; but there are two that call for special attention in this journal. These deal respectively with rail-power in Africa as connected with the German plans for the domination of that Continent, and with the penetration of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia by means of German railways. Mr Pratt deals succinctly with these two questions, with a rigid suppression of superfluous detail, but also with due regard for the importance of the subject. Africa undoubtedly formed one of the predominating causes of the present war, although recent events have shown Englishmen that the German "Drang nach Osten" had perhaps a more profound influence over German policy than the African ambitions of the Colonial party. Mr. Pratt does well therefore to dwell upon this aspect of rail-power as connected with these aggressive plans. It is impossible here to do more than point out that the author, from his great knowledge of railway matters, has been able to show how great a part rail development played in German African policy. The lines in South-West Africa and the rapid construction of the Tanganyikabahn are in themselves sufficient indication of this fact, but other and striking evidence is marshalled in Mr. Pratt's volume.

In respect to the Baghdad railway, the author shows that the construction of a line from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf was the main purpose of Germany's policy in the Near East—a purpose foreshadowed many years ago by various German economic and military writers, and persistently followed since the Kaiser by his journey to Constantinople gave emphasis to the national aspirations of his countrymen. The literature relating to the Baghdad railway, some of which is noted in the admirable bibliography at the end of the volume, is of vast, extent and the German portion of it generally voices the Teutonic aspiration for some form of protectorate over Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. No secret was made of this ambition; yet most Englishmen have been blind to the course of events. Mr. Pratt concludes his book with two appendices relating to the Indian Frontier Railways and the Defence of Australia, and the whole volume forms a notable contribution to what may be termed military-economic literature, and is of more than ordinary value because it deals with a subject that is new to the majority of Englishmen. We are glad to see that the author has found the library of the Institute of use in his investigations. He states in the preface: "In the writing of the chapters concerning German designs on Africa, Asia Minor, etc., the resources of the well-arranged and admirably indexed library of the Royal Colonial Institute have been of great service."

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EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD.

In writing an account of the Wakefield experiment in Empire building, Mr. Richard Mills has performed a distinct service to students of Imperial history.* It is one of the most promising signs of the present period that, amidst the clash of arms and the conflict of national interests, attention should also be devoted to the absorbing problems connected with the governance of the British Empire. Recently there has been a distinct revival of interest in the formative period of the British Empire, due in no small measure to the realisation that problems are now becoming ripe for solution that hitherto have been little understood either in the Mother Country or in outlying portions of the Empire.

For the solution of these problems a clear knowledge of the past is essential, particularly because the British Empire is the result of past political experiments and administrative expedients, the consequences of which are only too apparent in its present constitutional development. From this point of view Mr. Mills' volume should be studied with particular care.

The activity of the Colonial reformers, or systematic colonisers, as Mr. Mills terms them, of the early part of the nineteenth century has hitherto received too little attention. When it is realised that it was mainly through the educative efforts of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and his school of thinkers and workers that the Colonies received self-government, this lack of interest and the consequent omission is all the more striking. The reformers prepared the way for the new constitutional period, broke down the barriers of indifference, stirred life into the bones of official administration, and resuscitated the moribund body of Colonial policy. In the period during which they worked, the administration of the Empire was at its lowest ebb and few statesmen or politicians regarded the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies as likely to be of a permanent or even long duration. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the introductory chapter of Mr. Mills' book, which shows the position of the British Colonies in the year 1830 and the almost complete indifference with which they were regarded in this country.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who forms the pivot of this reform movement, was in many respects a remarkable man. Of keen intellect and clear vision, it was his personal misfortune, though perhaps not a misfortune for his country, that he was never called upon to exercise his administrative talents—at least in any official capacity. This fact, however, in reality strengthened his position as the unofficial organiser of the reform movement and enabled him to use his undoubted influence in the best and, as was afterwards proved, the only effective way. In later life Wakefield complained that his theories were but partly carried out, and that the forces of conservatism, indifference, and even reaction, with which he had to contend, proved too strong for the full realisation of his schemes. Looking back at his endeavours, after the lapse of seventy years, it can now be seen that, excellent as his plans were in theory, they were too much in advance of the times to have been entirely successful in execution.

It is only within recent years that full justice has been done to the Colonial reformers of the early Victorian period. The present volume is certainly the first competent critical study of their work; for although such authorities as Mr. Pember Reeves, Dr Richard Garnett, and M. André Siegfried—the last one of the best foreign critics of the Colonial reform movement—have devoted considerable attention to Wakefield, it has remained for Dr. Mills to co-ordinate and describe his work in connection with the school of which he was, if not the founder, at least the leading spirit and secret mainspring. But even Mr. Mills has not completely performed this task, amply and

* *The Colonization of Australia* (1829–42); *the Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building.* By Richard Charles Mills. Pp. xx–363. Bibliography and Index. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. [No. 48 in the Series of Monographs by writers connected with the London School of Economics.] 1915. 20 oz.—10*s.* 6*d.*

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adequately as he has dealt with the subject; for he has stopped short at the year 1842, when the Australian Waste Lands Act placed the Wakefield system in Australia on a sound economic basis, and has excluded Wakefield's interesting experiments in colonising New Zealand.

We commend this book to the attention of all students of Imperial history, because it is a careful and painstaking study of a particularly interesting period of British Colonial history, supplied with full references to authorities, and based upon a systematic examination of available records and documents.

BOOK NOTICES.

(By the LIBRARIAN, R.C.I.)

Anthonisz, J. O.—*Currency Reform in the Straits Settlements.* Post 8vo. Pp. 160. Singapore and London: John Little & Co. 1915. 8 oz.

An excellent little account of the thorny question of currency in the Straits Settlements written by the ex-Treasurer of that Colony. Mr. Anthonisz reviews the whole question of legal tender, describing the effect of the rise in the price of silver and the efforts that were made to counteract this rise both by the establishment of a gold standard and the variation of the rupee itself. A book of great interest to students of finance and particularly to those connected with the control of the Indian currency.

George Étienne Cartier: *Études par Arthur Dansereau, Benjamin Sulte, Elzéar Gérin, Mgr. Antoine Racine, suivies de discours de G. E. Cartier.* 8vo. Portraits. Pp. 124. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1914.

Issued as a Centenary Memorial of this great Canadian statesmen. Contains a number of studies by representative French-Canadian writers.

Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel. North America, Vol. i. *Canada and Newfoundland.* Edited by Henry M. Ami. 8vo. Maps and illust. Pp. xxviii–1069. London: Edward Stanford. 1915. 48 oz.—15*s.*

A new and revised edition of this excellent work of reference. So many changes have taken place in the political and social geography of British North America since the last edition of this work was published that a new edition is specially welcome.

The Diary and Letters of Mary Thomas, 1836–1866, *being a Record of the Early Days of South Australia.* Edited by Evan Kyffin Thomas. Post 8vo. Portrait and Illust. Pp. 161. Adelaide: W. K. Thomas & Co. 1915.

The publication of this volume makes available a most interesting and valuable personal narrative of the early days of South Australia. Mrs. Thomas, the writer, was the wife of Robert Thomas, the founder of *The Register,* and sailed for Adelaide in the *Africaine,* the first emigrant vessel bound for South Australia, which also took out the first printing-press used in the Colony. Her narrative of the voyage and of the arrival and subsequent events at Adelaide is a homely and interesting "human document," presenting a vivid picture of the pioneering days. It is fortunate that a journal of this description, describing the founding of a new State, has been preserved, because it is of some historic value as a contemporary record of many important events. The volume contains an illustration of the tent belonging to Robert Gouger, the first Colonial Secretary, in which the first officers of the Government were sworn in, the Government of the Province proclaimed, and the first Council held. The original drawing is in the library of the Royal Colonial Institute. It may also be mentioned that an original drawing of the now historic gum-tree at Glenelg is also in the library of the Institute, together with a typewritten copy of Mrs. Thomas's letters, presented by the late Sir Robert Kyffin Thomas. These letters were written to her brother, George Harris, and were given to Sir Robert Thomas when in England in the year 1909.

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LAND SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

An interesting discussion took place in the smoking-room of the Institute on Thursday, January 13 (the Hon. J. G. Jenkins in the chair), when the Rev. E. Gordon Savile, Hon. Secretary of the Church of England Men's Society, outlined a scheme adopted by the executive of that Society, by which temporary hospitality would be sought from its members overseas for ex-service men belonging to it who desired to start life in the Dominions at the conclusion of the War. The speaker gave an admirably clear account of the origin and growth of the C.E.M.S., as well as of the proposed scheme, and this was favourably received by an audience comprising several Australians and New Zealanders. The Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Calver, Major Pounds, Mr. Hope Johnston, and Sir Harry Wilson took part in the informal debate, at the conclusion of which Mr. Savile was accorded a hearty vote of thanks for his address. It was felt that such a plan, if carried out by the members of the various religious denominations, might prove a valuable adjunct to the efforts now being made by the Institute's Empire Land Settlement Committee, on behalf of which Sir Rider Haggard is to visit the Dominions.

THE VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE DEPARTMENT.

The following report on the work of the Voluntary Assistance Department, signed by Messrs. F. A. Gunther, Percy Quilter, J. Stuart Paton, and Donnell Post, has been forwarded for publication :—

As the work of the Voluntary Assistance Department of London Recruiting Headquarters has now come to an end, we feel it is due to the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute, who, at great personal inconvenience for the past fifteen months, have generously placed such excellent accommodation in the Institute at our disposal, that we should give some account of the work done by the Department. We therefore ask you to print this letter in the forthcoming number of the United Empire.

The Voluntary Assistance Department was formed originally during the first weeks of the War with the object of providing a large number of volunteer recruiters who would attend the meetings held in the London district under the auspices of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and obtain recruits ; many of these recruiters themselves addressed overflow meetings, and by these means alone 50,000 men were induced to join the new Armies.

In October the recruiting work of the Department entered on a new phase. Men skilled in special trades were urgently needed for the Front and for the new divisions being formed at home. It became our work to obtain these men, and this work has continued for the past year. Recruiters were sent out in motor-cars to various districts for the purpose of interviewing employers and obtaining for the Army those men who were employed in the required trades. Although no actual record of figures has been kept, it is not overstating the number of recruits, who have passed through the hands of the Voluntary Assistance Department, to place it at 75,000.

During the early part of the autumn of this year, we were asked to organise a body of voluntary workers in connection with the National Registration Act and the preliminaries for the subsequent canvass. A staff of eighty gentlemen, mostly members of the Bar, worked in the offices of the Department, some of them for ten hours daily, and an enormous portion of the clerical work for the London District was dealt with through their assistance. When, however, this work was completed and the new

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scheme of enlistment under the Group System became known, it was obvious that the Voluntary Assistance Department as a Recruiting Department would no longer have the same sphere of usefulness. So, to our deep regret, we are now dispersing—some of us to help in the new scheme, so far as we may be able.

The work which we have recounted in the preceding paragraphs was carried out under the official direction of London recruiting headquarters. Owing, however, to the good services of the Royal Colonial Institute in giving up to us the ground-floor rooms at 18 Northumberland Avenue, we were enabled unofficially to extend our work in other directions. At the beginning of the winter 1914-1915, it was brought to our notice that warm clothing was needed for the wounded crossing in the hospital ships from France. The response to our appeal to meet this want exceeded all our expectations, and many hundreds of bales and parcels of clothing reached us for distribution among the various depots. Over a thousand overcoats, to mention only one item, were received at this office and distributed.

Finally, there is no work which we can look back upon with greater satisfaction than the inauguration of the Soldiers' Entertainment Fund.

Among our numerous volunteer recruiters it was discovered that there were certain members of the musical profession, who were most successful in obtaining recruits by appeals from the stage at variety theatres and cinemas. It was considered that the services of these gentlemen might be also well utilised in the entertainment of wounded soldiers in hospitals and of troops in camp during the long winter evenings. By private endeavour a certain sum of money was raised to enable a few concert parties to be sent out, and so successful were their efforts that when in the beginning of this year we found ourselves unable, owing to lack of funds, to send out more parties, the Young Men's Christian Association urgently requested us to make every endeavour to continue the concerts.

An organised appeal for funds was made, and the result, together with financial assistance from the Professional Classes Sub-Committee of the National Relief Fund, has enabled us to give close on 800 concerts to troops in camps and convalescent homes during the past year. The Fund, which has carried on its clerical work in the rooms of the Voluntary Assistance Department, has always had a double object in view: to help by means of employment professional artistes who were in financial straits owing to the War, and secondly to give pleasure to our troops in training and to the wounded. That it has attained its object is proved both by the numerous letters of gratitude from artistes and from officers, chaplains, and camp-leaders in the Y.M.C.A. huts. The honorary secretaries of the Fund are now making arrangements, at the request of Field-Marshal Lord Methuen, to send a party to Malta for the remaining winter months to cheer the wounded in the Malta hospitals.

We have trespassed much upon your space already, but before concluding this letter, we desire to express our deep gratitude to the Council and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute for the courteous hospitality which they have extended to us and without which it would not have been possible for us to carry on the work. We hope they will regard their generous action as not having been in vain.

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NOTICES TO FELLOWS.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN ELECTED:

Resident Fellows (3):

James Gray, Thomas J. Ive, Leopold H. Woolfe.

Non-Resident Fellows (45):

AUSTRALIA.—*Wildrid R. Grimwade (Toorak, Melbourne), Randolph W. Hughes, M.A. (Sydney), Lieutenant E. Ryder Large, R.N.R. (S. Australia), Alexander Leeper, M.A., LL.D. (Melbourne).*

CANADA.—*Lieut.-Colonel William A. Grant (Montreal).*

INDIA.—*David E. Gomme (Cachar).*

SOUTH AFRICA.—*Arthur H. Bleksley (Johannesburg), Harold G. Harris (Port Elizabeth), Lindsay A. Horne, B.Sc., Lachlan M. McBean (Kimberley), Dr. Eric Slack (Ficksburg).*

BRITISH HONDURAS.—*George E. Grabham (Belize).* **BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.**—*John C. Price (Sandakan).* **FEDERATED MALAY STATES.**—*Harold Goodwyn (Kuala Kangsa), Frank R. Howlett (Perak), Robert W. Kendall (Kuala Kangsar), William S. Leicester, B.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Pahang), Frederick G. Spring, F.L.S. (Kuala Lumpor).* **JAMAICA.**—*Charles C. Anderson (Halfway Tree), Hon. John Vassall Calder, M.L.C. (Ewarton), H. E. Crum-Ewing (Mandeville), Robert Johnstone, I.S.O. (Kingston), William Morrison (Kingston), J. F. Milholland (Kingston), Harry P. Sewell (Duncans), Hon. Stephen S. Stedman, M.L.C. (Buff Bay), Albert S. L. Verley (Halfway Tree).* **NYASALAND.**—*William A. Wilson (Blantyre).* **UGANDA.**—*Guy Balieff Ennis.* **WEST AFRICA.**—*Thomas G. Grimditch (Ibadan), Christopher R. E. Munro (Lagos), Albert Rutherford Paterson, M.B., Ch.B. (Lagos), Albert E. Selwey (Seccondee), Frederick Stone (Ibadan).* **ARGENTINE.**—*Ernest Cunningham (Campana), Angus D. Dunbar (Cordoba), George E. Leslie (Buenos Aires), George P. McClenahan (Buenos Aires), Charles G. Simons (Sierra de la Ventana).* **PERU.**—*Edgar G. F. Luckie.* **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**—*Thos. U. Hay (Brookline), Stanley G. Morton (Brookline), Samuel C. Murfitt (Milton, Mass.), Edgar J. Mello-Price (Mattapan, Mass.).* **UNATTACHED.**—*Francis B. Higgins, A.M.I.C.E.*

Associates (3):

Reginald B. Cohen, Miss Emile Smith, Mrs. Mabel Venn.

Associates—Bristol Branch (44):

Miss F. M. Aveline, Wm. Cameron, W. Sheriff Charles, H. C. Cherry, A. Cridland, H. T. Dowell, Miss L. L. Dryden, E. H. Ehlers, G. E. Fyson, Mrs. C. George, Mrs. H. S. Gray, Miss C. B. Gulley, Rev. E. L. Hamilton, T. E. Hatherley, Miss S. C. Haywood, Miss J. M. Hony, Mrs. A. E. Hony, S. C. Hutchings, Capt. R. J. Irving, F.R.C.S.E., A. E. Johnson, Mrs. W. N. B. Kay, G. G. Kent, A. J. Kerry, A. M. King, R. Lacey, G. M. Lobban, Mrs. G. M. Mackie, Mrs. H. Y. Matthews, H. E. Maxwell, W. Pitt, A. G. Ransom, Dr. D. C. Rayner, W. H. Read, L. E. Seymour, F. N. Sissons, Mrs. Chas. Spencer, A. F. Stoddart, Miss E. A. Stoddart, Mrs. S. F. Thomas, Mrs. R. H. Todd, Mrs. P. Turner, C. L. Warren, C. W. Warren, J. J. Wright.

APPOINTMENT OF HONORARY CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

F. W. Green, Mexico City.

OBITUARY.

The following deaths of Fellows and Associates are noted with regret:

KILLED IN ACTION.—Malby C. Dodwell, M. E. Callard, Capt. E. O. Warden.

Percy Deary, Hon. John Harris, M.L.C., Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Lovely, John H. Hardy, Capt. F. M. Leigh-Pye, E. B. Parsons, Sir George Scott Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P., A. Wyatt Smith, Hon. Justice Sir Edward D. Holroyd, James R. Laing, Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel J. Way, Bart., Henry Davies, Rev. Walter Graham, Richard Grigg, E. J. Hector, H. H. Grant.

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UNITED EMPIRE

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THE KING AND HIS TROOPS.

ON the occasion of Empire Day the following telegrams were exchanged between His Majesty and General Sir Douglas Haig:

"On Empire Day, on behalf of your Majesty's Armies now in France, representative of every part of your Majesty's Dominions, I respectfully submit the assurance of our loyal devotion to your Majesty, and to the principles of freedom and justice which are symbolised for us by the Crown and Flag of the British Empire."—G.O.C.-in-Chief, British Forces in France and Belgium.

"I warmly appreciate the assurances of loyal devotion which you send me to-day in the name of the Armies of the British Empire serving under your command. Tell them with what pride and interest I follow their fortunes, and of my confidence that success will crown their efforts. May the comradeship of the battlefield knit still closer together the peoples of the Dominions and Mother Country in the age of peace which, please God, will be the fruit of this long and arduous war."—GEORGE R.I.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Empire Day.

EMPIRE Day, 1916, was conspicuous for a significant innovation. For the first time in the United Kingdom official recognition was accorded to the day, which henceforth takes its place in the calendar as a national and imperial celebration. Flags were flown from all Government buildings and from many others, but no formal commemoration of the day took place. The War which has been the means of securing recognition of May 24 as a link of the Empire was also responsible for the absence of any organised observance of the date. For many years Empire Day, thanks to the efforts of Lord Meath, has been a rallying-point in the Empire overseas. The fact that this year the United Kingdom has fallen officially into line with the Dominions will prove, let us hope,

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an earnest of that organic unity among the component parts of the Empire towards which so much attention is now being directed. Empire Day is essentially an emblem of the ties which bind the Sovereign to the nation. It remains, therefore, for some special form of celebration to be devised, in addition to the recognition of the Day in schools, which will not only hand on from generation to generation the torch of patriotism glowing as brightly as in these days of common sacrifice, but will also vivify each year the close touch between Crown and people—the strongest of all Imperial ties—which the national crisis has so happily emphasised.

The Sinn Fein Outbreak

IRELAND has had its rebellion. On Easter Monday, April 24, the Sinn Fein organisation proceeded to put into execution a carefully prepared and assiduously rehearsed *coup de main*. The German attempt to support the movement by landing a consignment of arms on the west coast had miscarried a few days previously, and a half-hour bombardment of Yarmouth and Lowestoft by German ships in the early morning of April 25 proved an inadequate substitute. Though thus thrown entirely on their own resources, the Sinn Feiners launched their revolt. Various points in Dublin were seized by them and successfully held for several days; but, though provided with machine-guns, they had reckoned without the effect of artillery fire, and the first shot from a gunboat on the Liffey on the Tuesday morning sealed the fate of the movement. Before the last rebel "stronghold" was captured, however, the toll of casualties among the Government forces amounted to 124 killed, 388 wounded, and 9 missing; and among civilians to more than 700, including 200 killed. Outside Dublin the rising achieved little success. The attention of the Sinn Feiners had been concentrated upon the capital; they seem to have relied on a grandiloquent manifesto, proclaiming the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent State, with references to "gallant allies in Europe" and the "foreign people" of Great Britain, to bring the rest of Ireland into line, and it met with but little response.

— and After.

THE measures taken to suppress the outbreak had the merit of thoroughness. Martial law was proclaimed, and General Sir John Maxwell, previously in command of the forces in Egypt, was sent over to Ireland with plenary powers. Fifteen of the ringleaders were tried by court-martial and shot; numbers were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, and many hundreds of their followers have been interned in Ireland or England.

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The Irish Executive resigned. Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary, admitted, in his apologia to the House of Commons, to having made "an untrue estimate" of the Sinn Fein movement, not "of its frequent and obvious disloyalty, nor indeed of some of the dangers resulting from it," but "an untrue estimate of the possibility of a disturbance of the kind which occurred in Dublin." As Sinn Fein preparations included the importation of arms and ammunition and of at least one maxim-gun, as well as elaborate rehearsals of street fighting, Mr. Birrell will hardly expect the nation to regard as venial the failure to estimate its capacity for mischief. He contended also that this was no Irish rebellion. Everyone but Mr. Birrell, however, will prefer to regard it as an Irish rebellion, on the ground that the kind of rising which, in the opinion of the late Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, would qualify for that term is an impossibility, and that no other rebellion in Ireland was to be expected other than the sporadic effort of the Sinn Feiners. To the *Quo vadis?* written across Irish affairs of recent years, the outbreak has supplied the answer. It is for the Government and the people of Ireland to profit by the tragic lesson. Mr. Asquith, after examining the situation on the spot, has handed over the settlement of the Irish question to Mr. Lloyd George, who approaches his task with the goodwill of all parties.

The Next Step.

Apart from the War there is no question which is exercising more insistently the minds of the thinking section of Britons the world over than the problem of Imperial unity. The Prime Minister of Australia during his stay in England has given forceful expression to the demand for a definite step in this direction; but he claims no originality for the policy he advocates. The appearance almost simultaneously of three such thoughtful contributions to the subject as "The Empire on the Anvil," "The Problem of the Commonwealth," and "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" is an indication of the trend of public opinion. No one, not even in Government circles, denies that there must be reconstruction after the War. Outside those circles no difference of opinion exists regarding the necessity of taking in hand the work at the earliest possible moment by summoning an Imperial Convention to formulate the views of the Empire as a whole. Whether this could be done before the close of the War must be decided by those in authority. Much preliminary discussion with the representative statesmen of the Dominions is needed, and such negotiations, we trust, are already in progress. The plea that the exigencies of the

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War leave no opportunity for examining the problem at this time would carry more weight if Imperial unity were a matter of military considerations alone. That one aspect of it can be deferred until the military authorities are less occupied. Cabinet difficulties might even solve themselves, if a section of the Ministry transferred their energies from keeping watch and ward on the military prosecution of the War to the consolidation of the Empire.

Compulsory Military Service.

We have Mr. Lloyd George's word for it that compulsory military service became necessary last September. The Government introduced its first partial compulsory Bill in January, four months later, having first peppered it with exceptions and exemptions. But it soon became evident that this expedient was by no means adequate, and during April discussion again became vigorous as to the question of securing sufficient men for the army, and at last public opinion settled down to the common-sense formula of "Equal sacrifice for all." This advance was finally reached as a result of public impatience with the incredible muddle into which the business of recruiting had been allowed to drift. There were still a large number of single men in reserved occupations, whose proper place was the army, and whose exemption was due to the excessively long lists of national industries originally issued by the Board of Trade; these have not yet been satisfactorily overhauled by the new tribunals. The consequent exemptions caused grievances amongst the attested married men, many of whom were led to believe that they would not be called up so quickly; and finally the feeling of the attested married men against the very large number of unattested married men led to the demand for equal service for all. This is indeed the only logical basis on which national service can rest, and a very large number of members of Parliament were definitely committed to that view.

The End of the Controversy.

In spite of the fact that the military necessity was admittedly urgent, the Government, undeterred by the prospect of appearing once more to follow public opinion at the greatest possible distance, still hesitated and delayed. There was serious disagreement in the Cabinet, and Mr. Asquith hinted at a possible break-up of the Government—a contingency which he declared would be a national disaster. Eventually some reluctant voluntaryists in the Cabinet agreed to

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postpone their principles, and not a single one of the Twenty-three found himself compelled to resign. A secret session of the House of Commons was held, at which Mr. Asquith explained the position; but when the Military Service Bill came to be introduced in public session later in the week, it was found to be so manifestly unjust to time-expired soldiers and so inadequate in other respects that not one voice was heard in its favour. Two hours after the Bill was introduced it was withdrawn. This open failure and the ridicule it brought upon its apologetic authors had a good effect, since at last it made them see that there was now nothing for it but the straight course for which the public was prepared—military service for all men, married and unmarried alike, between the ages of 18 and 41. The Bill passed the Commons with little opposition, save from the few pacificists there, and comes into force on June 24.

Daylight Saving.

Among the mountains that the War has turned into molehills the device of advancing the clocks of the country one hour for the period of summer must be allowed to rank high. The proposal has long been familiar, but until this year it has not succeeded in enlisting public support to the extent required for the enactment of the necessary legislation. Even now it is a debatable point whether the scheme has been adopted in Great Britain as a concession to the spirit of economy, or because it has commended itself both to our enemies and to our Allies. None of the scientific objections to the measure was allowed to weigh against the rough-and-ready calculation that a nation which goes to bed and rises by the clock will continue to do so and thereby economise to the extent of one hour's artificial light each day. Arbitrary time fluctuations are not unknown to those who travel; some towns on the Continent tolerate—or used to tolerate—two sets of time, town time and railway time. If those who cross the Pacific are at one stage twenty-four hours out of their reckoning, and practise "deceit" on the time-hallowed institution, the week-end, it can be no great crime to take an hour's liberty with man-made clocks.

The Alien Peril.

The revelations made by the Home Secretary in a speech at the National Liberal Club, regarding a resort in the centre of London of naturalised British subjects of German origin, carry with them a very plain lesson. "Only within the last few weeks," Mr. Herbert Samuel stated, "there

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had been discovered in the very heart of London a public-house occupied by a naturalised German, which was the resort of other naturalised Germans, where language was used of a treasonable and anti-British character, and which might have become a most dangerous centre." A discovery of this nature towards the end of the second year of the War more than justifies the demand for the abolition of the present system of wholesale naturalisation. It also lends support to the popular contention, "Once a German, always a German," which has been used as an argument in favour of more drastic treatment of people of enemy origin in our midst. The Prime Minister of Australia has called for the extirpation—root and branch and seed—of German control and influence in the British Empire, and there can be little doubt that he voices the desire of Britons the world over. But the translation of this wish into action ought not to devolve upon the public through the agency of organisations formed to boycott Germans and things German. If the Government has not been able, until twenty-two months of the War have elapsed, to put its hand on an association which it considers might have become "a most dangerous centre", it is incurring a grave responsibility in adhering to a policy which tolerates this breeding of cankers in the body politic.

Co-ordination.

THE cry for co-ordination has been raised in many spheres during this War, and as we long failed to secure it in the military operations of the Allies, it is not a matter for surprise that it has been absent elsewhere. In the early stages of the campaign the double mistake was committed not only of omitting to co-ordinate existing organisations, but also of ignoring them to a great extent even when the need for their work was recognised. It can hardly be doubted now that, if efficient co-operation of the industrial, commercial, transport and labour interests with the Government had been provided for at the outbreak of war, the country would have been able long ago to bring its great resources into play far more effectively than is being done at the present time, and many of the difficulties connected with the supply of the necessaries of life would have been avoided. Until lately it was possible to hear of a newly formed munition firm receiving an order for shells at a price which enabled it to experiment with machinery and keep labour more or less idle for several months before a single shell was produced. Co-ordination of effort would see to it that, while every encourage-

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ment is given to scientific experiment, it is not carried out to the prejudice of production and at the maximum cost to the taxpayer.

The Fronts.

THERE has been little movement on any of the fronts, but many encounters have to be recorded on them all. The British have taken over more of the French line, and have lost and retaken ground; the French still defend Verdun with remarkable success; in Russia artillery bombardments occur, but no advance on either side; in Italy the Austrians, after suffering the disadvantage in several small engagements, have driven home a serious attack in the Trentino. Not the least important military event of the month is the landing of Russian troops on French soil to assist our gallant but hard-pressed Allies. It augurs well for Russia that she can hold her line between the Baltic and the Balkans, conduct campaigns in the Caucasus and Persia, and yet spare men for service in the West of Europe.

America and Germany.

FOR the moment the long controversy between President Wilson and the German Government is suspended, the German Government having very ungraciously backed down, and promised to restrict the use of its submarines. But the promise was conditional; the performance is problematical. The controversy, which has lasted almost exactly a year, arose out of the American Government's protest against the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the loss of a large number of American lives. Germany answered President Wilson's grave Note with quibbles, and the diplomatic position became strained. In July the American Government informed Berlin that the position was most unsatisfactory, "because the German Government indicates no way in which the accepted principles of the law of humanity may be applied, but proposes on the contrary arrangements for the partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside. If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals as well as their property, humanity as well as justice and due regard for the dignity of neutral Powers should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offence against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected." The Note concluded with a solemn warning that a continuation of submarine warfare on those lines would be regarded by the United States as a "deliberately unfriendly" act.

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The Submarine Campaign.

In face of America's grave warning, the German Government again quibbled, apparently afraid of public opinion at home, which enthusiastically supported the submarine campaign. It refused to disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania*, but promised compensation for the lives of those American citizens who had been lost. Eventually, however, Count Bernstorff gave something like a pledge that the torpedoing of liners would be abandoned. The promise, such as it was, was enthusiastically received by the whole American Press as a moral victory for President Wilson, but the transports of premature rejoicing over the repentant sinner were quickly abated when the *Arabic* was sunk, and other liners, including the *Ancona* and the *Persia*, all outward bound, suffered the same fate. From that time, however, submarine savagery did in fact diminish, less probably on account of President Wilson's protest than because the British Fleet had accounted for a goodly number of Germany's then available supply. But during the period of quiescence Germany was building submarines, of a larger and more powerful type, with feverish haste, and in March this year the new campaign began. It was noteworthy for the fact that it sank almost as many neutral ships as ships of the Allies, but it happened that the neutrals injured were Norway, Denmark, and Holland, neighbours who were too near and too small to protest effectively. The final stroke was the torpedoing of the *Sussex*, a cross-Channel steamer, which led to a Note from Washington that even Berlin could not disregard. But amendment was only promised if the American Government insisted on Great Britain taking off the blockade. Failing that step Germany reserved to herself complete liberty of action. A short, sharp Note from President Wilson pointed out that he could not bargain on these terms, at which point the matter rests, Germany having since sunk several Allied and one or two neutral vessels. Those who have seen what Germany's promises are worth may well doubt the performance of the present pledge to restrain and, if necessary, to punish submarine commanders should they pursue the policy which the German public loves.

In the Middle East.

The fall of Kut was a blow to Great Britain's prestige in a region where long-sighted policies are not indulged in; but its military significance may be gauged by the subsequent course of events. For the Turks it was clearly but an incident in a protracted campaign—a gratifying incident, no doubt, and one of which they have taken the fullest advantage by parading

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General Townshend and other prisoners of high rank in Constantinople and all the towns *en route* from Baghdad. The capitulation of Kut, however, has brought them no strategical advantage. It has been followed quickly by a significant advance of a Russian force to Rowandiz, eighty miles from Mosul, while touch between the allied forces converging on Baghdad has been established by the appearance of Russian cavalry with the British force now advancing to attack the Es Sinn position on the Tigris near Kut. West of Erzeroum the enemy has collected the greater part of his available reinforcements, and has not only checked the Russians, but has also driven them back a few miles. The swaying of the battle line at this point, however, is of little importance. On the other hand, the occupation of Mosul by the Russians, cutting the chief channel of communication between Constantinople and Baghdad, would have considerable bearing on the subsequent operations in Mesopotamia. The Baghdad command would be temporarily cut off from reinforcements, until the alternative route down the Euphrates could be utilised, and there should be time for the Russian column near Khanikin, to the north-east, and the Anglo-Russian force near Kut to close in upon the city from two sides. That General Baratoff should have detached even a few troops to join hands with the British Expedition is of good augury for the resolute and skilful prosecution of the campaign.

East Africa.

The campaign in East Africa is of the mobile order which is only possible in countries of great distances, where there is no chance of the opposing sides holding restricted fronts and "digging themselves in". General Smuts has driven a formidable wedge into the German defences by hurling one force back on to the Central Railway, while another force is being hurried along the Usambara line. From Arusha British troops pressed southwards and occupied Kondoa Irangi, 125 miles away. The railway line enabled the enemy to concentrate his forces at Kilimatinde and Dodoma, and to launch a series of counter-attacks on the British position. These were all repulsed and General Smuts claims to have the situation well in hand. His bold strategy has so far proved strikingly successful. The Germans are compelled to divide their forces, and to forgo the chance of finding themselves in superior strength at any one spot. In the north-west corner of the colony they have to deal with the Belgian invasion, which is now making headway in Ruanda, and should eventually be heard of in the direction of the western terminus of the Central Railway. From Rhodesia and Nyasaland British forces have crossed

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the frontier and have penetrated a score of miles into German territory. Neu Langenburg, north of Lake Nyasa, has been occupied, and Namema, near Lake Tanganyika, is reported to be invested. The Portuguese section of the ring-fence surrounding German East Africa is also active, and enemy positions on the left bank of the Rovuma have been seized. Finally, in the Usambara region military operations, which have been interrupted for three weeks by weather conditions, have been resumed, with the result that General Smuts' main force is continuing its advance towards Tanga.

The Coming Anniversary of the War.

We understand from the Chairman of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations that at the request of the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law they are again undertaking the task of arranging for meetings to be held throughout the Empire, as well as in the United Kingdom, on August 4. The identical Resolution which will be submitted at all meetings is in the same terms as those employed last year, and runs as follows: "That on this second anniversary of the declaration of a righteous War, this meeting of the citizens of —— records its inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of Liberty and Justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies." United Empire has a circulation which carries it into all parts of the world, and we trust that wherever these lines are read our members will co-operate with the Central Committee by gathering together to register this solemn vow. Last year, as was recorded in this Journal at the time, these moving words were submitted to countless thousands of British men and women, and by these thousands soberly but enthusiastically accepted and acclaimed. Since then the struggle has deepened and widened, and the vow has been sealed by the outpouring of much precious blood. Let us see to it that our nearest and dearest have not died in vain, and that we for our own part leave nothing undone to win a final victory for the Cause in which, unflinching and uncomplaining, they have laid down their lives.

The Opening of Ovamboland.

Among all the strange and eventful happenings of the world-war, none have been of greater interest to the student of native administration than the tours undertaken on behalf of the Union Government by Major (now Lieut.-Colonel) Pritchard in the little-known region to the north of what was formerly German South-West Africa, inhabited by the

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Ovambo tribes. The first of these tours, which was of a highly adventurous description, is fully described in a South Africa blue-book (U.G. 38—1915) presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of the Governor-General. As the principal guest of the African Society at a recent Dinner over which Mr. Schreiner presided, Lieut.-Colonel Pritchard gave a detailed account of his experiences, illustrated by photographs of remarkable interest. Where the Germans had never ventured to penetrate during the long years of their rule in Damaraland, owing to their fear "of becoming embroiled with so well armed and formidable a foe as the Ovambo", the British administrator entered, unharmed, with three motor-cars and three officers, Captains Bell and Liefeldt, and Lieutenant Moroney, made friends with the Chiefs Martin and Mandume, acted on his own responsibility as arbitrator between the latter (a cruel and dangerous savage) and the Portuguese, who had sent a punitive expedition against him, relieved the necessities of the natives, sorely stricken by famine, and finally brought several thousand of them out of their country, with the hearty goodwill of their superiors, to work for the Government in the South. The difference between German and British methods of dealing with uncivilised peoples has never been more triumphantly demonstrated.

Trade Committees.

A GREAT deal of comment, most of it adverse, has been passed on the composition of the Committees which the President of the Board of Trade has appointed to inquire into the question of trade in certain industries after the War. The Committee on the Iron and Steel Trade, for example, does not include any representative of Labour; it does include one member who has already expressed his opinion that we should trade with Germany after the War exactly as before. In the cotton trade, too, the representatives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce who had resigned their posts in that body because they were out of touch with the new spirit of the city have been appointed to inquire into the cotton industry; but not the new members of the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Runciman, when questioned, declared that the committees were not meant to be representative. He forgot to explain of what use they were in that case. Meantime, while the Government elects not to make up its mind as to trade policy after the War, a useful body calling itself the British Manufacturers' Association has been formed, whose object is to secure that the producer in the British Empire is protected against the German dumper.

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Thinking Imperially.

A LABOUR organisation which stipulates *inter alia* for "the establishment on a democratic basis of defences adequate to the Empire's security, by the recognition of every citizen's duty to defend the life of the State", and "the federation of the British Free States under a governing council, representing all portions of the Empire, for the direction of Imperial and Foreign policy", is a new departure in Great Britain. But these are among the objects which the British Workers' National League has set itself to secure, and we cannot but welcome any sincere attempt to preach Imperial responsibilities to the people of this country. The League, which has seven Labour members of Parliament as Vice-Presidents, is a product of the War. It is opportune in its appearance, and, if it prospers, we shall hope to find that in the piping times of peace the art of thinking Imperially has not been lost in the stress of matters of purely domestic or personal interest. No finer lead could have been given the League than the speech which the Prime Minister of Australia delivered at a meeting held under its auspices at Queen's Hall, London, on May 10. His words were a challenge to Labour not only to make further efforts to win the War, but to look facts fairly in the face and not to be "gulled by parrot-like talk" into supporting a "discredited and hopeless policy of *laisser-faire*".

Wittenberg.

WAR brings out the worst as well as the best that is in man. It is not always right to judge isolated acts committed on the field of battle by the light of arm-chair codes which hold good in times of peace. But in establishing a reputation for cold-blooded barbarism the German nation has piled Pelion on Ossa, and it is no longer possible to urge the plea of battle lust for the series of actions which have sullied the name of Germany for all time. The execution of Edith Cavell could at least be justified in Germany by the fact that it conformed with the process of law. We cannot expect a German to admit that the carrying out of the sentence was symptomatic of a brutish instinct. No such excuse holds good for the crime of Wittenberg camp. The details of the story—the herding together of sick men under the most loathsome conditions, the callous indifference to all the dictates of humanity, and the cowardly stampede in the face of disease—reveal the German or, let us say, Prussian character as it is. Officials and populace share the indictment, and in case there may be a tendency, through ignorance of Germany and the Germans, to regard the horrors of Wittenberg as a

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solecism, it is possible to point to similar brutal treatment—happily not practised to the same degree—meted out to British prisoners in South-West Africa.

Gold in Canada.

EMIGRATION authorities have seen to it that Canada's fame as a wheat-producing country has been shouted from the housetops, but of her mineral wealth the average man knows nothing, and that the Dominion is capable of producing gold in any quantities will be news to the majority of people in this country. The subject of gold production has occupied the attention of prominent men in the mining world of Canada lately, especially with regard to its bearing on War Finance. Mr. J. Murray Clark, K.C., an authority on mining law, in an interesting article on the subject in *National Progress*, says: "One cannot too strongly emphasise the supreme importance of increasing the production of gold within the Empire, and of Canada doing its full share in this regard. Such increased production in Canada would not only add to the resources of the Empire, but it would help to solve the problems of exchange which have caused so much trouble and anxiety." Mr. Murray Clark goes on to point out that at the beginning of the War elaborate and carefully thought-out precautions were taken to insure an increase in the output of gold in South Africa, and says a notable service to the Empire would be rendered, if Canada produced—and he affirms that she can do so—enough gold to pay the annual interest of $25,000,000 on the amount of the loan raised by Great Britain in the United States. Canada has produced a mighty harvest and is rendering great assistance in the manufacture of munitions and other war necessities, but the importance of the development of such an industry as gold-mining has escaped the attention it deserves. There has been a great increase, however, in the production of gold in the Province of Ontario during the past year, and the old tradition that gold-mining could not be made to pay in Eastern Canada has been completely falsified by the record of one mine alone in Northern Ontario, which has already paid to its shareholders dividends of 52 per cent. per annum. Gold, it may be added, is also found in other parts of Canada besides Ontario, notably in British Columbia, where the potentialities of the industry are attracting attention.

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THE SPIRIT OF EMPIRE, 1798–1916.

In February 1798 the following letter was received by a Suffolk magistrate from the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, Lord Euston :—

Margaret Street, *February* 13*th*, 1798.

"Sir,—By this post I have enclosed printed copies of the resolutions entered into at a numerous and respectable meeting of merchants Etc in London, which I beg you will circulate among the Magistrates of Suffolk : Their activity, zeal and loyalty are so well known, as to leave little doubt in my mind, of their adopting such measures as they think best calculated to render the subscription for voluntary Contributions, now open at the Bank under the authority of Parliament, as extensive and productive as possible.

"I am Sir

"Your most obedient and very humble servant

Euston.

To the Clerk of the Peace, Suffolk.

The paper enclosed with this letter was headed : "Voluntary Contributions," and dated "London, Feb. 9, 1798." It stated that

"at a most numerous and respectable meeting of Merchants, Bankers and Traders, and other inhabitants of the Metropolis, held this day at the Royal Exchange :

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the Chair,

It was unanimously resolved,

"1. That, at a moment when war is obstinately persisted in by the enemy, for the avowed purpose of utterly destroying not only the Constitution, the Religious and Civil rights, but also the National independence of these Kingdoms, it behoves Britons, of every rank and description, to come forward and to exert themselves with all their zeal and energy, to defeat the destructive and hostile designs of so inveterate an enemy.

"2. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that every exertion should be made to render the subscription for voluntary contributions, now open at the Bank, under the authority of Parliament, for the defence of the Country, as extensive and productive as possible : being convinced that nothing can tend so much, as the success of that measure, to frustrate the projects of the enemy, to maintain Public Credit, and to accelerate the return of Peace on safe and honourable terms.

"3. That for the immediate accommodation of the Public, subscription books be opened at this place, and afterwards transmitted to the Bank of England.

"4. That it be recommended to all Bodies Corporate, to the Mayors and Chief Officers of all the principal cities and towns in the Kingdom and to the Ministers and Churchwardens of every parish throughout his Majesty's Dominions, to promote meetings and to procure contributions, in their respective districts, for the furtherance of this highly important object.

"5. That the Gentlemen who called this meeting, together with those now named, be a Committee, fully to carry these resolutions into effect. That the said Committee be empowered to take such measures as may appear to them best calculated to promote the complete success of voluntary contributions for the defence of the country;

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and that the said Committee be empowered to make such addition to their number, from time to time as may be convenient.

ANDERSON, Mayor.

"6. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor for his able and impartial conduct in the Chair.

"The Committee consists of :—

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor
The Court of Aldermen
The Directors of the Bank of England
The Directors of the East India Company

Together with nearly two hundred of the most eminent Merchants, Bankers and Traders of the Metropolis."

The appeal, which is printed on the other side of the paper, runs thus :—

"In pursuance of the foregoing resolutions the Committee now address themselves to the public at large. The cause in which we are engaged is common to us all ; and we doubt not the same motives which have guided the inhabitants of the Metropolis on this occasion, will be equally felt in every part of the British Empire. The enemy having obstinately and insolently rejected every overture for Peace, now openly threatens us with invasion, for the avowed purpose of overturning the religion, the laws and the established Constitution of this Kingdom, and of destroying our maritime power, and with it our commerce, the support of every branch of National industry, and of reducing this great and free Country to a state of abject weakness and dependence."

"A general and Voluntary contribution is a measure the success of which, it is the bounden duty of all persons alike to promote ; for even among those the farthest removed from opulence, there are none who have not a deep and immediate interest in the issue of the present contest ; their exertions are not less a debt to their Country, their families and themselves than those of the most wealthy ; and the amount of their contributions, though necessarily small in each individual instance, will, in the whole, furnish an important aid, afford a solemn pledge and an animating proof of the National spirit. The same principle applies to all ; the estate of the landed proprietor ; the funds of the stockholder ; the capital of the merchant and manufacturer ; the profits of the farmer and trader ; the earnings of the mechanic, the artist, and labourer ; nay even the wages and subsistance of the servant ; are all involved in the same fate with the general security and welfare of their Country.

"The first personage in the kingdom ; several corporate Bodies ; numerous individuals of all ranks and stations, many of our gallant seamen and soldiers, have already set an example, which ought to animate the breast of every Briton to strenuous exertions, in the defence of his Country. The Committee, confidently relying on the zealous and active co-operation of their fellow-subjects, are persuaded that Britons will not be forgetful of their ancient and hereditary spirit and that they will be ready to repel by arms the attack of an invading enemy—and to sacrifice any part of their property, which may be necessary to ensure the safety of the remainder and the maintenance of the Constitution, which has been for ages the boast and glory of this Country ; and which in these days of difficulty and trial, distinguishes it more than ever from all the other Nations of Europe.

By order of the Committee,

Secretary.

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The long trial of Warren Hastings, ex-Governor General of India, had ended but three years before the above appeal was issued, and then, for the first time in history, the principles by which the British Empire is welded together—liberty, justice, and equal rights for all people—had been publicly upheld by Burke and his fellow-orators. To Lord Mayor Anderson and his Committee, however, in that year of unexampled difficulty and trial, belongs the honour to have been the first to make use in a public appeal of the proud title, British Empire, now so familiar to us all. A veritable prophet of good in evil days was Lord Mayor Anderson, for in 1798, the embryo Empire, disunited and struggling as it were for breath, seem doomed to speedy dissolution, and Great Britain, the Empire's heart, was standing hurriedly to arms in hourly expectation of invasion. A letter, dated from Ipswich, June 14, 1798, shows the preparations to resist it.

"Early this morning [runs the letter] expresses arrived every half hour from different parts of the coast stating that an enemy's fleet had appeared off Hoseley Bay. Preparations were made by the military with an alacrity that does them great credit. The troops, consisting of about 6,000 men, were all in high spirits on this occasion. In a few hours an army of 10,000 men would have been assembled from the neighbouring towns and convinced any enemy that had attempted a landing of their temerity. About noon intelligence reached the town that the fleet proved to be a large fleet of colliers that had fallen in with some Russian men-of-war. We congratulate our countrymen on this fresh instance of the ardour and patriotism which pervade every inch of the Kingdom."

The readiness displayed on the occasion of this luckily false alarm was the result of the carefully detailed directions issued, by the Lord-Lieutenant of Suffolk, to all his magistrates earlier in that year; for Parliament had authorised the King—so obvious was the national danger—to call out, if invasion was attempted, the *levy en masse* of the population. Extraordinary powers were also conferred on Lords-Lieutenant and Generals in command, for the seizure, in that event, of cattle and horses together with all descriptions of vehicles, and small craft on the coast and rivers; as well as of all kinds of fodder and provisions. The Aliens Bill which, though passed in 1793 at the beginning of the war, had by 1798 become practically a dead letter, was re-enacted, a copy being sent round to every magistrate on the East Coast by the Lord-Lieutenant with a letter urging its strict enforcement.

The overtures for peace, which, as the Lord Mayor's appeal had said, had been "obstinately and insolently rejected by the enemy," were made during 1796. An old pocket-book in my possession contains the following notes, which, being written at the time, are likely to be correct :—

"February 8, 1796.—Mr. Wickham the British Plenipotentiary, resident at Berne, transmitted to M. Barthelemi resident there for the French Republic, a paper expressive of the disposition of Great Britain to open a Congress for the purpose of settling a general peace, which the minister transmitted to the Directory; and on the 26th, the French Minister returned its answer, declining a Congress and expressing a doubt

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respecting the sincerity of the British Cabinet, and declaring a determination to retain all the countries which have been united to France."

Another attempt made by Britain later in that same year is thus set down. "October 22nd. Lord Malmsbury, Minister Plenipotentiary from the British Court, made his entry into Paris." And again, "December 29th. Lord Malmsbury arrived in town from France, the negotiations for peace having been broken off by an order issued by the Directory for his Lordship to quit Paris in forty-eight hours."

When rejecting the British overtures for peace, the French "Directory" of 1796 had, like the German War Party of 1914, reckoned on war and insurrection in India, whence the ally of France, the powerful Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, had vowed to drive the English.

The France of that day proved entirely right in her calculations, but the Germany of this day has found her conjectures to be as absolutely wrong. For, not only is India loyally co-operating with the rest of the Empire, but is also sharing in the heavy financial burden of war.

To take two instances only of India's spontaneous loyalty. Among the first of the Princes to offer help with both troops and money was the present Maharajah of Mysore, a successor of that famous Sultan, Tippoo, who in 1792–1799 fought his hardest to drive the English from India. Moreover, it is not only the Rulers, but the people also of the great Dependency, who identify themselves with the British Empire in the present world conflagration; the smouldering sedition, on which the German hopes were built, has been quenched by a wave of enthusiastic devotion.

During the wars with Napoleon, Britain's daughter nations were still in their infancy, though when America joined in the fray, Canada, the eldest born, loyally helped the Motherland. Now in another world conflict, in the words of one of Australia's greatest statesmen, "the Dominions are not simply assisting the Mother Country in an European war, they feel each one of them that they are also fighting their own battle, for their own ideals of right and personal liberty and political liberty, against a foe which, if victorious, would inflict a world-wide blow on those ideals". Truly was it prophesied that "England is only a small part of English history, for its greater issues lie in the destinies of Daughter Nations yet to be".

And Sir Robert Borden's message, after his visit to England and to the front, breathes the same note—conviction of the righteousness of our cause and an absolute determination to fight to the finish. "During the visit," he wrote, "now drawing to a conclusion I have had the advantage of discussing with members of the British Government matters of great moment, and I am convinced that these discussions will lead to more effective co-operation in our common purpose. . . . The very greatness of our cause, and the momentous issues which hang in the balance, imperatively command our earnest, united, and highest effort. Granted that effort and victory is assured. No reverse or discouragement whatever in the past or future can be sufficient to stay it."

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Then of his visit to the Canadian wounded: "Nowhere," said the Prime Minister of Canada, "have I found a firmer and truer spirit of courage and determination than among the men at the front and the wounded."

To turn from the history made by the wars of last century to that now in the making. Look at Egypt, then a Turkish Dependency; now, by the present war, she has become an integral part of the British Empire. In that past conflict French Armies under Napoleon invaded and ravaged her; in this present struggle French forces under D'Amade came to her shores as friends to unite with England against the common foe—Turkey. In the light of what is happening to-day, it is curious to read a diary of the events of 1799 printed in a note-book of 1800. It runs thus:—

> "Among the many surprising occurrences in this most eventful war, perhaps none are more important than those which have taken place in Egypt and Syria, for it is highly probable that the very existence of the Turkish Empire has been preserved by the skilful management and heroic exploits of two British officers, and that what Admiral Lord Nelson began in 1798, has been completely effected by Sir Sydney Smith in 1799. Had Bonaparte made himself master of Acre, nothing could have stopped his progress to Constantinople; nor would the mighty schemes of the Conqueror of Italy have been bounden there, but the overthrow of the British power in India would have been the object to be attempted for consummating the greatness of the Corsican prodigy."

That our ancestors' fears were well founded is proved by Napoleon's own words during his imprisonment in St. Helena. By 1800 his intrigues had succeeded in detaching the Tsar Paul from England, and said he:

> "If Paul had lived, you would have lost India before now. An agreement was made between Paul and myself to invade it. I furnished the plans. I was to send thirty thousand good troops. He was to send a similar number of the best Russian soldiers, and forty thousand Cossacks. I was to subscribe ten millions for the purchase of camels and other requisites for crossing the desert. The King of Prussia was to have been applied to by both of us to grant a passage for my troops through his dominions, which would have been immediately granted. I had at the same time made a demand to the King of Persia for a passage through his country, which would also have been granted, although the negotiations were not entirely concluded, but would have succeeded as the Persians were desirous of profiting by it, themselves. My troops were to have gone to Warsaw, to be joined to the Russians and Cossacks, and to have marched from thence to the Caspian Sea, where they would have either embarked, or have proceeded by land, according to circumstances. I was beforehand with you in sending an ambassador to Persia to make interest there."

It is strange to compare the frustrated schemes of Napoleon with those of the present German Emperor, revealed as long ago as 1892, by the American writer, Mr. Poultney Bigelow, in his voyage "Down the Danube". Unconsciously perhaps, but none the less plainly, the traveller's conversations with local magnates disclose the Kaiser's ambition, which even then was to make

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himself master of the Danube from source to mouth. To read that book and another lately published by Professor Delbrück is to become acquainted with the whole Napoleon-like strategy.

Hear Professor Delbrück: Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, he describes as fields for German surplus energy. Babylon and Nineveh are, he admits, to-day heaps of ruins, but, he asserts, "the land which produced those glorious cities can reproduce them under a well-ordered Government". In conclusion he announces that "when Germany takes the task in hand, torpidity will disappear. Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, Mecca, Baghdad—the Empire of the Sultan is large—it needs us to raise it up, and we need it".

A few years more of peace and Germany might well have realised her ambitious dreams, and the Baghdad Railway have become an instrument, as it was designed to be, of German domination all along the line to the Persian Gulf.

KATHARINE F. DOUGHTY.

TROPICAL EASTERN AFRICA.

THE portion of the African Continent embraced in the above title is at least equal in size to Western Europe. While no comparison is possible in regard to population, still this vast stretch of land, with its infinite variety of climate, topography and natural resources, is inhabited by some twenty million people in various stages of development. Very many of these are still primitive and savage, but their tangible resources are manifold and enormous. Their flocks and herds are countless; their broad acres already yield a vast store of produce, and their forests, plains and mountains are of great potential economic value. From insignificant beginnings a generation ago, the trade figures of this region to-day aggregate already close on £20,000,000, and with proper direction and energy it should be easily feasible to double these figures within comparatively few years. For the purposes of this article I shall confine myself to a discussion of conditions in British and German East Africa.

A little over a hundred miles south of the Juba river, we come to the system of the river Tana, which springs from Mount Kenia, 350 miles inland, and runs, also without affluents worth noting, through a sparsely inhabited region to the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Lamu where it debouches over a shallow bar into Formosa Bay. The lower reaches of the Tana are of especial immediate interest, owing to the presence of wide fertile alluvial flats with soil fifteen to twenty feet deep, "where it is impossible to find a stone or pebble up to a distance of fifty miles upstream." The total surface extent of these river flats would probably measure some 300,000 to 500,000 acres, or more. A good deal of this excellent land is submerged in flood time, but the flow of water can be easily regulated by means of the sort of "dyke" which the Burmese and Siamese use around their rice-fields. "A finer stretch of land than this for growing rice—or, for the matter of that, sugar-cane—does not exist anywhere."

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The quality of this rice—grown by the natives now in small patches—" is so superior that it has won quite a reputation in India ", and is now exported there. It has been stated by a competent authority that " enough rice could comfortably be grown in the delta of the Tana river to supply all Eastern Africa "! The only reason why this is not yet done is the fear by the whites of the malarial climate, and lack of initiative. This place is by no means worse than the riparian rice regions of Burmah, Siam and Indo-China. The delta of the Tana River is also able to support magnificent coconut plantations. There are already some scores of thousands of this most useful tree in the neighbourhood of Lamu and in the delta itself. But there are many scores of thousands of acres along and adjacent to the coast (which is here very broken and full of creeks and bays) where the coconut tree would thrive exceedingly. If all the available ground were put to coconut cultivation, this area would comfortably support a couple of million trees.

From Lamu southward as far as Inhambane in 23° south latitude, or for a distance of roughly 1,400 miles, the traveller along the shore hardly ever loses sight of the graceful waving fronds of the coconut palm. There are certainly considerable gaps in the shore-line where the conformation and conditions of soil are not favourable for the propagation and cultivation of the coconut tree, but the existing areas can be infinitely extended.

Again, starting from Lamu southward, we come to a region blessed with a better rainfall than in the Italian sphere north of the Juba river. We meet fertile, heavily wooded tracts and native villages and settlements with coconut groves and banana clumps, patches of maize, beans, cereals and potatoes, and the big, deep-green " topees " of enormous mango trees, also oranges, lemons, guavas and other fruit trees. The present lack of capital is responsible for the backwardness of the Malindi district respecting plantations and other enterprises. Passing Malindi, Mombrui and Kilifi, where the sisal hemp plantations may be said to begin, we come to the island of Mombasa with its natural harbour of Kilindini adjoining. This is the terminus of the British East Africa railway systems, a future port of call for Australasian liners, and the only and indisputable outlet of a region comparable with the combined area of France and Germany. Less than twenty years ago there were only the old Arab and native town and the ancient Portuguese fort. To-day, we have imposing Government buildings, handsome modern villas, fine roads and tramways, electric light and motor cars ; docks, warehouses and huge cranes for the ever-increasing stream of products from the rapidly developing hinterland, which sends its ramifications ever further into the interior and away from the central base. The goods met with in the transit sheds comprise ivory and gold from the Congo and Upper Nile, ostrich feathers and hides from Southern Abyssinia, cotton (30,000 bales in 1914) and coffee and rubber from Uganda, hides and skins from the slopes of the Mountains of the Moon, Kilimanjaro and Kenia, coffee, hemp and vegetables from the Nairobi highlands, &c., wheat and grain from Njoro and Kapiti, grain and hides from stations all along the line, beeswax, ebony, dye-woods from the foothills, and coconuts, copra, hemp and sesamum from the coast districts. A greater and more precious variety few shipping

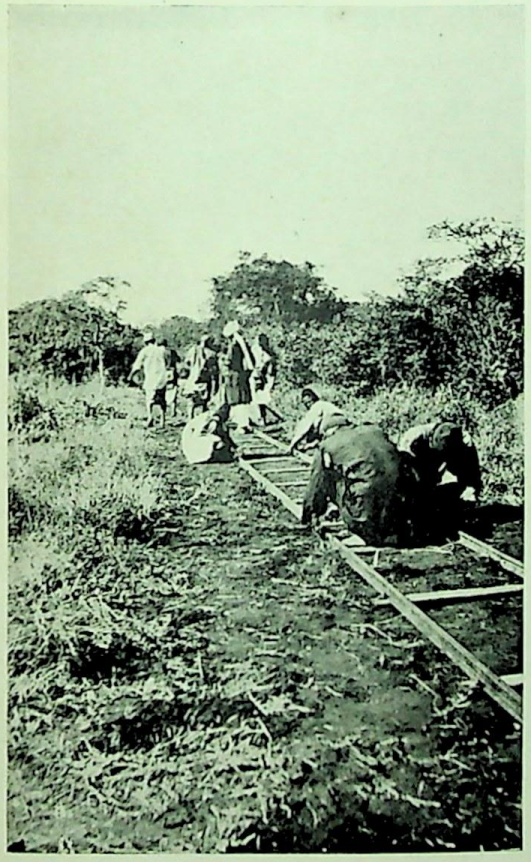
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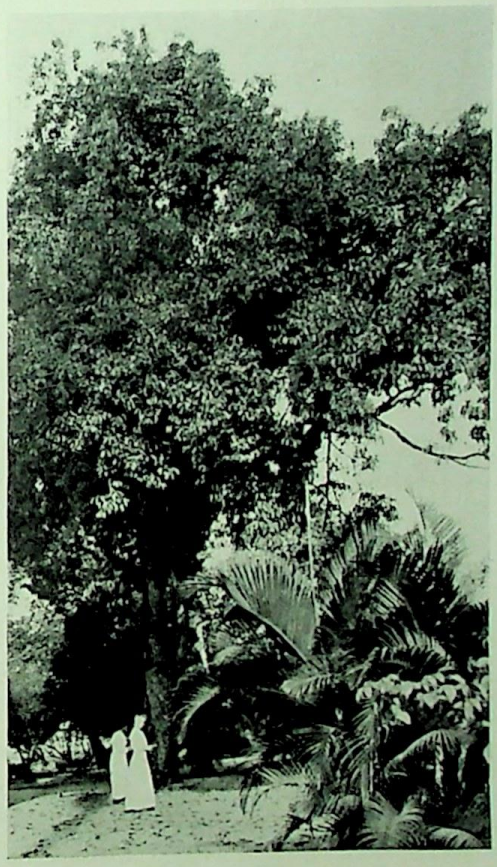
TROPICAL EASTERN AFRICA.



AN EAST AFRICAN LANDSCAPE.



RAILWAY BUILDING IN THE BUSH.



COAST VEGETATION.

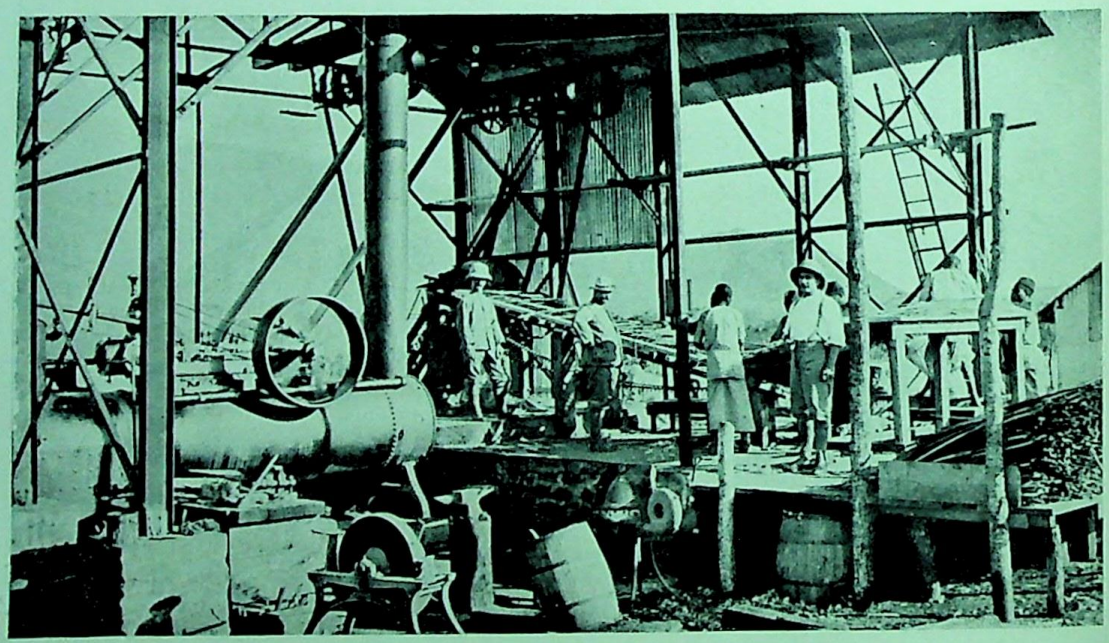
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CEARA RUBBER.



FIBRE-EXTRACTING PLANT IN THE WILDS OF E. AFRICA.

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centres can boast of. Where the white man has come and instituted his activities, the ramifications of trade and barter are beginning already to cover the land like a vast network. The net, it is true, is of large mesh as yet and with many gaps. But most of the natives have something of value to sell. The nomads have skins and hides and the groundwork of better stocks to be propagated, the husbandmen stores of grain, and others again have the products of the forest and plain. At present we are satisfied to depute the collection of these manifold products to those who, by means of their peculiar traits and faculties, can get closer to the natives, and who are satisfied with a plainer mode of life and with less profits. Foremost among these valuable advance agents are the Indians from Bombay Presidency and from Karachi. A system has been evolved accordingly, in the course of time, which consists of emporia under white direction at the seaports, stocked with native trade goods, which are sold on indent to Indian or sometimes Arab wholesale houses, who in their turn supply the retail stores and itinerant hucksters inland. Thus an article passes sometimes through a half-dozen hands from the manufacturer to the consumer. Some of these middle-men can be eliminated. In the British and Italian and Portuguese portions of Eastern Africa, the German and Austrian merchants have succeeded in annexing at least 80 per cent. of this trade, amounting altogether to at least £15,000,000. It is the business of Britons now to see that this trade gets back into their own hands.

There is some excuse for the Italian and Portuguese Colonies; for it is to be assumed that they lacked the financial resources and facilities in order to enable them to float oversea enterprises built up on long and liberal credit foundations. Britain and Portugal are allies of long standing. It should not be impossible at all to succeed to the string of trading stations all along these Colonial coasts, built up and carefully fostered by the enemy. Mozambique and all its vast extent is a fine rich field for British enterprise. In British East Africa notably there exists already a grand scope for the establishment of important and promising lucrative industries and ventures, owing to the presence and prevalence in an extraordinary degree of "raw products" coupled with cheap labour conditions and efficient transport. In the first line I may mention tanning. A reference to Colonial Office records shows that "the exports of ox- and cow-hides, and also sheep- and goat-skins have been very brisk and continually rising during the last decade and amount to well over 10,000 bales, valued at several hundred thousand pounds sterling". The bulk of this trade goes to foreign countries. The leather interests in this country, with enormous military orders on their hands, are extremely hard pressed for the raw material to supply the needs of the forces at the front and of the new army in the making. I am sure that they would give much to be in possession of this very potential supply, which has almost all been allowed to slip through their fingers. But in British East Africa we have not only the raw material, but also a complete list of ingredients to turn this raw stuff into the finished article of commerce. A good deal of the hides and skins from there are, perhaps, not suitable for home consumption. But it would be possible to manufacture and use the unsuitable remnant for local requirements, which are considerable.

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The natives, for instance, evince a strong and growing desire to wear boots, shoes, belts and pouches; but the foot-wear imported at present for native use is much too dear. It can be made much more suitable, and cheaper, on the spot. In addition to this trade of the general public, I am sure that the various Government departments would greatly welcome a local source of supply. There are several thousand native troops to be shod, in addition to the native police and employees of the Public Works and Conservancy departments, &c.

The cost of equipment of a tannery would not involve a considerable outlay; neither would the equipment of a boot manufacturing plant. There are positively no risks worth mentioning in such an enterprise, and the profits, with careful management, will be very handsome. Very many of the hides and skins obtainable out there lend themselves particularly to the dressing and dyeing processes necessary for turning out the coloured fancy leathers for the Arabian, Abyssinian and Persian markets. Germany and Austria have so far had all that trade.

Labour and other conditions are favourable. Besides good water there is plenty of tanning ingredient in British East Africa—mangrove bark at the coast and wattle bark up-country. The black wattle is now being cultivated in the highlands to the extent of some 15,000 acres, and more is being steadily added. Lime, soda and beeswax, all useful in the processes of tanning, are readily and cheaply obtainable in East Africa.

A further very feasible and profitable enterprise would be alcohol making from potatoes, banana stalks, sisal hemp, bagasse and other vegetable products. Potatoes have been grown with great success in British East Africa for a number of years, yielding a fine and liberal harvest of two crops annually. Now that the War has taught us that most important elements in the chemical trade depended almost wholly on denatured alcohol manufactured in Germany—a source which is now completely stopped and will probably be so for some time to come—it behoves us to search diligently for sources of supply which are sure and stable. East Africa has surely the makings of such a safe source; the only thing which stands in the way is the Government prohibition. This is superficially a wise measure, for the policy of the administration is to keep alcoholic stimulants out of the reach of the natives. But it is perfectly feasible to make the whole output of an alcohol factory inaccessible and innocuous to the natives by exercising strict control and by "denaturing" it, thereby rendering it perfectly unfit for human consumption. It must not be forgotten that "denatured" alcohol will be used ever increasingly as a fuel for motor vehicles and power units.

There are probably not less than 100,000 acres in East Africa eminently fit for potato growing. The hemp plantations now existing in the Colony would yield material for the production of several thousand tons of alcohol at present and these are being steadily enlarged.

A short review of German East Africa is now apposite. The railway starting from Tanga has been taken up the valley of the Pangani to Moshi, on the shoulder of mighty Kilimanjaro. Thence onward it was intended to take this railway

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through the fertile plateaux of Meru over the Masai steppes on to Muanza on the shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, there to meet the overland trunk road coming from Dar-es-Salaam, the capital, via Tabora, which forms the junction of the Ujiji railroad to Lake Tanganyika. All these railroads are tapping very promising agricultural tracts and pastoral areas of immense extent and possibilities. They traverse a region inhabited by numerous populous tribes, which even now form the backbone of all progress so far achieved. The outlook for commercial advancement and enterprise is so promising in this vast territory that the Government built the railways upon the most perfect plan of permanent way and bridge construction, with heavy rails and fine rolling stock, under the conviction that rapid development would follow. In the neighbourhood of Muanza, on the one hand, there is a considerable auriferous area being exploited now with good results; and on the Ujiji side we find a continuation of the Congolese copper and iron and coal formation. Our biggest railroad builder in the Congo-Katanga region considers this Ujiji railroad as "one of the coming most important arteries of Africa below the Equator". We must prepare for more than one very pleasant surprise when British enterprise is once free and at liberty to enter this field. I say this advisedly; for whatever benefit German "culture" was intended to be to the rest of the world, the German genius certainly did not contemplate the inroads or activities of foreigners into their colonies in the slightest degree. Boycott and brusque measures for the stranger in their sphere every time—no British or French firms trading in any German colonies, while quite the reverse was taking place when it came to flooding the former with the latter's stuff in ever increasing volume.

German East Africa is quite as good an asset as the British Protectorate, in fact development has been much more pronounced in the former. We all remember the rubber boom of 1910, and how millions of British money was sunk in the German plantations. Unfortunately that money stayed there; for the immediate fall of price for the commodity precluded that peculiar species of rubber from being exploited profitably, although intrinsically valuable. But where the rubber did not pay, sisal hemp certainly will and does. It is now recognised that African East Coast sisal is the finest in the world and always a couple of pounds ahead in price of the original Yucatan variety. So we have witnessed in Eastern Africa the interesting phenomenon of an economic plant being taken from one hemisphere to another with great advantage to the development of the resulting product.

There are hundreds of thousands of acres at present under sisal in German East Africa, with probably thirty to forty modern "decorticating" establishments run by steam and oil engines and served by hundreds of miles of feeder field-railways which turn out from ten to fifteen thousand bales of fibre per month. It is impossible to "over-produce"; for the commercial needs of the world increase their requirements of hard fibres year by year. It is a well-known fact that under normal conditions of trade all these fibre establishments earn from ten to twelve per cent. clear profit. German East Africa does now and will increasingly absorb many millions of pounds' worth of cotton

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goods, enamel-ware, hardware generally, and provisions annually. The native population is numerous and progressive, and this country can grow immense quantities of cotton; for there are vast stretches of fertile plains capable of irrigation by means of the numerous existing rivers—the Pangani, Rufiji and Rovuma; and best of all, there is a native population to deal efficiently with the cultivation. It is one of the many German "dreams" to create in East Africa a source of supply for the looms of Saxony and Silesia—quite feasible too.

The Uganda Railway system could be readily linked up with the Kilimanjaro line by means of a short "joint" of eighty miles from Voi running through Taveta to Moshi.* Intercommunication of the colonies and linking up of the railways will be an important factor in local development. It will eventually mean rail connection from the Great Lake region down through the Congo, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies as far as Cape Town, and also direct transit from the East Coast to the West over the Lobito Bay system now pushing eastward into the Katanga. Dreams like this to-day will be a reality to-morrow. The era of liberty and progress now dawning should find Africa prepared to communicate freely by a network of railways east, west, north and south. Water conservation and irrigation are indispensable factors in the future development of this part of Africa. Both can be carried out very easily in the Kilimanjaro region where glacier streams abound. By means of this ample store of water it would be feasible to irrigate more than 100,000 acres of fine land, upon which cotton and maize and beans, &c., could be grown in an excellent manner. A vast layer of splendid limestone, some of it pure felspar, extends for some ten miles between the Bura Range and the Sagalla Hills. Corunds and tourmalines have been found in this formation, which may yet on examination prove to harbour more valuable treasures. Coal and shales have been reported several times in this neighbourhood; but, so far, lack of investigation has failed to reveal anything of value. Further down towards the coast, and not far from Mombasa, there has been located an important formation of sandstone; and a small river which has its source there is heavily impregnated with saline matter. The sandstone shows in patches, and the "old red" specimens which in other countries indicate oil. A curious phenomenon is witnessed in this connection some ten miles out at sea from Mombasa Harbour, where local fishermen in their fragile outrigger canoes can follow their calling in all kinds of rough weather owing to a clearly perceptible "oil slick" which they put between themselves and the rough seas. To leeward of it all is smooth, probably owing to the submarine outlet of one of the stupendous fissures which are known to exist in the mother-rock. Evidences of these occur in the Taru Desert near Mackinnon Road Station, on the Uganda Railway, where they are found in many places filled with inexhaustible stores of water which used to supply the caravans in the old days before the railroad was built to the Lake.

* This "link" railway has been built by the military authorities since this article was written.

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It is well known that petroleum exists inland in the neighbourhood of Lake Baringo, but this find has not been followed up owing to the inaccessibility of the locality. This part of Eastern Africa may in some respects be likened to Mexico, which has a tremendous volcanic backbone of vast extent and terraced chains of mountains and hills down to the sandy and semi-arid sea-board. Whether the comparison will hold good, as far as the finding of rich stores of subterranean petroleum is concerned, remains to be proven, until capitalists will come forward and face the expense of adequate boring. This may cost a lot of money, but will, I hope, be carried out in the future—the sooner the better. Again, the scientific and systematic conservation and storage of rain-water will play a most important part in the agricultural development of the region. This can be done at comparatively small cost; for the topographical conformation and geological composition of the country lend themselves admirably to the purpose.

As far as we know at present, there are no gold or silver lodes in the British part, and yet it is curious that gold-mining has become quite a paying industry in the Lake region of the German Colony not a hundred miles from the British frontier; and on the other hand we have certain knowledge of auriferous richness in the South Abyssinian province of Wollaga which marches with the British sphere in the north. Much remains to be done in the way of prospecting before the matter is settled either way, but it is curious that there should be a barren gap in between, when there is really no difference in the formation of the country. It took many years of unremitting effort and much expense to find the lodes from the old surface workings. A mineral find would be the immediate making of the colony, but whether it would remain an unmixed blessing would be another question. I personally should prefer to see a steady onward agricultural and stock development to a lurid ephemeral rise on the crest of a gold-rush.

The most promising indication of coal has been proven in the Mara River district of Kavirondo near the Lake shore. The finding of a good solid measure or seam there would be of inestimable value, but more reliable searchings have to be carried on before anything definite can be said regarding it. Beyond Lake Victoria, in Uganda, we have a populous rich agricultural country which in the last twenty years has made enormous progress both as regards enlightenment of its people and cultivation of their broad acres. There is no labour question in Uganda ;. the people are quick-witted and diligent. Uganda and Busoga and Toro will be able to absorb in the near future an enormous amount of home-manufactured goods. They are preparing the products to sell in exchange in ever swelling volume.

These portions of the Empire will be one of the premier places for the activities of the British trader, manufacturer, stock-raiser and planter. There are few places left on earth where judicious investment of capital will bring better and safer results under wholly safe and undisturbed conditions.

F. A. G. Pape.

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LINKS OF EMPIRE.

SOBER historians are fond of noting the absent-minded way in which our Empire has been acquired. "Specks it grow'd" has become the accepted explanation of its being. But it may be laid down fearlessly that no empire ever merely grew or merely cohered, as the conglomerate is formed by so many odd pebbles cohering in one lump of elastic and retentive clay,—a mere stick-in-the-mud process. The empires of history were all made by sheer force, whether outside pressure or a dominating magnetic power within, or (as in our own case) by a double interlocking effect—outward, of expanding growth, and inward, of a need for common defence.

Perhaps we shall find our best analogy in the history of an East Anglian farm-house. The first builders set up a stout and spacious chimney, and grouped around it a few simple rooms. Their grandchildren find the dwelling too narrow; with a larger family and increasing wealth they throw, as it were, more rooms about it—rooms of different levels and different heights, odd joinings and uneven gables, but yet forming a solid and habitable dwelling, penetrated by the warmth of the patriarchal chimney and by the homely and comfortable smell of the ancestral kitchen. So it goes on, with always changing styles, till you have a mansion where quaintness and old-world variety are curiously blended with a severely practical modernity. It is only when its very size makes the structure seem unsafe that experts are called in to advise ties and clamps to make it sure; while there will always be found some who cry to have the old thing pulled down.

Most certainly our Empire is of irregular structure; no doubt, "*mole laborat sua*"; but it will hold together for centuries yet, if we only find the right ties. What then shall they be? There is a crowd of ready answers; but they must not too hastily be accepted. The tie of blood, for instance, can apply only to a small number of our fellow-subjects. The great empires of bygone days were not built up of blood-relations. Kinship has been no barrier to war, and, in happier times, those who are certainly flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone find often their most pleasurable amusement in twisting the British Lion's tail.

Political uniformity, too, is not to be sought among dominions and nations of diverse ages, traditions, aspirations. Civilisations far more ancient than ours would laugh at any attempt on our part to set up ready-made forms of government amid their immemorial cities. Nor must we expect too much of the spirit of affection for the Motherland, or of the mere sense of Imperial unity—that *esprit de corps*, so new even among ourselves that we have had to borrow its very name. Much as this spirit is fostered in the public schools, it must remain a fostered growth; and our Imperial gardeners may, likely enough, one day lose it by letting in either too much warmth or too much cold. Moreover, any such sentiment of loyalty or affection must be based on an element of admiration, and in these last months we have come to see that our race is most admirable when transplanted. Here, with all our multitudinous energies, we are apt to grow "cabin'd and confin'd"—there they breathe a wider air, sleep

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beneath a broader sky, and see life whole. It was not in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, that the "recruiting poster" found work to do. There is, of course, the tie of education—already a strong one, and made stronger every day by the munificence of a great Empire-builder. This, is, however, for the few; and here, too, it may be questioned whether there is not more gain to those who from the Mother Country go to school, so to speak, with the fresher outlook and inspirations overseas. It would be a good day for Britain if our great public schools made a certain amount of experience overseas a condition of their higher appointments.

All these ties of Empire have their value; none has the element of universality or permanence. We are left with two which have been tested already in the past; the two which bound together the Hellenes of old and bind together the Welsh of to-day. One of these has, of itself, held in unity a people living scattered and in exile through centuries of change, and imposed upon medieval Europe as much unity, perhaps, as she can ever attain. These two bonds are Religion and Competition—not of trade, which brings its peculiar difficulties and disunions, even among kindred, but, as at the Greek games and the Celtic Eisteddfodau, of strength and skill both of mind and body.

Religion no longer means *odia theologica*, "priestcraft," and smoke of Smithfield fires. English religious feeling, with its obvious faults and weaknesses, has evolved in these latter days something worth forging into a definite link of Empire. Rather, the forging has already begun; war is the hammer, and sacrifice the anvil, and the beating out of something better and stronger than we are yet aware of is going on day by day.

A writer early in the War told of a remote Cossack village where the fiery cross had come, and tough men on wiry horses were pricking to the assembly. "What is it?" was asked. "It is war," cried a horseman. "Against whom?" "We do not know, perhaps the English, but it is war!"

Something of that spirit was, no doubt, at the root of the first impulse which sent peaceful clerks and business men flocking to the colours, and which stirred the long sinewy limbs of many a brave man in India, Africa, Canada, Australasia.

Such an impulse may start, but does not carry on or carry through, a war like the present. Those Cossacks know now from what enemy Holy Mother Russia is in danger; and all the defenders of our Empire have known long since that they are bringing their treasure and manhood to the rescue—and, we trust salvation—of little states outraged by a heartless bully, and to the planting among the nations of the eternal standard of Truth and Right. It is, then, in point of fact, the highest religious instinct (care for the weak, and vindication of right) which is at this moment knitting together not only our so-called Christian brethren, but also our Mohammedan and Buddhist brethren overseas.

Will it pass the wit of man to turn this bond "of peace and all virtues" into a permanent and workable bond of Empire?

Have we not quite enough common ground—positive ground—of practical, solid, belief and practice—on which to plant every flag and banner that flies within the Empire? Most surely we can stretch out hands of fellowship—

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without abating one jot of private convictions and pious opinions—to all who look upward to the eternal verities, as they shine down upon our petty lives like the great luminaries of the firmament. As "prophets new inspir'd", we may see our "noble and puissant" Empire not only "renewing her mighty youth", but also "kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam" of those universal truths and those foundation virtues which the best religious element of all ages and climes has believed and practised. The War has for all time stamped as the Empire's precious conviction the great basic truths that self-sacrifice is the highest, and brutal greed the lowest, thing that is—that love is heavenly and selfish force is devilish—that to risk your life for your pal is finer than blowing down whole Antwerps and Verduns. To this inward bond (which must have also, of course, its visible expression) must be added an outward bond, something that will represent all that the Hellene found in his great games, and the Welshman in his Eisteddfodau; some opportunity at stated times, not for the costly and rather unproductive "Olympic Games" of recent years, but for a gathering both of physical excellences and of the triumphs of art, music, science and literature, from every part of the community. It must have been a life-long link indeed, to all the motley crowd gathered for such a festival, to have heard in its first utterance, the tragic undertone, and the graceful charm of the "Father of History".

The great bonds of a righteous cause, and of a joy in youthful vigour, have bound together, in a great world-crisis, whatever lives beneath the flag: let these twin bonds of Justice and Strength be made good, and we need never heed the talk of gloomy historians who tell us that empires rise to fall.

E. Iliff Robson.

RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

In reviewing the history of the Eastern Question for the last sixty years, we shall find the chief obstacle to reform to lie in the mutual suspicion and antagonism of Great Britain and Russia. The maintenance of the Sultan's sovereignty was formerly the pivot of British policy in the Near East. This was chiefly based on hostility to Russia, and an exaggerated fear of Russian domination at Constantinople, which, it was believed, would seriously threaten our route to India. Naturally this antagonism was reciprocated, and the two Powers for long years regarded each other with profound distrust—a situation which Germany, when she rose to power, did her best to foster and encourage. At the same time, Great Britain, from altruistic motives, endeavoured, so far as was consistent with her pro-Turkish policy, to alleviate the lot of the Christians in Turkey. But the two policies were irreconcilable, and Turkey, whilst assured of her independence, rendered all attempts at reform abortive. Russia, on the other hand, frankly expressed her disbelief in Turkish promises of reform. Her solution of the Christian question was emancipation, or autonomy under Russian auspices. Under Turkey, equal treatment for Christian and Moslem

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has never been, and never will be, granted. I can recall to mind no portion of the Empire where native Christians could enjoy security for life, honour and property save in the Lebanon, where, thanks to a virtual autonomy, the inhabitants have flourished and prospered exceedingly.

This unfortunate policy of ours, though actuated by the best intentions, has been responsible for an immense amount of human suffering. By our refusal to recognise the Treaty of San Stefano, when Turkey lay prostrate at the feet of Russia, Macedonia was torn from Bulgaria and thrown back once more under the heel of the Turk. The unfortunate inhabitants have ever since suffered untold misery, and the present chaotic confusion in the Balkans is largely attributable to our refusal to recognise that instrument, which would have solved, to a great extent, the Eastern Question in Europe.

By the Treaty of Berlin, the protection of the Armenians was taken out of the hands of Russia, and divided Europe became the sponsor for that unfortunate people, with what entire absence of success we know. The sixty-first Article of that Treaty reads as follows :—

"La Sublime Porte s'engage à réaliser sans plus de retard les améliorations et les réformes qu'exigent les besoins locaux dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens, et à garantir leur securité contre les Circassiens et les Kurdes. Elle donnera connaissance périodiquement des mesures prises à cet effet aux Puissances, qui en surveilleront l'application."

In spite of repeated representations on our part, that Article has ever since remained a dead letter. Between the years 1844 and 1852, Nicholas I. made repeated efforts to come to an agreement with Great Britain as to the future of Turkey. In those days, England and Russia were the two Powers whose influence was unquestionably greatest in Turkey. He proposed—so long as that were possible—to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan ; but, should this prove impossible, to arrange beforehand for the peaceful partition of Turkey. He even agreed that Russia should refrain from occupying Constantinople, in deference to the desires of Great Britain. Palmerston, however, was suspicious, and refused to meet the Emperor's advances. He desired that the fate of Turkey should be decided by Europe, not by Russia and Great Britain. Here was a chance for an honest understanding with Russia, but it was allowed to pass.

There followed the disastrous episode of the Crimean war, from which it is hard to see that anyone derived profit—certainly not the Christians of Turkey. The Hatt-i-humayoun was promulgated in 1856, an admirable instrument—on paper—promising equal rights for all Turkish subjects, irrespective of race or religion. Like all Turkish "reforms", it has remained a dead letter ; yet Palmerston placed implicit faith in it.

Under Disraeli, anti-Russian feeling grew acute ; and, as a natural corollary, the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty became more than ever a dogma of our Eastern policy. In 1876, before the Conference of the Powers at Constantinople, Gortchakoff warned Great Britain against half measures and

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illusory reform schemes, but Disraeli hardened his heart and would not hear him. The Turkish yoke lay ever heavier on its Christian subjects. In Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria, the cry of the oppressed went up, and Gladstone voiced the indignation which was aroused in England by the Bulgarian atrocities. The cry of the Slav found an echo in Russia, and public feeling grew to a pitch where it could no longer be restrained ; Holy Russia drew the sword on behalf of her outraged kinsmen, with what ultimate result we know. The Treaty of San Stefano gave way to the Treaty of Berlin of unhappy memory (1878). Russian occupation as a guarantee for reforms was set aside, and Article 61, above mentioned, substituted for it. The element of foreign control had disappeared, and with it vanished all hope of reform.

In the Cyprus Convention, which preceded the Treaty of Berlin, we see the principle of bolstering up the Ottoman dynasty more clearly defined. Great Britain was to hold Cyprus as a base of operations in case her help were sought to prevent further Russian encroachments into Armenia. The arrangement was purely political, and the question of reforms in Asia Minor was only alluded to in general terms : " In return H.I.M. the Sultan promises to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories." A vague undertaking of the kind was, of course, worthless, and remained quite barren of result. The Porte proved obdurate in spite of the warnings of our Ambassador, Sir Henry Layard. The Armenians, however, were encouraged to look, not only for reform, but even autonomy—dangerous aspirations which might lead to massacre and Russian intervention.

As time went on, the lot of the Christians in Turkey grew worse and worse. The Armenian massacres of 1894–1895 came as a shock to Europe. But now Russia stood aloof and viewed with coldness the vain attempts of the European Concert to mitigate the miserable lot of the Armenians. Moreover, her own treatment of her Armenian subjects at the time was not above reproach, and she regarded with suspicion the supposed growth of a revolutionary spirit amongst the Armenians across the border. In England the conception of the unspeakable Turk, only maintained in power by the equilibrium of warring European forces, had gradually taken the place of that of the " Jolly Johnny Turk " of Crimean days. The condition of Macedonia was the despair of statesmen and diplomatists. Though we scarcely dared to admit it to ourselves, the conviction was being gradually borne in upon us that we had, as the late Lord Salisbury with his accustomed dry humour phrased it, " put our money on the wrong horse ". From 1900 onwards, our influence began steadily to decline, and the star of Germany to wax brighter in the Eastern firmament. The Powers have gradually regrouped themselves under the leadership of Russia on the one side, and Germany and Austria on the other. In course of time Great Britain resigned herself, almost complacently, to a back seat and devoted her influence, to little effect, in promoting schemes of reform on behalf of the Christians in Turkey.

The Anglo-Russian Entente, which at this period was taking shape, to the

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dismay of Germany, still further modified Great Britain's attitude in regard to Turkey. The Revolution and subsequent proclamation of a Constitution in 1908, however, suddenly revived sympathy for Turkey. It was believed that the millennium had come, and that a new era had dawned in the land of the Turk. The words, Parliament, Constitution, Universal Suffrage, have a strange magic for Western ears. In reality, they meant no more than the mystic words "Union and Progress" for which, as subsequent events have shown, the words "Tyranny and Oppression" might much more aptly be substituted. Even the abominable massacres of Adana in 1909 failed to shake the faith of the admirers of the Young Turk. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the manner in which the Young Turk has fallen from grace. He has revealed himself to be a very different creature from the progressive and constitutional being which the Western mind had conceived him to be. To-day Russia is in a strong position in her contention that under Turkish domination all reforms on behalf of Christians must remain illusory. The wheel has revolved full circle, and the hand that once Nicholas I. stretched out to us is extended once more. We have grasped it this time and have cemented our alliance with blood shed in a common cause. Let us see to it that we do not let it go.

VEDETTE.

[Since the above article was written, the Prime Minister has delivered a notable speech on the new era of friendship with Russia. Speaking to the members of the Russian Duma and Council of the Empire who were on a visit to England, Mr. Asquith said: "One of the most gratifying results of our alliance is the complete agreement which has been established between the British and Russian Governments in regard to Eastern affairs. I remember, as do many here, the days when in that quarter, whether in Europe or in Asia, the interests of the two Empires were supposed in both countries to be irreconcilably antagonistic. Our normal attitude to one another was one of sleepless vigilance, and I may almost say sensitive suspicion, and more than once there was a possibility, and even more than a possibility, of an actual rupture of our relations. Those days of misunderstandings are happily over, and whether it be in Turkey or in Persia, or wherever British and Russian interests come into contact with one another, we have arrived at a common policy, which we are both determined loyally and in concert to pursue. . . . But it is not merely, I will venture to say it is not mainly, a question of partnership between Governments It is a question of an ever-growing sense of brotherhood and fellow-feeling between peoples. And speaking here, if I may for a moment, in the name of the British Parliament, the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom, to you, our guests, who come here as the representatives of the people of Russia, I venture to say each stretches out a hand. We forget, we blot out, all the misunderstandings of the past, and we realise that each can give something and that each can take something from the other, and that in the growing sense—a sense which grows, not only month by month and year by year, but day by day—of intimacy and unity between the great Russian people and the people of the British Empire, which the common sacrifices of this War have deepened, and I am not going too far when I say consecrated, you see one of the best hopes for the future of mankind."]

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BRITISH COLUMBIA AND THE WAR.*

By the Hon. SIR RICHARD McBRIDE, K.C.M.G.

I MUST first acknowledge the compliment paid me by the Royal Colonial Institute, in asking me to speak on "British Columbia and the War". The pleasure of addressing you is enhanced by the fact that I am asked to fill a gap that, unfortunately, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Hughes is unable to fill this evening. Like other Britons in London in the last few weeks, I have read with more than passing interest the Press reports and the comments offered on the strong advocacy the Prime Minister of Australia has undertaken before the people here; and without the slightest hesitation I can endorse the references made a few moments ago, by our Chairman, to the speeches of this distinguished Australian. It is your custom, I understand, on the occasion of the monthly gathering of the Institute, to listen to various papers and closely studied themes which have to do with Empire business. It is far from any purpose of mine to attempt a departure from convention, but I am just afraid that the time allotted for the preparation of any very special thesis was scarcely sufficient to permit me to follow what has been the rule. However, I take it that you will be pleased to hear from me what the Far Western section of Canada has attempted in respect to the prosecution of this War. I would like to preface my remarks by one observation, and that is that while Sir Charles Lucas has referred to British Columbia as a section of the Empire occupying a unique position, insomuch as we have a great deal to do with the Far East and form a connecting link between the Mother Land and other overseas Dominions, he perhaps forgot to state that, unlike any other province of Canada, British Columbia has, not only on the southern boundary but to the northward as well, good neighbours in the citizens of the United States of America. As you all know, there is, in the far north, the great territory of Alaska, and on the southern boundary the States of Washington, Idaho and Minnesota. For my own part I have always felt that it was a sort of splendid stimulus to the strong patriotism of the Western Province that we had our American cousins both to the northward and to the southward. It seems to lead to an association of ideas and the cultivation of sentiments that have made us always more British than otherwise perhaps we might have been—not that we would claim to be at all in advance of our American cousins, but as Britons we protest that we are pretty nearly as good as we can possibly be with respect to our organisations, institutions, domestic economy, and all affairs which have to do with the well-being of the State. Since the Declaration of War, British Columbia has attempted with other provinces to undertake her share of the responsibilities which the Dominion has shouldered.

If I propose for a few minutes to make some references to the contribution of British Columbia, it must be taken simply and solely as a record of what that section of Canada has done, and by no means as a statement to be set up against what any

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other section of the Empire may have been answerable for. If there is anything, as a Canadian, that I detest it is to hear a man from Halifax or from Victoria attempt some accentuation of the circumstance that he comes either from the Atlantic or the Pacific, or to hear a man from the commercial centres—Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver—make some proud boast that he is a Montreal Canadian, a Toronto Canadian, or a Vancouver Canadian. For my part, whether he comes from the Maritime Provinces, or from the Far Western section of the Dominions, he must and ought to be a Canadian first and all the time. Out on the Pacific Coast we have had, perhaps, many experiences that have not been enjoyed by the prairie provinces and by some of the provinces further to the East. We have a tremendous sea-coast line; and because of what one might almost call the strategic position of that section to the Far West, we are brought in touch with conditions now and then peculiar to British Columbia. For instance, there always has been a great interest displayed along the coast-line of British Columbia in affairs pertaining to naval matters. We had in the old days the headquarters of the Pacific Squadron at Esquimalt, and later on the headquarters section of the permanent Canadian Army. I suppose this was possibly on account of the strategical position, so to speak, of that country. I will not say that the condition has lent itself to a sort of military spirit by any means; but it has always helped in bringing the people of that far-flung section to a true realisation of the different responsibilities of citizenship. Just so soon as war was declared, there was absolutely no time lost by those who had to do with military and naval affairs in British Columbia in taking an active and lively interest in what the province might undertake to help the Dominion and the Motherland. I would not for one moment suggest that British Columbia was at all in advance of other sections of Canada, but I would emphasise the fact that she did not by any means lag behind. There was a very quick mobilisation of the Militia and an equally expeditious movement in connection with naval affairs, the whole amounting to an efficient force of men ready to serve both on land and sea. I ask you to believe, though, that long before war was declared, the men of British Columbia felt that the question of regarding military duty in a serious fashion must not be overlooked. I do not exaggerate when I tell you that young men and old were accustomed to travel year after year, for their annual training, hundreds—perhaps thousands—of miles at personal expense and considerable inconvenience. Year after year I have seen them assemble in the training quarters in Victoria and at other points, in order to take some part in the technical teaching afforded by the permanent department of the Militia from Ottawa. And we were not doing this simply for the purpose of exciting a sort of military spirit in the country, but because we realised the high sense of duty each and everyone must observe to his country and his flag, and because we propose to leave nothing undone to live up to the best traditions of true-born Britons. All this self-sacrifice and expense and inconvenience came very well to hand so soon as war was declared and we were brought face to face with the enemy. It might interest you were I to give some statistics with regard to the troops already sent from British Columbia to serve at the front. From a cable I received two days ago I find that upwards of 30,000 troops have been recruited in British Columbia and

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about 20,000 are here already. In addition, British Columbia has sent to the Navy upwards of 1,000 men. Some three years ago, through the activity of Commander Hose, whose work was materially assisted by the inspiring counsel of Captain Halsey, of H.M.S. *New Zealand*, we undertook to form a branch of the Naval Volunteer Reserve, an institution which originated over here and which would appear to have done excellent work. The Naval Volunteer movement was at first not quite so well understood and recognised as later on was the case; but just so soon as the people of British Columbia began to realise what the Naval Volunteer Reserve might mean, in case of emergency, there was a splendid recognition given to the work; and from Vancouver, Victoria and other centres some of our best men were only too glad to serve either as bluejackets or as officers. The day after war was declared, or possibly two days, the naval station at Esquimalt was simply stormed with young fellows anxious to offer themselves as volunteers, and many had come from points as far as Calgary and other prairie centres, which goes to prove very eloquently that that same spirit which seems to pervade every section of the coast-line extends beyond the mountains and is readily found away in the prairie sections as well. The troops from British Columbia have made very efficient sections of the Army; many have come over as cavalry or artillery, but in the main they have come to serve as infantry and pioneers. You have here to-day hundreds of British Columbians who are serving with pioneer regiments. It is said by many in a position to judge, that in all likelihood the local conditions in the Far Western province are answerable for the fact that the contingents from the province of British Columbia are so resourceful and helpful in work that relates to the prosecution of the War; for our men are accustomed to the life of the country and come in contact with all sorts of experiences—the blasting of a mountain side, the felling of big trees, the bridging of streams, or turning the soil. They have had the advantage of a day-by-day experience which ought to serve them well in the war zone. It would be a rather embarrassing task were I to attempt to refer specially to any single man or to any of the officers at the front, but we from the Far West take a pardonable pride in the circumstance that the Commander of the 1st Division of the Canadian Army is from Victoria, British Columbia; and that we have, as well, three men who are holding high positions as Brigadier-Generals who have considerable experience in the Far West. They have won splendid recognition because of their courage and valour, and I believe the decorations given to the boys from British Columbia are proportionately as numerous as those given to troops from other sections of the Empire. I do not for a moment suggest that they have been any better than others, but I mention the fact simply as a matter of record and a recognition to which they are in all fairness entitled.

Men are still coming from British Columbia to assist in this fight. My latest advices from the province are to the effect that recruiting still goes on, and that there appears to be a rooted determination on the part of the people to offer, if necessary, every able-bodied man capable of carrying a gun, and of doing their part to ensure that victory shall crown the arms of the Allies. I have not the last census returns, but I believe, if the figures were assembled, they would prove that that province could be

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shown in proportion to offer as many troops in the prosecution of the War as any other section of the Empire. It is only right to mention that in so far as recruits from British Columbia are concerned, they have been considerably augmented by men from Yukon, and I want you to realise that tremendous distances must be covered to connect various parts of the Dominions. I am anxious to emphasise the fact that British Columbia has been materially helped by forces coming from that territory. It is also fair to observe that many an American boy has crossed over the line to serve under the Union Jack, and has been proud to claim himself as a Canadian soldier.

Special reference is also due to the doctors, nurses and attendants who have come from the Pacific province and whose activities to-day are to be found in almost every zone of the War.

In addition to what the men have been doing, something must be said of what the Red Cross Associations have done out there. There is not a centre, from the far-off Alaskan border to the forty-ninth parallel, where there is not a branch or sub-branch of the Association, and from which subscriptions in cash or in kind are not daily forthcoming to assist in the good work. Cartload after cartload of useful commodities have been shipped from the Pacific coast through London to France, and I was greatly pleased, on a short visit to Boulogne, to notice huge quantities of goods that had come all the way from the province of British Columbia. A great deal has also been done towards contributing to the Patriotic Fund. Upwards of five thousand families are being taken care of to-day by the Patriotic Fund in British Columbia, the majority of the subscriptions to which have been provided by people in that Far Western province. There are also many local associations—organisations which have been brought about by various municipalities—which have had a great deal to do with the prosecution of the War, and with many a helpful act which has assisted materially in the enlistment of men otherwise unable to leave their homes. The province has also felt that, in accordance with the rest of the Empire, it was called upon to subscribe to the Belgium Fund, and a substantial amount in cash has been sent from British Columbia to headquarters here. In addition, the Government of British Columbia, very early in the War, forwarded to England a shipment of salmon at a cost of several thousands of pounds, and I happen to know that the gift was very well received in various centres where the distribution was made.

The Government of British Columbia has also organised a Committee whose function is the care of returned soldiers. That Committee has been at work for many months past. Only a few days since, I received from Victoria a copy of its first report. It is a very interesting document. It speaks well for those who have undertaken this work, because they truly realise that to be members of that Committee involves a very serious responsibility, and there is an individual and collective concentration on the work that tends to its efficiency and to the promise that the Committee will do its work nobly. I am not going to particularise what this report involves, but I may state that it is proposed by the Committee that the Government of British Columbia should set apart large sections of arable land which is to be divided into decent-sized farms, and these farms are to be appropriated to deserving men who

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return from the War. It is not proposed to set them down and ask them to clear these lands and make farms without some material assistance. The policy will be that, when the farms have been allocated, the Government will give a paternal recognition to the settlement and improvement of the land. Machinery equipment and other help will be forthcoming, so that the work may be made a pronounced success. There has always been more or less speculation in the Far West on the question of paternalism —how far a Government should go towards assisting settlers—and for my own part I would not readily subscribe to any over-generous doctrine which would make for almost abnormal inducements to settlers to go to the Far West, because we know well that for fifty years and more many a man has gone to British Columbia and has had practically no assistance from public organisations, and yet has been able to make himself a success. But later years, and especially the present time, have brought about changed conditions and there is every justification in the light of the experience of the last twenty months for the Government to exercise a more paternal policy in respect of the treatment of returned soldiers ; especially where that would at all involve settlement within British communities. I have not as yet received a copy of the legislation proposed by the Government in regard to this report, but I am inclined to believe that the Administration will well respond to the advice of this Commission and that presently we shall have on the Statute Book an act with regard to the treatment of returned soldiers that will in every way cope with the requirements of the case.

Because of the climatic conditions and the many attractions possessed by the province and also because of the knowledge British people now possess of these important factors, it is not unreasonable to expect that many a soldier returned from the Front will be anxious to go to British Columbia and make his home there. It is a country where there have been successes and disappointments ; but, on the whole, I will say that it will easily bear comparison with any portion of the Empire, and if given a fair chance will prove how illimitable are its resources. I must not forget, in connection with British Columbia, that we have here in London, made up of the women of British Columbia resident in England, a splendid body called the British Columbia War Service Commission which was instituted not many months ago by some ladies from our section. I have had the good fortune to meet many of these ladies, and know how thoroughly they have entered into their duties and how anxious they are to make their society a success. It has been my good fortune also to talk with scores of British Columbians returned from the Front and also with many who have been resident here from time to time since the first contingent came over. Each of them has nothing but words of gratitude for the hospitality offered them by the people of the old Homeland. They have been given the right hand of fellowship and have been asked to make themselves as truly at home as if they were at Vancouver or Victoria. The same remark would apply to Canadians from all over Canada. Their only anxiety seems to be to know how soon they may reciprocate in kind.

There is a subject which has been dealt with in great measure here in the Press of late and which I would not like entirely to pass over. I refer to the question of

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Imperial Federation. I have been privileged within the last few years, during my visits to London, to address audiences on this theme, and I confess that, on each and every occasion, I was given a most hearty and generous reception. I fancy my experience, limited as it was, would serve me as a guide to the experience of other men from the Overseas Dominions. In fact, I have listened many a time in the banqueting halls of the "Cecil" and other big hotels to wonderfully eloquent addresses on the question of Imperial Federation—what I have termed an "Empire in fact, as well as an Empire in name." For my own part I would approach the subject with considerable trepidation at this time, because as Britons we are obliged to make a tremendous concentration on the prosecution of the War; but, at the same time, I do feel that those at any rate who come from Overseas and who look upon this theme as a sort of faith may attempt from time to time some fair reference to a matter to which they have given for years past a very close and exacting study. Now if I were to speak for the troops coming from Western Canada, I would say that while the great incentive which has brought them here has been the successful prosecution of the War, which means the maintenance of all institutions for which the British Flag is answerable, there has been at the same time an ambition amongst these men that the successful prosecution of this War shall mean an Empire in fact as well as an Empire in name. Western Canadians have attempted for years to approach this scheme in all seriousness, and if it is not prosecuted, when the War is over, to some efficient solution, the time is not very far away when possibly it will be too late to solve the problem at all. I have often wondered how institutions such as the Royal Colonial Institute could withstand the experience year after year of encountering disappointment after disappointment arising from nothing having been attempted, nothing done. I have tried, after my own fashion, to look over the ground, and the conclusion to which I have come is substantially this—the problem has always been treated in a rather academic fashion. How frequently have I listened to an eloquent Canadian or Australian or South African who has given you some word of advice on the subject! How often have I heard splendid references made by your people to the wisdom of these great publicists. And then there followed the bountiful hospitality of the old Homeland, honours were showered, and these men have returned home. But there has been nothing done, and there has been no justification for believing that, after they had left, anything was at all likely to happen. There has been no public opinion of any considerable or at any rate any responsive character all over England. You have had your organisations, your societies, your wonderful speech-makers; but you have got nowhere, got no result. The men who would have the temerity to approach this theme constructively in the Imperial House of Commons would scarcely command an audience. I would say, with all the sincerity I can command, and with all the advocacy I possess, that if it is proposed presently to fashion a British Empire which shall be an Empire whole, entire, and efficient, do not delay the problem too long. I am here, not in the capacity of a politician, but as representing the province of British Columbia, succeeding my dear and esteemed friend—Mr. Turner. I know perfectly well I subject myself to all sorts of criticism in attempting the references I have just offered to this question,

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but I am quite prepared to take the risk. With you, I have spent hours listening to speeches on Imperial Federation, gone to committees, and attended organisations. But at what point have we arrived ? Can we say we have made for any considerable public opinion in England ? It has frequently been my experience here to see little domestic problems take hours of time in the Imperial forum, when a question involving Imperial rights, if rights there be, would not have been given any place in the record at all. I am finding fault with no one. But the question is, how are you to arouse presently a sufficient interest in this theme so as to be able to attract the eloquence, the advocacy, the aggressiveness of your leading men ? Speaking as a Western Canadian, I say that when the War is over and our boys return, you must not expect them to knock at your gates again, and that if it is beyond the ability of the people of the old land to form a public opinion which shall be strenuous, and which shall be given a voice in Parliament, then the time is not far away when it will be too late. After all, though I speak as a Western Canadian, I call myself a brother Briton. You have in Canada some 8,000,000 Britons ; you have taught them some lessons in independence, self-reliance, and the like, and you must not expect them, in the light of your own experience, to continue their advocacy of the cause and keep on pressing with these petitions year in and year out for a closer Empire. There are questions, of course, which involve the economy of the country, and that excite the anxiety of all public men ; but there are still bigger questions, and not one of these is beyond adjustment. It has been said that we are held together by some sort of silken thread of sentiment. To that I readily subscribe, and I acknowledge that this silken thread is wonderful, magnetic, powerful. I do not say it has worn or that it is frayed, but I do say that it can easily be strengthened, and that the sooner we realise that the time is ripe for us to interweave a silver strand, the better for all. We have tariff questions and other economic problems, but not one of these may be looked upon as impossible of solution. We have problems now, involving the lives of our boys, more precious than any other consideration. But have we paused over technicalities ? No ! Canada is offering her best ; she asks for no favour, looks for no unfair consideration. She is made up of a great community of Imperialists, and I would plead with the men and the women of England that if they desire later to enjoy in all its fulness the advantage of a great and united British Empire, to lose no time, consistent with present duties in the prosecution of the War, in moulding public opinion and in urging specific action.

Before Sir Richard McBride's Address, the CHAIRMAN (Sir Charles P. Lucas) said: We owe Sir Richard McBride very special thanks for coming here this evening. In the ordinary arrangement for this evening we had hoped to honour Mr. Hughes, to be honoured by his presence, and to hear from him one of those stimulating speeches with which he is wakening up a rather sleepy country. The state of his health and his many engagements prevented him coming. We are fortunate instead in having secured Sir Richard McBride. We can hardly think of British Columbia without him—for many years its powerful and forceful leader—and now its distinguished representative in this country and one of the resolute citizens of Empire at a time when resolution is wanted. Those who have had the pleasure, as I have had, of coming across the Pacific from Sydney Harbour to British Columbia, will always carry in

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their minds not only the immensity but the wonderful beauty of the British Empire, and I am always afraid that in other considerations we may forget its beauty. But there is much more than beauty in British Columbia. When we think of Canada we think of her as the oldest of the Dominions—the greatest in size, with the largest population. We think too, of the fighting qualities of the Canadians. We do not always, perhaps, sufficiently bear in mind that Canada holds a unique geographical position in the Empire—that of all parts of the Empire this is the one greatest connecting link—far more, geographically, than the United Kingdom—the one and only part that abuts on the two great oceans—the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is, in truth, in the words of Holy Writ, "a dominion from sea to sea." And in this Dominion there is already a great present—and a far greater future is destined—for the Pacific Province, looking out as it does on to the Far East, and what is more important, looking out on to our Australasian Dominions in the south. Canada geographically is facing both ways; but Canadian citizens, as they have shown in this War, face one way only. They face towards the King and the British Empire, of which Canada is the oldest Overseas Dominion; and in this Dominion, British Columbia, which started, it will be remembered, not by expansion from Eastern Canada but from Pacific discovery, is one of the most Imperialist provinces in all the Empire; while in this province no man embodies the Imperial spirit more wholly than Sir Richard McBride.

After the Address, the following discussion took place:—

Mr. HARRY BRITTAIN, who spoke of the keen pleasure with which he had listened to the address, entertained the audience with some reminiscences of a recent visit and former visit to British Columbia. After having done so much in connection with the War, British Columbia, he was perfectly certain, would do her part with other sections of the Empire in regard to the settlement of men of the fighting forces after the War, and there was no part of the Empire where the men would find a finer welcome than in that glorious province.

The HON. J. H. TURNER: The speeches to which we have listened carry me back to old days in British Columbia, a province in which I lived before, I think, Sir Richard McBride was born. It is pleasant to hear from him glowing accounts of the patriotism of the people. But that is not new. They have always been amongst the most patriotic citizens of the Empire. As long ago as 1865, when there were perhaps 2,000 people in Victoria, we formed a Rifle Corps, and I think we turned out 150 strong. We met with many difficulties. It was found when we wanted to get the uniforms that there was not enough cloth to go round; but the Hudson's Bay Company happened to hold a lot of white blanket, and they suggested we should make use of this material for our uniforms; so we turned out in white-blanket suits with black cuffs. It did not answer very well for camping out, being so liable to get dirty. It happened that a Ball was given to us in the old French Hotel in the town. The Riflemen met together and considered how they could make themselves look respectable, and they resolved upon an application of pipeclay to the uniform. We danced all night long; but the atmosphere soon became pretty dusty, and the ladies, who appeared in gorgeous silks—I suppose we should call them gorgeous—got very well powdered. Anyhow, we raised a splendid force. Sir Richard McBride did not mention one important matter which he had a hand in starting, and that is the submarines. The first submarines Canada possessed were purchased by him for British Columbia. An interesting fact is that a young man from British Columbia who was, I believe, acting as pilot on one of the steamers, brought these ten submarines across the Atlantic. We have had bad times in British Columbia, as elsewhere, for reasons I need not go into; but I have seen much worse times than to-day. We have wakened from them like giants refreshed, and British Columbia went ahead rapidly again. So there will be successions of bad times, but we shall always go on stepping higher. The people of British Columbia are undoubtedly in favour of

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having one great Empire. Their idea is that it must come, and I hope and trust that when the War is over the people of the old country will wake up to the importance of the matter, especially after the warning words which have fallen from the lips of the late Premier.

Mr. G. McLaren Brown: In speaking of what our country and our countrymen have done one naturally feels some embarrassment. We are proud to be Canadians and up to now our countrymen have responded nobly to the call of duty, but it ill beseems us to boast. In my opinion the silken thread which has bound this Empire through the centuries is not less strong to-day than before, and I think the mingling of the blood of the peoples of the Empire will make that bond stronger through all the centuries to come. It is true that the material side of Imperial Federation should have our consideration. There is no reason under God's sun why the people of this country or any other part of the Empire should depend on Germany or any other part of the world, when we realise that within the Empire itself we possess everything that makes for the progress and happiness of mankind. People say, even to-day, that we cannot dispense with Germany—that Germany has been our greatest market. Surely these men will have no voice in the settlement of things at the close of this great War. German influence has too long lulled the people of Britain into a false sense of security. We have not escaped from that in Canada. I believe the Germans had Canada in mind. They have tried to lull the United States in the same way. They are awakening now. If our public men throughout the Empire can find time to think of matters Imperial, the public mind will not need much stirring up to bring about the solution of the problem, if problem there exists.

Commissioner Lamb (Salvation Army) stated that he had seen a great deal of British Columbia and agreed that its importance could not be over-rated. In the outposts of Empire one found the spirit of the Empire more deeply-rooted perhaps than in some of the very central parts. It seemed to him, indeed, that during recent visits abroad, the farther one got from London the greater, if possible, was the enthusiasm for the War. A few weeks ago he passed right through Canada, interviewing responsible Ministers in every one of the Provinces; and he might say, with regard to the plans for returned soldiers, that he found British Columbia more advanced perhaps than any other Province.

Mr. E. T. Scammell spoke of the deep interest he took in one of the questions touched upon in the address, namely the settlement of the ex-service men. He received a few days ago a copy of the report of the British Columbia Returned Soldiers Aid Commission, and he was extremely glad to learn that definite steps were being taken by that far-away Province to prepare not only for Canadian but British soldiers and sailors. We were all concerned in the prosecution of the War, but, as this dear old land did not prepare for war, we did not want it to be said she was not preparing for peace. Almost at the beginning of the War he brought before the Institute the question of the ex-service men. Sir Harry Wilson would remember how he bothered him, urging that this was a question not for local or institutional treatment, but a matter of Empire, and he was glad to know a Committee had been formed by the Institute to take up the subject. This Committee had already speeded Sir Rider Haggard on his mission of enquiry. It was believed that good results would ensue. They were all glad to hear from Sir Richard McBride what his Province was prepared to do, and now that he had come as Agent-General, Sir Richard would find in this country his views warmly supported by a very large number of Britons of all parties.

Mr. T. E. Sedgwick referred to our indebtedness to the Dominions, not only because of their contributions to the War, but because they had been deprived of the usual stream of migration. He considered that, but for the fact that the Dominions provided such a fine outlet for our surplus population, a large portion of that population would have been almost decadent. It was interesting to know that those who had gone out had become even more patriotic than those who stayed at home.

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He sincerely hoped that soldiers' widows would be encouraged and assisted to go out after the War. We ought also to see to the emigration of boys, and encourage them to become farmers and defenders of the Empire, so that, when the next menace arose, they might be able to assist the Empire. He considered the emigration of boys is especially essential in view of the necessity of finding work for disabled soldiers. If we did not move our population out to that Empire, we should find one of these days that somebody else would take it. Great Britain was now two hundred times as closely peopled as Canada or Australia, but the lands of the Dominions were too rich to remain empty. Population was the only asset British Columbia required before she could hope to equal the Home-land in wealth and importance.

Mr. HERBERT GARRISON, speaking from his experience throughout the country as a lecturer, declared that the people of England appreciated the magnificent work of Canada during this War. His audiences everywhere warmly cheered his remarks and pictures relating to the Canadian troops. He thought that the part of Sir Richard McBride's address which most strongly appealed to the audience was the outspoken and statesmanlike reference to the question of Imperial Federation. For his own part, he felt the necessity for immediate action in this matter. We must consolidate the Empire and have a real Imperial Parliament with representatives from all the Overseas Dominions. Surely now was the time to act. He suggested that the Institute should take the lead, and arrange for a great meeting in the Albert Hall, when a resolution might be passed which should be sent over the wires to all parts of the Empire showing that we were fully alive to the necessity for creating such a Parliament. Many soldiers from the Overseas Dominions had spoken to him on this question, and they had expressed an uneasiness and uncertainty as to whether anything was going to be done in this direction. He fully agreed with Sir Richard McBride's warning, that if this question was not taken up and effectually handled, there would be serious resentment after the War was over.

THE CHAIRMAN: I had meant to say a word or two urging you to take to heart the last words of Sir Richard McBride that a "wait and see" policy will not do for ever, and that it is absolutely necessary when the War is over to do something; but I think, more than he does and much more than Mr. Garrison, that public opinion is maturing a great deal faster than is allowed, and I do not feel at all sure that large public meetings are going to effect what we want. It is absolutely essential to take occasion by the hand at the end of the War, and I think the British public is pretty well ripe for it. I think the historian of a hundred years hence is going to say that the most wonderful thing about this War was the strength given to England by the young nations of the world. It is not merely—not mainly—actual fighting strength, but the effect on the world of the young advanced democracies coming forward—more Imperialist than England herself—to stand in the fight of liberty and justice. I really believe that in the long days to come the historian will dwell more than anything on the extraordinary fact of the voluntary effort of the young nations of the British Empire.

Votes of thanks were given to Sir Richard McBride for his address, and to Sir Charles Lucas for presiding.

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DIARY OF THE WAR.—(*continued*).

April 24. Rebel rising in Ireland, Dublin Post Office seized; troops called out. Attempt to send supply-ship to Kut fails; ship aground. Turkish camp near Katia completely destroyed by British bombs and machine-gun fire. Report published of further British successes in East Africa; Kondoa Irangi occupied on April 19, enemy retreating.

„ 25. Naval battle off Lowestoft and Yarmouth; damage slight; German squadron driven off and chased. Zeppelin raid on East coast, over 100 bombs dropped. Martial law proclaimed in city and county of Dublin.

„ 26. British troops occupy Liberty Hall and Stephen's Green (Ireland).

„ 27. Further rebel outbreaks in Ireland; martial law proclaimed over whole country; street fighting continues in Dublin. Germans deliver fierce attacks against British lines in France; enemy repulsed at all points. British battle-ship *Russell* mined in Mediterranean; about 124 of the crew missing. British submarine reported lost in North Sea. German submarine sunk off East coast; 18 prisoners.

„ 28. Russian reverse in Baltic Provinces; Germans recapture trenches near Vilna.

„ 29. Fall of Kut; British force surrenders unconditionally. British success at Bushire (Persian Gulf); hostile force attacked and dispersed.

„ 30. Irish rebels surrendering in Dublin; over 700 prisoners taken. French capture enemy trenches near Mort Homme and Cumières. Seven German machines accounted for by French. Hostilities resumed on Salonika frontier.

May 1. Dublin reported safe; all rebels in the city surrender. Two British war vessels mined in Mediterranean; 13 of the crew missing. French gains near Douaumont; 100 prisoners taken.

„ 2. Air raid on Yorkshire and Scotland. French troops occupy Florina (Macedonia).

„ 3. Three Irish rebel leaders tried and shot; trials proceeding. Further French gains at Mort Homme; many prisoners captured. Zeppelin wrecked on Norwegian coast. Air raid on Deal. Exchange of wounded British and Turkish prisoners begins in Mesopotamia.

„ 5. Two Zeppelins destroyed by British warships, one off Schleswig coast (May 4), and one at Salonika. Slight enemy gain in region of Avocourt.

„ 7. Germans deliver furious attacks against French lines near Verdun; enemy successes at two points. Russians defeat Turks on Persian frontier.

„ 8. Successful French counter-attacks near Verdun; several trenches recaptured.

„ 10. Russians occupy Kasr-i-Shirin, on the road to Baghdad.

„ 11. German success near Vermelles; about 500 yards of British lines captured. Sharp fighting in East Africa; Germans deliver last of a series of fierce attacks at Kondoa Irangi; repulsed every time with heavy losses.

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May 14. Turks assume the offensive near Erzerum; Russians forced to retreat.
„ 15. Successful Russian advance to Rowandiz in the direction of Mosul.
„ 16. British success east of Suez Canal; Australian and New Zealand troops pursue enemy, and capture considerable war material.
„ 18. Violent artillery actions on Western front; French successes at two points. Three German ships sunk in Baltic by British and Russian war vessels. Heavy Austrian attacks in the Trentino.
„ 19. Small Russian cavalry force joins British Mesopotamian Expedition; General Gorringe captures Dujailar Redoubt, near Kut.
„ 20. Vimy Ridge, lost to Germans on the 18th, recaptured by British.
„ 22. Vimy Ridge again lost. French re-enter Douaumont Fort.

LIVINGSTONE'S LETTERS.

Lord Grey has deposited in the Library of the Institute a number of letters written by David Livingstone in the years 1858 and 1859. These letters, in the large sprawling handwriting of the explorer, are upon foolscap paper, and were written from Shupanga, where Mrs. Livingstone died in 1862, Senna, Tete, and Kongone, to Admiral Sir Frederick Grey, third son of the second Earl Grey. The letters are of more than ordinary interest because they relate to the period when Livingstone was exploring the River Shire and Lake Shirwa, which he discovered in the year 1859. The first letter, dated September 21, 1858, a few months after Livingstone had been appointed H.B.M.'s Consul at Quilimane, deals with the resignation of Commander Bedingfield who, owing to repeated disagreements, departed on H.M.S. *Pearl*, and left Livingstone in charge of the paddle-steamer which had been procured for making the ascent of the Zambesi, as well as of the expedition itself. The steamer (called the *Ma Robert* —the name given to Mrs. Livingstone by the natives) turned out a failure, being generally known as the *Asthmatic* on account of its internal troubles. "I really feel unfeignedly thankful," writes Livingstone, "for the very kind manner in which you have addressed me on the subject of Cr. Bedingfeld's repeated resignations, and I hope you will accept my thanks for your very friendly counsel, though in giving an explanation I may seem not quite inclined to follow it." Livingstone then gives an account of the altercations between Bedingfield and Captain Duncan, and states: "I was forced to take charge of the steamer myself and send him home." A letter written from Senna on December 25, 1858, describes the difficulties encountered in attempting to pass the rapids above Tete. "Portuguese writers," states Livingstone, "have known just as little as we did, for instead of a number of rocks jutting out across the stream, the difficulty is caused by the Zambesi being confined by mountains to a bed at most a quarter of a mile broad. This bed is stony enough in all conscience; for in some places it took Dr. Kirk and me three hours to accomplish one mile. At four knots we stop, as we are very asthmatic (a single engine of ten-horse power), and so do the canoes." These difficulties were too much for the *Ma Robert*, and Livingstone concludes with the news, "I am now on the way to explore Shire." (February 15, 1859).

The next letter contains an account of the exploration of the River Shire. "So far as we can learn," states Livingstone, "this has never been done before, and we found that for at least one hundred miles from the confluence it is admirably adapted for steam navigation." The letter concludes with an interesting tribute to the humanity of members of his crew in saving life. "We English are bad enough sometimes," he states, "and we may speak against each other to each other, but among other nations my foreign experience always makes me place them in the front rank of the human kind."

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In further letters Livingstone narrates his quarrel with Thomas Baines, the artist and explorer, whose large panoramic pictures of the Victoria Falls are now in the Port Elizabeth Library. Baines is accused of making away with quantities of stores, and of using "our time and materials in painting Portuguese portraits. I tried at first to attribute his shortcomings to his head having been affected by the fever, but he took precious good care of his own goods. . . . His last application was for prosecution as he has an idea that we must bring evidence from Tete, and his 'ticket-of-leave' acquaintances there, who I believe led him astray, probably would not give evidence. . . . I assure you these failures have a more depressing effect on my spirits than any difficulties. They make me fear that my friends will set this matter down to 'faults on both sides,' and I don't know what else I could have done." In connection with the River Shire, Livingstone reports, on October 28, 1859, "We have traced the river up to its sources in the hitherto undiscovered Lake Nyassa or Nyinyesi, and there are only thirty-three miles of cataracts, when it is smooth again right into the Lake. We could not explore it as we had left Mr. MacGregor Laird's poor vessel in a sinking state—funnel, furnace, deck, and bottom, all went down simultaneously after only twelve months' wear—£1,200 for twelve months, and a perpetual hindrance to the expedition from beginning to end!" David and Charles Livingstone, John Kirk, and Edward Rae were the first white men to gaze on the magnificent waters of Lake Nyassa which is situated, states Livingstone, "in a cotton-producing country of unknown extent . . . The cotton-field really seems superior to the American; for we have no forests to cut off or injure the crops, and instead of the unmerciful toil required in the Slave States, one sowing of foreign, probably American, seed serves for three years' crops." E. L.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Amongst recent donations of interest is a set of the "Chinese Repository" (published at Canton) presented by Mr. Philip H. Lockhart. This series of volumes, once the property of his father Dr. William Lockhart, who was the first medical missionary in China, is not only very scarce but is also of unique interest. The whole of the text was set up by Chinese compositors, and it shows how accurately and carefully they performed their work. The volumes contain many valuable articles relating to China and were issued during the years 1832–1851. They should be of great interest to all who know China and especially to those who are acquainted with Shanghai, Canton, and Hongkong.

Amongst other donations, several books relating to Portugal, presented by Colonel Duncan Pitcher, are of special interest at the present time. A large photograph of the members of the Inter-Colonial Conference which met at Melbourne, November-December 1880, presented by Mr. Hatton Richards, contains the portraits of some of the Fathers of Australian Federation. It was this conference which paved the way for other meetings dealing with the subject of Federation in Australasia.

BOOK NOTICES.

(By the LIBRARIAN, R.C.I.)

Rāmānathan, Hon. P.—*Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon*, 1915. 8vo. Pp. xii–314. Illust. London: St. Martin's Press. 1916. 24 oz.—7*s.* 6*d.*

The riots that occurred in Ceylon during May and June last year are here described by a distinguished member of an ancient Sinhalese family, who is also a Member of the Legislative Council and has been Solicitor-General and Acting Attorney-General of Ceylon. What he says with regard to the causes that led to these riots and the manner in which they were quelled is therefore worthy of close and serious attention. Mr. Rāmānathan frankly

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charges the Government Agent at Kandy with blundering and the Government itself with hasty and inconsiderate, as well as oppressive, action. It is not, of course, possible to enter into a discussion either of the causes of the riots or of the action of the Ceylon administration. The reader, if he care to examine the details supplied by Mr. Rāmānathan and to read through the author's somewhat lengthy speeches in the Legislative Council, will doubtless draw his own conclusions. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Rāmānathan, who gives his own speeches in full, does not report those of the Attorney-General on behalf of the Government of Ceylon.

The Navy League Annual.—Edited by Robert Yerburgh 8vo. Illust. Pp. 388. London: John Murray. 1916. 30 oz.—5*s.*

The present issue of the Navy League Annual is of extraordinary interest and will amply repay close and careful study. It is not only well illustrated but also contains several useful comparative tables as well as lists of the chief navies of the world, and it is rendered specially useful owing to the numerous articles contributed by experts. Mr. Archibald Hurd writes on the "Triumph of Sea Power," a subject which is also dealt with, in less detail, by Lord Sydenham; whilst Mr. Gerald Fiennes and Mr. Hector Bywater write of Foreign Navies and the War and the Collapse of German Naval Speculation respectively. In addition, articles have been contributed dealing with the part taken in the War by the French, Russian, Italian, and Japanese navies, by officers of those navies. Two articles on "Aircraft in the War," one on "Naval Engineering," and one on "America's New Armada" complete a series that should be read by all who are inclined to doubt the immense service rendered to the Allies by our retention of the command of the sea. At the end of the volume is a series of tables illustrating warship losses, both of the Allied and Enemy navies.

Millioud, Maurice.—*The Ruling Caste and Frenzied Trade in Germany.* Post 8vo. Pp. 159. London: Constable & Co. 1916. 12 oz.—4*s.* 6*d.*

The author of this book is Professor of Sociology in the University of Lausanne; and therefore, as a neutral, writes with a certain detachment from his subject which makes his study of considerable value. His work undoubtedly merits a high place amongst economic studies of the conditions leading to the present War, particularly because the author shows clearly both the cleavage and the connection between the military and aristocratic caste and the commercial element in modern Germany. The economic factors that led to the present War have been too little regarded in this country. M. Millioud reveals them with startling clearness, and shows that the economic organisation of Germany having developed into a policy of conquest, it became imperative, as soon as it was apparent that Russia was prepared to resist the renewal of commercial treaties in 1917, and that other nations were awakening to the economic danger, to strike before the threatened commercial collapse, due to over-production and over-speculation, should occur. M. Millioud considers three questions in connection with the causes of the War—the growth of German national sentiment, the aims and policy of German expansion, and the reasons that made the German ruling classes decide that their ends could not be attained without war. He shows conclusively that the War is not one of militarism alone, and that the Prussian junkers were only one of the factors that led Germany to attack her neighbours.

Also Received.

Abstract of Arrangements respecting Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Great Britain, Ireland, the Islands of the British Seas, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas. Issued by the Registrar-General. Pp. 67. 1915.

Wood, William.—*All Afloat: a Chronicle of Craft and Waterways.* [*Chronicles of Canada*]. 12mo. Pp. 199. Colrd. illust. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co. 1915.

Graves, Arnold F.—*The Turn of the Tide* [*Poems*]. 12mo. Pp. 45. London: John Murray. 1916. 1*s.*

Lee, Joseph.—*Ballads of Battle.* 12mo. Pp. 101. Illust. London: John Murray. 1916. 8 oz. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Yellow Fever Commission (West Africa): Third Report. 8vo. Pp. 51. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1915. 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Bornu Almanac for the Year A.D. 1916. 12mo. London: Humphrey Milford. 1916.

Robertson, D. H.—*A Study of Industrial Fluctuation: an Enquiry into the Character and Causes of the so-called Cyclical Movements of Trade.* 8vo. Pp. xii–285. London: P. S. King & Son. 1915.

Young, J. M. Stuart.—*The Coaster at Home: being the Autobiography of Jack O'Dazi, Palm Oil Ruffian and Trader Man, of the River Niger.* Vol. i. Post 8vo. Pp. 402. London: Arthur H. Stockwell. 1916. 20 oz. 5*s.*

Hooker, W. H.—*The Handicap of British Trade, with Special Regard to East Africa.* Post 8vo. Pp. xi–143. London: John Murray. 1916. 10 oz. 2*s.* 6*d.*

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ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

Empire Day Gifts to the Royal Flying Corps.—The members of the Overseas Club celebrated Empire Day 1916 by presenting to the Royal Flying Corps a number of biplanes. No fewer than six machines named "Overseas Club, Empire Day 1916," numbers 1 to 6, and each costing £1,500, were contributed to the Imperial Aircraft Flotilla by members of the Club. Other gifts of aeroplanes recently acknowledged include the "Saran" presented by the residents of Saren; "Jamaica No. 2" presented by the people of Jamaica, and a machine given by the Omanhene chiefs and people of Kivahu, Gold Coast. The latter makes the eighth aeroplane presented by the private generosity of persons in this Colony. Since last Empire Day, sixty-eight aeroplanes have been presented to the British Government through the medium of the Overseas Club.

Canada.

Crop Prospects for the Current Year.—Canada will not be able to repeat this year the marvellous crop results obtained in 1915. Statistics compiled from the returns of the Provincial Departments of Agriculture show that while in the autumn of 1914 13,372,615 acres were prepared for the 1915 crops, the area prepared last autumn for this year's harvest was only 8,038,501 acres. The reasons for this big decrease are twofold. Weather conditions have been unfavourable. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and the north-eastern part of Alberta, the snow-fall has been exceedingly heavy, so heavy in fact as to cause general delay in the spring operations on the land, which is a vital matter in view of the small acreage prepared for seeding. Last year the western farmer was able to prepare an additional 8,000,000 acres during April and May, and it remains to be seen what this year's spring operations will amount to, but in any case a very considerable decrease is inevitable. Another adverse influence has been, and still is, a serious shortage of labour in all three provinces. The Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta are actively engaged in soliciting labour in the United States. Wages for skilled farm labourers have advanced 50 per cent., and the release of men from the battalions for farm work will by no means solve the labour problem.

The Forestry Battalion.—The Forestry Battalion of 1,500 men, now being organised in Canada at the request of the British War Office for special work in Europe, has attracted the services of some of the most prominent lumber men in the Dominion. Already several hundred men have joined the ranks, and it is expected that the full complement of 1,500 will shortly be ready, after a brief training at Petawawa, to proceed to England.

Australia.

Commonwealth Budget.—In introducing the Budget in the House of Representatives on May 10, Mr. Higgs (the Treasurer) said that notwithstanding the great wealth of the country, the necessity for economy was urgent. The estimated receipts for the financial year 1915–16 amount to £89,092,000; and expenditure, including advances to States other than New South Wales, to £76,057,000, leaving a balance of loan money amounting to £13,035,000. The receipts include loans raised in the Commonwealth, £35,045,000; Imperial loans, £22,400,000. In July last the Government prohibited the export of gold, except by consent of the Treasurer, and it is proposed not to allow any further export of gold during the War. The Treasurer drew attention to the fact that the Imperial Government had granted the Commonwealth a loan of £25,000,000, at the rate of £2,000,000 monthly. He said that the Commonwealth Government was of opinion that the time had arrived when Australia should furnish her own war expenditure, if not lend money to the Imperial Government. He proposed to ask Parliament for authority to issue additional total war loans amounting

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to £50,000,000. The Government proposed to take over the Imperial mints in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, to introduce a Bill taxing war profits 50 per cent., and to increase the present war pensions of incapacitated soldiers from £1 to £1 10*s.* a week.

Queensland's Premier in London.—Mr. Ryan's stay in England will necessarily be of short duration, as he is obliged to be back in Brisbane early in August for the reassembling of Parliament. While in London he intends, in addition to dealing with important State problems, to appear before the Privy Council in his capacity of Attorney-General in cases affecting the interests of Queensland. In a recent interview, Mr. Ryan expressed his confidence in the future of the State, which he described as being in a generally flourishing condition. He went on to say that enthusiasm towards the Mother Country and her Allies in the present crisis was very pronounced, and that so long as the Empire needed men and supplies, Queensland would do her utmost to contribute handsomely. Since the outbreak of war, sums amounting to £200,000 have been sent to the Agent-General in London for charitable purposes, and foodstuffs to the value of £83,000 have been shipped for the relief of distress in the Mother Country. The State Government practically commandeered for the Allied troops the whole beef surplus of Queensland at a price below that which was paid elsewhere by the Imperial Government, and other countries have since followed the example.

New South Wales Wheat Crop.—The Government statistician reports that the wheat harvest just garnered in New South Wales has yielded 67,333,000 bushels, being 29,000,000 bushels in excess of the largest crop previously recorded. Land under wheat showed an increase of over a million acres compared with the preceding season, and the average production has been 16·1 bushels per acre. Allowing 15,333,000 bushels for local consumption and seed requirements, there will be 52,000,000 bushels available for export this year.

Meat from Queensland.—The State Government and the meat companies are endeavouring to come to an agreement regarding the supply of meat for Imperial and domestic purposes. The prices agreed upon for beef are 4⅞*d.* per pound for Imperial purposes, 3⅛*d.* for frozen beef, and 3¼*d.* for beef for local consumption. The State Government also hopes to induce the Imperial Government to take mutton and lamb from Queensland.

New Zealand.

Maori War Memorial.—In the Mangonui County, New Zealand, the Minister for Defence recently unveiled a remarkable monument set up as a tribute from Maoris to the Maoris and pakehas (white men) who have fallen in the War. The inscription is typically Maori: "In loving memory, and in honour of our sons and relations, both Maori and pakeha, dead or living, from the County of Mangonui, who willingly offered themselves to sacrifice their lives to uphold the honour of the King and Empire and for the glory of God in this terrible War, which began in Europe and has since spread over the greater part of the world. Splashing through the mountainous waves of the Indian Ocean, our brave lads uphold the names of your noble ancestors, and seek to avenge the deaths of your relations who have fallen. God will give victory to the righteous."

South Africa.

The Budget.—The Union's first Budget covers a full twelve months of war expenditure. South Africa has been singularly fortunate so far; the war strain has been light, and had it not been for the rebellion and the drought, the country would probably have been in a state of unexampled prosperity. Much of the heavier taxation has been made necessary, not by the War, but by the internal upheaval of the closing months of 1914. The direct expenditure on the rebellion was over five millions sterling, and the Union's actual war expenditure has been fifteen millions, which is very small compared with that of Canada and Australia. Considering that during the war-year

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South Africa increased its agricultural exports by £1,800,000, and supplied a larger proportion of its own needs, the people may reasonably congratulate themselves upon the lightness of the burden laid upon them. In reviewing the situation as represented by the Budget, the *African World* says that in all probability no part of the British Empire has been called upon to make fewer sacrifices than the Union. The sound financial position of the country is reflected in the revenue and expenditure figures. Thanks to the rapid improvement of trade after the first shock of the crisis, the revenue was £720,000 more than was anticipated, whilst a saving of £227,000 was effected in expenditure. The new taxation does not impose any great hardships. Spirits will be dearer, telephone calls and night telegrams will cost more, and a sum of £270,000 is expected from a super-tax on large incomes. Finally there is to be an export tax on diamonds on the basis of 5 per cent. No share of the increased taxation falls upon the farming industry.

Straits Settlements and F.M.S.

A Complete Air Squadron.—The squadron of sixteen aeroplanes, presented by all nationalities in Malaya, has now been completed at a cost of £25,881. Mr. Alma Baker of Perak is very much to be congratulated on the success of the scheme which he organised, and which he has since so liberally supported. The squadron consists of four Fighters and twelve Scouts. A glance at the list of subscribers shows the cosmopolitan nature of the population of Malaya, besides bearing testimony to the patriotism of the various races. Four of the Scouts were paid for by public subscription as follows:—one by all nationalities in Kinta, Perak; two by all nationalities in the Malay Archipelago; one by the Chinese of Malacca. The other contributors are representative of the following nationalities:—British, French, Dutch, Jews, Armenians, Chinese, Japanese, Natives of India (all races), and Malays. Although the squadron is now completed, Malaya does not propose to rest on her oars, and further machines are now being subscribed for. One, for which Australians and New Zealanders are now being asked to subscribe, is to be called "Anzac," and the women of Malaya are preparing to provide a "Women's Aeroplane."

West Indies.

Higher Freight Rates.—The position with regard to freights shows no improvement, in fact the tendency of rates is still upwards. It is understood that while no further increase in the homeward freights is in contemplation at present, a revised tariff applying to outward freights may be anticipated. Shippers of sugar and cocoa are able to meet the present abnormal charges, thanks to the high prices which these commodities are realising, but there is much ground for complaint from the less prosperous producers. Fortunately for the West Indies, one or two cargo-steamer lines are continuing to serve West India trade, in spite of the admitted fact that they could get better freights by diverting their steamers to other channels. Until recently, the level of freights ruling out and home in the West India trade were such that the ship-owner found employment by the British Admiralty more remunerative, and although rates have been increased in the last few months, it is understood that the net result to the ship-owner is still not much in excess of the rate paid by the Admiralty. With regard to the outward freight rates, it is pointed out that the reason why these are so high is because they constitute the sole earning of the ships, which have a much larger capacity than the outward cargo offering warrants, the latter rarely filling more than about one-third of the available space.

Another Contingent from Bahamas.—The Legislature of the Bahamas has voted a further sum of £2,000 for raising and despatching a third contingent of sixty-five men, and for making provision for the necessary reinforcements to maintain the number of men contributed by the Colony at 200.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

"The Empire on the Anvil."—Mr. Wise, in his very interesting review of the above in the May number of UNITED EMPIRE, while otherwise endorsing my conclusions, brings a general charge against me of "exposing needlessly to criticism" both myself, and presumably the cause of British organic unity, "by framing a draft Constitution." May I point out that this Constitution is intended to be merely a summary of the conclusion reached in the preceding pages, and is in fact an application of the precedents afforded by the actual working of principle and institutions already established within the Empire. Indeed a closer acquaintance with the text of the book will show, I think, that this general charge and the specific instances by which it is supported are both unfounded.

With regard to the general charge, it is sufficient to notice that:

(1) The sub-title of the book is "Suggestions and Data" (for the future government of the British Empire). Unfortunately the full title* was not given in the foot-note, nor was any mention made of the preface contributed by Lord Sydenham.

(2) The passage which introduces the "Brief Account" of the Constitution of the British Union runs:

"When the Statesmen of the Empire meet in consultation it may be found that although a new Imperial authority is necessary and possible, the full privileges of parliamentary representation in this new authority cannot as yet be exercised conveniently by the Dominions and other components of the Empire, and that in particular the fiscal independence of the white British States must be retained for the present. In view of this uncertainty it is proposed, first, to set out a Federal Constitution embodying the conclusions arrived at in the preceding chapters, and then to indicate the methods by which a "half-way house" towards such a Constitution can be adopted—a system which, while meeting the requirements of the immediate situation, would serve directly to prepare the Empire for the subsequent creating of a full Federal Union." (p. 152).

(3) Of this "half-way house" Mr. Wise gives no hint to your readers. It consists of a Dominions Council of Delegates, the powers and constitution of which are treated fully in pp. 163–172.

The specific instances by which Mr. Wise supports this general charge relate to the following subjects:

(*a*) The responsibility of Ministers to Parliament.

(*b*) The representation of the non-European peoples.

(*c*) Inter-Imperial Free Trade.

(*d*) The distribution of the cost of the Imperial Services.

(*e*) The interpretation of the (Union) Constitution.

Mr. Wise's criticism under heads *b*, *c*, and *d* is obviously based upon a misapprehension of the text of the book. One illustration will suffice.

Of (*d*) Mr. Wise writes:—

"Finally, Mr. Worsfold proposes to distribute the cost of the Navy, Army, and other Imperial charges among the inhabitants of the Empire *per capita*. This, however, would work injustice, because of the great inequality in the taxable capacity of individuals in different portions of the Empire," etc.

In the section dealing with the apportionment of the cost of Imperial Defence as between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions, the book says:—

"Broadly speaking, then, while the United Kingdom, as a State, holds a position analogous to that of a householder whose income is derived largely from inherited

* The full title of Mr. W. B. Worsfold's book, which we regret was omitted from the review, is *The Empire on the Anvil, Being Suggestions and Data for the Future Government of the British Empire.* With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Lord Sydenham of Combe, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., F.R.S.

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property and investments, the Dominions, as States, are in the position of a householder whose income is drawn mainly from his yearly earnings. Under these conditions it would seem to be equitable, in apportioning the cost of the Imperial Services as between the Home and Oversea British, to apply the principle recently introduced in the assessment of incomes for Income Tax in the United Kingdom—that is, to distinguish between the (largely) unearned income of the United Kingdom and the (mainly) earned income of the Dominions, and in virtue of this distinction to tax the latter for Imperial purposes on a lower scale than the former."

If the equity of applying the principle were recognised by the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments, the precise method of application would be a matter to be determined by the Imperial Convention, or by a Financial Relations Committee of the new Imperial Parliament; but one obviously convenient method may be suggested. It is that the Dominions should be taxed for Imperial purposes on an originally low, but gradually rising scale. Thus (p. 146), on the subject of the apportionment of the cost of the Union (or Central) administration as between the several States of the Union, the book says that among the specific sources of revenue assigned in the draft Constitution to the Union Government are :—

"Contributions from the State Governments to be furnished upon the basis of assessment, and in the proportions agreed upon prior to the Union and set out in the Constitution."

And it adds :—

"The effect of the provisions of the Constitution dealing with the subject of revenue is, therefore, to give the Central Government power to raise additional revenue (if required) from sources other than those specifically assigned to it, provided that such taxation does not encroach unnecessarily upon the sources of revenue reserved by implication to the State Governments. The power of deciding whether such fresh taxation is an unnecessary encroachment upon the State revenues is left to the House of Representatives, upon the report of the (permanent) Financial Relations Committee of the Union Parliament." (p. 161).

It would be difficult to conceive of anything less like a *per capita* distribution than that which the proposals embodied in these passages are calculated to bring about.

What Mr. Wise writes on (*e*) is an immaterial postscript—a "lastly" tacked on to a previous "finally"—and only under (*a*) is there a point of criticism due to an actual difference of opinion, as against a mere misapprehension of the text of the book.

"In the first place," he writes, "they (the proposals in the draft Constitution), assume the continuance of the British system of responsible government, which is at present on its trial in England and is a proved failure in some of the Dominions. Secondly, the necessity for two Houses of Parliament is not obvious if the principle of Cabinet responsibility be given up and the Executive become, as in the United States, responsible only to the Crown. The Swiss Constitution shows that an effective Executive also can be obtained by the election of Ministers individually by Parliament for a period of three years," &c.

From this passage it would appear that Mr. Wise contemplates the abandonment in the future government of the Empire of the principle of Ministerial responsibility to Parliament. This is as it may be; but it must be remembered that it is only by the maintenance of this British principle that the institution of monarchy can be harmonised with the fundamental condition of a democracy, viz.: that the ultimate repository of governmental powers is the electorate. The reason why, in the case of the United States, it is possible to make Ministers responsible to the President and not to Congress without violating this fundamental condition, is this. The President is himself elected (in two degrees) by the electorate, and for the term of his office (four years) he exercises the power of the people thus delegated to him. Ministers, therefore, in being responsible to the President, are in fact responsible to the electorate

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of the United States. In the case of the Swiss Federation, again, the responsibility of the Executive to the people is even more direct. There the executive power is vested in the Federal Council, and this Council is made responsible not to the elected representatives of the people in the Federal Assembly, but, by the referendum, directly to the electorate.

In the British system of democracy, the Crown acts upon the advice of Ministers who are responsible to Parliament, and through Parliament to the electorate. Under the administrative relations now existing between the United Kingdom on the one hand, and the Dominions and other components of the Empire on the other, the United Kingdom is the one sovereign State of the Empire, since the Ministers upon whose advice the Crown acts are themselves responsible to the Parliament and electorate of this one State. If, then, when a Parliament in which all the States and electorates of the Empire are represented, has been constituted, Ministers are made responsible to this Parliament, and through it to the electorates of all the States, and the Crown acts on the advice of these Ministers, the fundamental condition of democracy will be maintained. If, on the other hand, Ministers were made responsible not to Parliament and (ultimately) the electorates of the Empire, but to the Crown, the Crown and not the electorates would become the ultimate repository of governmental powers. That is to say, the British Empire (or Union of British States) would cease to be governed on the democratic principle.

In this connection, may I express my regret that, in a review of such generous proportions, Mr. Wise made no reference to the appendix of the book, in which are set out the essential features of the six Federal Constitutions now in operation. An acquaintance with the working of these Unions of States, whether within or without the Empire, together with a study of the precedents afforded by the various States of the Empire in the administration of the respective non-European populations, will, I venture to believe, extenuate materially the apparent "daringness" of the draft Constitution.

I am, &c.,

W. Basil Worsfold.

Romden Place, Smarden, Kent.

The Interpretation of a Treaty.—In an important note [to his review of "The Empire on the Anvil" by Mr. W. B. Worsfold—*Edd.* United Empire] in the May number of United Empire, the Agent-General for New South Wales adduces, in speaking of the vague boundary which separates external from internal policy, the fact (p. 354) that Australia's desire to discourage the dumping of German goods and the cutting of ocean freights to the prejudice of British manufacturers and shipping was rendered fruitless by the stipulation of the treaty between Great Britain and Roumania of 1905, providing for equal treatment in all British ports of British and Roumanian shipping, the benefit of which passed by the most favoured nation clause in other treaties to Germany. I gather that Mr. Wise considers that this illustrates the desirability, from the point of view of the Dominions, of securing greater control over Imperial foreign policy; but it appears to me that the instance is hardly calculated to serve the purpose for which it is adduced. The facts of the matter are that the treaty with Roumania was not made applicable to Australia at all; the option was given that Australia might be brought within the operation of the treaty, but that option was not taken advantage of. Even had it been used, it would still have been possible at any time for Australia to be relieved of its obligations at a year's notice. It is true that the treaty also contained a provision giving goods, the produce or manufacture of Roumania or a colony, most favoured nation treatment; but not only

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did this provision not apply to shipping, but it was to last merely so long as the colony chose to give the treatment in question. The action of Australia was therefore never at any time hampered in the slightest degree by this treaty, which was concluded at a time when for over thirty years it had been an established rule that no commercial treaty should ever be made binding on a colony without the consent of the Government.

A more real ground for the difficulties brought forward by Mr. Wise would be the determination of Germany as revealed in her long commercial warfare with Canada to refuse favourable treatment for Australian products unless treated by Australia on the basis of most favoured nation in every respect. In view of the former anxiety of Australia, for many reasons, to obtain a larger share of trade with Germany, the position of the German Government was one of great strength, wholly apart from considerations of treaties.

A. Berriedale Keith.

122 Polwarth Terrace, Edinburgh: May 13, 1916.

The Missing Particle.—Has not the War given us a sufficient demonstration of different conceptions of "empire" to wean a growing class of writers and speakers from a persistently wrong and misleading use of the word as applied to the British Empire. Our thinkers have long since agreed that the British Empire is—happily—not an empire at all in the proper connotation of that term. That is to say, it rests not upon domination at all, but upon the consent of the governed. Its parts lie together, because they wish to, without any pressure from an overlord or a supreme power. Some years ago, searching for a title which would be catchy as well as expressive, a certain London newspaper produced a weekly supplement which it called "The Standard of Empire." It was not a standard of empire at all, because it belonged to the British Empire only, and not to the general abstraction of "empire" (which included equally Russia, China, Germany and even the Roman Empire). But, because the expression was catchy, it caught on with a large class of journalists and speakers. The particle was persistently dropped, and people were asked to understand that whenever the word "empire" was used, even without the capital letter, it referred to the British Empire. Hence we have "Makers of Empire," "Outposts of Empire," and an interminable list of incorrect expressions of the same sort.

Now, most people during the last year or two have learned a little from Germany's philosophy of international dealings, and from her conduct of the War, of what is really implied in the abstraction "empire." What Germany has been doing for years past is exactly what an "empire" expects to do, what it exists for. Our British Empire, fortunately for everybody, takes a different view of the privileges and responsibilities of power. It is wrongly called an Empire, we admit; but we like and are attached to the name, and by all means let us stick to it. There is no sense at all, though, in identifying our Empire with the abstraction "empire," which implies an entirely different thing; and it would be wise, therefore, to set our faces against the sloppy and incorrect practice of omitting the particle when we are clearly referring, not to the wicked abstraction, but to the happy reality of our own Empire.

I am, &c., Guy H. Scholefield.

88 Gleneldon Road, S.W.

The Spirit of the Dominions.—In the February number of United Empire there appeared a letter under the heading, "The Spirit of the Colonies," showing what part in the Great War one Canadian school was taking. South Africa is not behind-

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hand. This school has numbered about 230 since 1900; before that it rarely touched 100. Now 300 Old Andrians hold commissions in the Imperial armies, in which over 500 more are serving in B.E.A. or in the overseas contingent: amongst them are bearers of many a Dutch name. This is no mean share and will compare well with the lists from the great English schools, many of which are three times at large.

Yours, &c.,

P. W. H. KETTLEWELL,
Headmaster.

St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
April 20, 1916.

America and the United States.—I should like very much to know what practical purpose Mr. J. P. Murray imagines he can serve by disputing American title to "America." We Canadians do not want it, for we have "Canada"; the Mexicans do not want it, nor the peoples of the United States of Brazil, the United States of Colombia, or any others of the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Murray's confusion (and that of many other worthy people) arises from the similarity between "America" and the continental titles "North America" and "South America." If he will look at the Louisburg medal of 1759, he will see Canada and America clearly designated as two distinct countries on the continent of North America. All the best English writers and speakers for nearly two centuries refer to America as separate from Canada; but, were it otherwise, it is rather late in the day (although Sir Edward Grey now and then makes the attempt) to deny America her national title, and to speak, *e.g.*, of "United States citizens singing the United States anthem."

By an order issued in 1901, the American Secretary of State decreed that thereafter United States Ambassadors, Embassies, Consuls and Consulates should be known as American Ambassadors, Embassies, Consuls and Consulates, thus legalising the practice of generations. When Mr. J. P. Murray says, "We Canadians are American," he is inaccurate and he is absurd. And our Constitution is *not* the "British North American Act." What we would gain by calling ourselves North Americans is on a par with the advantage of an Englishman—or a Spaniard—in calling himself a European. It might be useful—or the reverse—in China, but it would be only indefinite and non-committal in France or Portugal.

Undoubtedly confusion exists, and this confusion is the result of the continental designation. Let Mr. J. P. Murray and the Royal Geographical Society tackle that problem. Which is the "American Continent"? Does it stretch from pole to pole (slightly interrupted by the Panama Canal) or is it one *par excellence* of the two well-defined self-contained continents of the Western Hemisphere?

A CANADIAN.

St. George's Day.

P.S.—I might add that "United States" is a purely official term, like United Kingdom. We don't hear of "United Kingdom ships patrolling United Kingdom waters." And there are other United States besides "America."

"A Common Imperial Economic Policy."—The name of the writer of the letter under this heading in our last issue was G. Milne, and not S. Miller, as printed.

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LAND SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS FOR EX-SERVICE MEN IN OUR OVERSEAS DOMINIONS.

THE following report has been written by Mr. E. T. Scammell for the purposes of the Empire Land Settlement Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute:—

SIR RIDER HAGGARD'S TOUR.—Sir Rider Haggard, whose knowledge of the Dominions and whose interest in the question of land settlement both at home and overseas are well known, was invited by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, at the request of the Empire Land Settlement Committee, to visit as their representative in an honorary capacity South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada in order to ascertain what opportunities and facilities the Dominions are likely to offer to British ex-Service men after the War. His mission is purely one of inquiry and investigation, and for the purpose of preparing the way, as far as may be possible, for the return to civil life of those of our brave defenders who may desire or need to settle on the land within the Empire. His object and that of the Institute is that everything possible should be done by the Imperial and Overseas Governments to anticipate the requirements of our men, by providing openings for them, especially on the land, not only in the United Kingdom but in the Dominions, thus rendering it unnecessary for them to turn their attention to other lands, as many of them may otherwise be constrained to do. Sir Rider has already visited South Africa, where he had an interview with General Botha and certain members of his Government, by whom he was most cordially received. He is at present in Australia, where also he has had an exceedingly good reception. On leaving Australia he will proceed to New Zealand and from there will go to Canada, which he hopes to reach by the end of June. His report will be awaited with much interest, as it is confidently expected that he will be in a position not only to supply valuable information but also to submit definite and practical proposals which may prove of great service to the Institute in dealing with this urgent and important question.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—At the interview which Sir Rider Haggard had with General Botha at Cape Town, the Prime Minister expressed his general sympathy with the object of Sir Rider's mission, but he said that at present he was unable to give any assurance in regard to opportunities for land settlement in the Union of South Africa, unless the intending ex-Service immigrants were in possession of sufficient funds to employ labour.

It is well known that land and labour conditions in South Africa are very different from those in the other Dominions. But, should any ex-Service man desire to make his home in that country, information has recently come to hand that the ordinary restrictions in reference to immigrants would not, in his case, apply.

RHODESIA.—The British South Africa Company, with whose Directors Sir Rider Haggard had an interview just before leaving London, has generously agreed to set apart 500,000 acres of land in Rhodesia for ex-Service men. Referring to this proposal Mr. Birchenough, C.M.G., speaking at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Company on April 6, said: "There is a very widespread conviction that, for various reasons, a proportion of our soldiers now at the Front will be disinclined to resume the lives which they were content to lead before the War had awakened in them dormant longings for wider horizons and more varied activities. We regard it both as our duty and as our interest to endeavour by every means in our power to secure for Rhodesia as many of these soldier-settlers as are fitted to take advantage of the kind of opportunities Rhodesia offers. We are wholly in sympathy with the endeavour of the Royal Colonial Institute to arrange that openings shall be found in the British Empire for such British soldiers as may elect 'to try their luck' after the War in the Dominions beyond the seas, and we feel confident that you will warmly endorse the assurances which we have given of our full sympathy and support, and confirm our open offer to grant land to the extent of 500,000 acres in all to such ex-soldiers from Overseas as may be recommended to us as suitable settlers, and be backed by the public authority which will have to be constituted before this important national matter can be adequately dealt with." This was accordingly done.

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AUSTRALIA: *Tasmania.*—At a meeting held in Hobart to welcome Sir Rider Haggard on his arrival in Australia, a letter was read from the Premier of Tasmania, in which he said, "We shall be glad to provide the land and organise a settlement for at least three hundred British soldiers, in orcharding and agricultural areas. A much larger number can be dealt with, if financial arrangements are made with the Imperial Government."

Victoria.—A luncheon of the Royal Colonial Institute took place in Melbourne on April 17 at which a letter from the Premier of Victoria to Sir Rider Haggard was read. In it he said, "With reference to the discussions between yourself and the Government of the State of Victoria, as to the objects of your mission, we are prepared to extend to all United Kingdom ex-Service men and their families the same advantages as regards land settlement or otherwise as we give to our returned Australian soldiers, with the stipulation that the men would require to be selected in England in some approved fashion which can be subsequently settled."

In regard to the other States, Sir Rider Haggard has telegraphed to announce that the Queensland Government is ready to give a million acres for the purpose of land settlement, provided it can borrow the necessary money, and subject to the condition that settlers are to be selected men. New South Wales promises as a minimum a thousand irrigated farms in the Yanco district and equal treatment regarding employment. Western Australia and South Australia have since given practically the same promises as Victoria.

Thus, Sir Rider adds, the door for the settling of British ex-Service men on the land is now open throughout Australia. The future management of the matter was to be considered by the Premiers of the different States in a Conference to be held at Adelaide on May 21.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS.

Prior to the arrival of Sir Rider Haggard in Australia, a Conference of Federal and State representatives was held for the purpose of considering various aspects of the problem presented by the need (*a*) for absorbing the returned soldiers, and (*b*) for the adoption of a complete scheme of land settlement for the men and their dependents. This scheme, though applying in the first place to returned Australians, will without doubt be extended, as stated in the letter of the Premier of Victoria, to British ex-Service men. Among the resolutions adopted by the Conference are the following:—

"The Governments of the Commonwealth and the States should co-operate in the promotion of a scheme for the settlement of willing and suitable returned soldiers upon the land."

"The provision of the land will rest with the States. Such land is to be made available to the dependents of deceased soldiers as well as to returned soldiers."

"The Federal Government will provide the funds by way of loans to the States for the purpose of making advances, through the agricultural banks or similar Governmental institutions, against improvements and for stock and implements, the State institutions to advance to the soldier settlers such money at cost, plus reasonable working charges."

"With a view to meeting the special requirements of the soldier settlers, the State Governments will be invited to liberalise their conditions applying to the repayments for land and bank advances, and, if practicable, upon a uniform basis."

Provision should be made, where necessary, for the immediate establishment by the States of training farms on which the inexperienced men might serve a probationary period for the purpose of determining whether or not they have an aptitude for the work. Where the State authority is satisfied, such training may be arranged for on approved private farms.

Concurrently with the proposals herein contained, every encouragement should be extended to approved private efforts for the settlement of returned soldiers on the land.

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Loans to soldiers for land settlement purposes will be advanced at reasonable rates of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent. in the first year, and increasing by ½ per cent. each subsequent year to the full rate of interest at which the money has been raised, plus working expenses. The difference between these rates and the cost to the Government of the money is to be borne equally by the Commonwealth Government and the States Governments.

The Hon. J. C. Watson, ex-Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, who was appointed by the Conference as organiser, under the direction of the Federal Parliamentary War Committee, has made a tour of the States and, after consulting the various Governments and many of the leading citizens, landowners, farmers, and large employers of labour, and forming committees for the purpose of giving effect to the Federal proposals, has drawn up a statement indicating what the States are prepared to do during the next three years. He says that for the first year (1916–17) the six States of the Commonwealth expect to be able to make 11,616 allotments, representing total advances of £5,750,000; for the year 1917–18, 16,560 allotments, representing £8,183,000 in advances; and for the year 1918–19 the States of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia expect to be in a position to provide a total of 14,000 allotments, representing advances of £9,000,000. But he considers that to settle 42,000 soldiers—the number indicated above—does not by any means limit the States' capacity in this direction. This is especially true of Queensland and Western Australia. It is, he says, mainly a question of money, and the whole scheme is, of course, contingent upon the Federal Government being able to raise the amount necessary to provide for the required advances.

In order to get at the views of the men now serving in the Australian Forces, Mr. Watson has caused cards to be circulated amongst soldiers, both at home and abroad, to ascertain their previous employment, the number who have been promised reinstatement, and the desires of the men as to future work, particularly in the direction of settlement on the land. An analysis of the cards received up to the middle of February shows that, while a considerable number of men have promises of reinstatement in their previous employment, the great majority will be thrown upon the labour market. Of the 29,543 cards analysed, 24·6 per cent. express a preference for settlement on the land. This is certainly a very interesting and important inquiry which might well be undertaken by other Dominion Governments and by the Home Authorities, as it would prove a useful guide in dealing with the After-the-War employment question.

In all the land settlement schemes under consideration in Australia, and there are others besides those of the various Governments indicated above, provision is to be made, by the establishment of training farms and camps or by employment on farms, for enabling the men to gain experience in all branches of agriculture and to prove their suitability for farm life.

New Zealand Government Proposals.

The High Commissioner for New Zealand, the Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, says that 87,000 acres of land have been definitely set aside in New Zealand for the settlement of New Zealand soldiers, and that another 400,000 acres have been provisionally reserved. About 60,000 acres are situated in Upper Hawkes Bay; the whole of this is on the route of the Napier-Gisborne Railway, only four to eight miles from Napier, one of the large flourishing towns on the east coast of the North Island.

It is confidently expected that Sir Rider Haggard, after visiting New Zealand, will be able to report that the above proposals will be extended to British ex-Service men, and to give details of the plans which may be formed for the adoption of a comprehensive scheme of land settlement either on the lines of the generous provision already made by the Government to settlers, or on such other lines as may be applicable to the After-the-War needs of our men.

(To be continued.)

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THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RIVER PLATE CONTINGENT.

REFERENCE has already been made in UNITED EMPIRE to the number of Britons who have come to England from Argentina for war-service. Of a British-Argentine and British-Uruguayan population estimated roughly at 40,000 men, women, and children, 6000 men of military age have already arrived and another 2000 are expected during the next few months—an undoubtedly splendid return. Many of these men have travelled at their own expense; others, unable to incur the outlay, have been assisted by the British Patriotic Committees; but one and all have answered the call of the Motherland at great personal sacrifice. The British Patriotic Committees have done and are still doing everything possible to encourage recruiting, but felt it was not sufficient to get the men here and then to leave them, many being strangers and friendless. They have appealed, therefore, to all Britons with interests in Argentina to complete the work by forming a Committee in London. As the result of a meeting held on April 13, a General Committee was formed, with Lord Faringdon as President, Mr. J. W. W. Hopkins, Chairman, and Mr. Donald G. Begg, Honorary Secretary.

The aims of the Committee are:—to provide for the welfare of volunteers from Argentina and Uruguay; to render assistance and advice to the men while in training, on furlough, or during convalescence; and to arrange for work in England for the discharged or for passages to return to the River Plate Republics. Rooms have been very kindly placed at the disposal of the Committee—at River Plate House, Finsbury Circus, E.C., as Headquarters and general information bureau, and at 32, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar Square (Royal Mail Steam Packet Company Offices) as rest, reading, and writing rooms for the convenience of men in the S.-W. district. All correspondence should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary at the former address, who will also be glad to receive the name, rank, and address of all men from the River Plate.

HOUSE AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

AT the fortnightly meeting of Fellows of the Institute and their friends, held in the Smoking-room on Thursday, May 18, Dr. Bogumil Vosnjak, late Reader of Constitutional Law at Agram University and a member of the Jugoslav Committee, gave an interesting address on "The Aspirations of Jugoslavia." A special map was shown to illustrate the speaker's references.

The Jugoslavs (Southern Slavs), comprising Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes, all of the same race and speaking the same language, Dr. Vosnjak explained, looked to the present war to bring them the realisation of their national hopes. A Jugoslav State, more westernised in character than the Kingdom of Serbia, would prove an invaluable adjunct to the Great Alliance. Without help in the past the Slovenes had preserved their country from Germanisation, and in the future the Jugoslavs would permanently keep Germany from the Mediterranean. None of the existing points of difference between the various units of the Jugoslavs, whether religious, social, or political, presented any serious difficulties for the foundation of the new State, and they looked rather to union of Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes than to federation.

The Chair was taken by Mr. Montague Bell, who, in introducing the speaker, pointed out that Great Britain had moved far from the days, just before the outbreak of the War, when any connection between Serbian affairs and British interests could be officially repudiated. Among those who took part in the discussion were Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick, Mr. J. Saxon Mills, and Mr. A. Montefiore. Sir Harry Wilson moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Vosnjak and took the occasion to welcome Mr. Boosé on his return from his successful tour in the West Indies.

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NOTICES TO FELLOWS

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN ELECTED:

Resident Fellows (6):

Herbert Mainwaring Baily, Captain J. Condra Hamilton, Walter Howard, Thomas A. Joynt, M.A., Rev. Arthur Pritchard, William Stoney.

Non-Resident Fellows (160):

AUSTRALIA.—*Hon. James Ashton, M.L.C.* (*Sydney*), *Donald Buchanan, Ch.B., M.D., D.P.H.* (*Papua*), *Hon. W. Elliott Johnson, M.P.* (*Sydney*), *Joseph C. Ginder* (*Sydney*), *Hon. John McE. Hunter* (*Brisbane*), *George R. Jackson* (*Albury, N.S.W.*), *Samuel McC. McCowan* (*Sydney*), *Leslie A. Norman* (*Braidwood, N.S.W.*), *Hon. J. T. Ryan* (*Premier of Queensland*), *Norman G. Seabrook* (*Sydney*), *Harold P. Williams* (*Sydney*).

CANADA.—*Arthur C. C. Dare, Daniel C. Macarow* (*Montreal*), *Lansing Lewis* (*Montreal*), *Professor J. Macnaughton, M.A., LL.D.* (*Montreal*), *Eric Smith.*

NEW ZEALAND.—*Wilfred Hall, B.A. John H. Hankins* (*Palmerston North*), *George Kirk, J.P.* (*Gisborne*), *Richard McCrystal* (*Auckland*), *Cyril White* (*Gisborne*).

SOUTH AFRICA.—*Charles J. Fernbank* (*Johannesburg*), *George Hawkins* (*Kenilworth*), *Leopold Luyt* (*King Williamstown*), *Ronald G. Macdonald* (*Pretoria*), *Capt. Gerald M. Smyth* (*Johannesburg*), *Herbert A. Verity* (*Bechuanaland*).

BARBADOS.—*E. B. Knapp, Alfred J. Mascall, Howard Smith, Robert S. Wilcoxon.* **BRITISH GUIANA.**—*C. H. Bagot, W. W. Brassington, John Brunnell, jun., Hon. Edward C. Buck, Rev. W. G. Burgan, M. P. Camacho, Hon. Nelson Cannon, Lieut. A. R. Carroll, David Clark, F. A. Conyers. C. Rees Davies, Cecil Farrer, N. Farrar, Dr. A. Fiddian, James H. Field, Hon. Frank Fowler, Dr. Q. R. de Freitas, Dr. E. H. Gewand, James C. Gibson, M. Gomes, M. Gonsalves, G. H. Goring, Thomas Greenwood, James A. Laing, Rev. Stevenson McGill, M.A., Rev. R. L. MacNie, Dr. T. B. W. McQuaide, Rev. — McWhirter, J. M. Marshall, Rev. William J. Moody, Cecil Morris, R. M. Parker, J. R. Parnell, M. A. Pereira, Captain Cecil Richter, J. J. Rodrigues, Dr. Ross, Hon. J. P. Santos, M.C.P., Captain Seager, C. Shepherd, James Smith, Rev. F. McKenzie Turner, Dr. C. P. Kennard, M. W. Walden, Sub-Inspector White, C. F. Wieting.* **CANARY ISLANDS.**—*Arthur G. Spragg* (*Teneriffe*), *John W. Redford* (*Teneriffe*), *George H. Davidem* (*Teneriffe*), *Ernest L. Jary* (*Teneriffe*), *Harold S. Turner* (*Teneriffe*). **CENTRAL PACIFIC.**—*H. P. Dickinson* (*Nauru*). **FEDERATED MALAY STATES.**—*Thomas Fitzgerald* (*Taiping*), *Bernard T. Gillman* (*Perak*), *Herbert M. Hodges* (*Ipoh*), *Arthur S. Jelf* (*Ipoh*), *Thomas C. Rand* (*Perak*). **GUERNSEY.**—*Victor G. Carey,* **INDIA.**—*Dr. Edmund C. Foster* (*Negapatam*). **RHODESIA.**—*A. Popkiss* (*Bulawayo*), *Cecil Fison.* **TRINIDAD.**—*Edgar Agostini, K.C., Hon. H. A. Alcazar, K.C., Louis G. Alston, G. Bruce Austin, Joseph Brown, A. B. Carr, E. T. W. Carr, A. Cory Davies, Dr. F. A. de Verteuil, W. L. Dickson, F. J. Fleming, Hon. Alexander Frazer, M.L.C., T. Geddes Grant, D. M. Hahn, E. P. Hutchinson, Warburton C. Jardine, T. M. Kelshall, Charles F. Lassalle, J. Grant McIntosh, James C. McLelland, Hon. Hugh McLelland, M.L.C., J. J. McLeod, Walter John Messervy, John Phillips, E. Scipio Pollard, K.C., Hon. Dr. E. Prada, W. Walter Reid, Hon. Mr. Justice A. D. Russell, M.A., LL.B., Claude S. Rogers, William Savary, Hon. Denis Slyne, Hon. Adam Smith, C.M.G., J. H. Smith, E. F. Stone, T. A. Thompson, William McC. Thomson, Hon. S. W. Knaggs, C.M.G., Hon. H. B. Walcott, C.M.G., Hon. Arthur Wight, W. H. Yuille.* **WEST AFRICA.**—*Norman S. Davis* (*Freetown*), *Howard S. Cheverton* (*Freetown*), *Henry J. Morris* (*Duala*). **WEST INDIES.**—*Alexander M. Reid* (*St. Kitts*), *Hon. George S. Hudson, M.L.C.* (*St. Lucia*), *R. S. D. Goodwin* (*Antigua*). **ARGENTINE.**—*Joseph H. Dunn* (*Buenos Aires*), *Walter Fleury* (*Buenos Aires*), *John Clark, Ernest W. Hine* (*Buenos Aires*), *Vincent W. Lloyd* (*Buenos Aires*), *Andrew J. McMorran* (*Buenos Aires*), *Henry H. Munro* (*Buenos Aires*), *Christopher F. Sheil* (*Buenos Aires*). **MEXICO.**—*Charles B. E. Douglas* (*Jalisco*). **RUSSIA.**—*John L. Callow* (*Apsheronskaya*), *Frederic G. Ebsworth* (*Petrograd*), *John G. Crookston* (*Petrograd*), *Edmund Gellibrand* (*Petrograd*), *William Howard* (*Petrograd*), *John Houston* (*Moscow*), *Maurice E. Meyer* (*Petrograd*), *Roderick H. Parnell, Thomas E. Stevens* (*Petrograd*), *Frank W. Taylor* (*Petrograd*). **UNITED STATES.**—*Joseph Bowes* (*Baltimore*). **URUGUAY.**—*Oliver G. Walls* (*Colonia*).

Associate (1):

Mrs. S. Gertrude Mellon (*Vancouver*).

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UNITED EMPIRE

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Organic Union.

No passage in the Prime Minister's speech at Ladybank on June 14 will meet with a wider welcome than the admission that the War has rendered necessary and inevitable the speedy promotion of the organic union of the Empire. Referring to "the eager loyalty and the unsparing profusion with which our Dominions have lavished their help to the Mother Country," Mr. Asquith declared: "With such an Imperial record it will never be possible, in my judgment, to revert to our old methods of counsel and of government. The fabric of the Empire will have to be re-fashioned, and the relations not only between Great Britain and Ireland but between the United Kingdom and our Dominions will of necessity be brought, and brought promptly, under close and connected review." Many people in this country had long since arrived at the same conclusion; the Dominions themselves are unanimous in urging that the "close and connected review" should be inaugurated without delay; but until the Prime Minister spoke at Ladybank there was no certainty that the Imperial Government had made up its mind not only to accept the new situation, but to help forward the change. In using the word "promptly," Mr. Asquith would seem to have ruled out the theory that an Imperial Convention for the discussion of the subject of closer union must necessarily await the termination of the War.

The Battle of Horn Reef.

ON a day that anticipated by only a few hours the "Glorious First of June"—an anniversary by no means lost sight of in the British Navy—the vanguard of the Grand Fleet, under Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, intercepted the German High Seas Fleet off the coast of Jutland and at once gave battle. At no great distance behind the cruiser squadron Admiral Jellicoe's Battle Fleet was steaming at full speed

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to the scene of action. The Germans, under Vice-Admiral von Scheer, conscious of their superior strength for the time being, showed no disinclination to accept the British challenge, and by means of a scientific concentration of fire used the greater range of their gun-power to good effect during the earlier moments of the engagement. But as our ships closed in, receiving the support of four fast battleships which had pushed on ahead of Admiral Jellicoe's force, the enemy lost his initial advantage. Either the near approach of the British Battle Fleet or his own losses prompted von Scheer to seek safety in flight. Part of his fleet escaped through the Skager-Rak, the bulk made its way back to its North Sea ports, pursued by the Grand Fleet while the light held good, and afterwards by a destroyer squadron until the Heligoland minefields were reached. The British losses were three battle cruisers, three light cruisers, and eight destroyers sunk; the Germans admit having lost one battleship and a battle cruiser, four other cruisers, and five destroyers, but their losses were certainly heavier.

German Claims.

On the merits of the engagement the German Fleet had nothing to be ashamed of. Whatever its purpose may have been in venturing out into the North Sea, the moment for committing suicide by engaging the whole of the British Grand Fleet had not arrived in the opinion of the German Naval Higher Command. It fought well until its calculations were upset by the evident determination of Admiral Beatty to stick at nothing in an attempt to hold the Germans until Admiral Jellicoe's Battle Fleet could finish off the business. In view of the latter's near approach, there was no other course open to von Scheer than to withdraw. Germany might have won some kudos from the battle, if she had been content to allow the results to speak for themselves. By proclaiming the Battle of Horn Reef as a great German victory and falsifying the returns of the German losses in order to lend colour to the assertion she created a world-sensation for twenty-four hours, but only to become an object of contempt for all time afterwards. The claim was no mere word-painting on the part of a hoodwinked press or ecstatic populace. It received the Emperor's *imprimatur* with his wonted hyperbole. "The British Fleet was beaten. The first great hammer blow was struck, and the nimbus of British world-supremacy had disappeared." Or again, "The young German Fleet has torn down the nimbus of invincibility of British sea-power". If the Battle of Horn Reef had achieved these results, the German Fleet

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at the moment when the Emperor was speaking would have been proudly riding the High Seas, and would not have been in harbour trying to hide its losses and damages from a misguided German public.

The Fruits of Victory.

INASMUCH as the German Fleet remains in being, albeit damaged, the action of May 31 may have been inconclusive. Its influence on the course of the War, however, was instantaneous and striking. Two explanations of von Scheer's sortie hold the field. One supposes that the German Admiralty had only public opinion at home in view—that the mission of the High Seas Fleet was to go out and return, in order that it might be said that the North Sea had again been scoured without any trace of the British Fleet being found. If a few smaller ships were sighted, they could hardly fail to be accounted for in view of the overwhelming strength of von Scheer's force. The other theory is that the High Seas Fleet was escorting some of the latest additions to the German Navy, which have too big a draught for the present dimensions of the Kiel Canal, for ultimate operations against the Russians in the Baltic. Be this as it may, the German defeat immediately freed Russia from any anxiety she may have felt regarding her northern line, and enabled her to launch at once General von Brusiloff's terrific blow against the Austrians. The Russian lightning stroke reacted at once in the Trentino. If it did not wholly relieve the pressure on the Italian lines, it prevented any additional strain being imposed, and materially improved General Cadorna's position. As the War proceeds, other results of the Battle of Horn Reef will become apparent. Even the fiercer efforts before Verdun may reflect Germany's realisation of the fact that the only card she held up her sleeve has been played and has proved of no avail.

Lord Kitchener.

BEFORE the British Empire had had time to appreciate the full significance of the naval victory, owing to some anxiety over the seemingly narrow margin of advantage left in any consideration of the losses of the two fleets, it was called upon to face perhaps the grimmest tragedy of the War—the sinking of H.M.S. *Hampshire* on her way to Russia with Lord Kitchener and his Staff on board. The death of Lord Kitchener at any time would be a national loss; it is doubly so during the progress of this terrific struggle, when the Empire needs all the driving power it can command. That quality Lord Kitchener possessed in a degree which raised him above his fellows. His life had been

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spent in getting things done, and they were achievements for which his countrymen had every reason to be grateful to him. When the War broke out the Empire instinctively turned to him. He grasped the situation as no one else did, and at once began to think in millions for the Army where others would have dealt hesitatingly in hundreds of thousands. By no other means, even with the help of our Allies, could the foundation of ultimate victory have been laid. The most lasting monument that can be raised to Lord Kitchener's memory will be the bringing of the War to a successful conclusion.

The Economic Conference.

THE eagerly-awaited Economic Conference of the Entente Powers opened, after several postponements, in the second week in June. The delays, however, turned out advantageously, inasmuch as they allowed the Conference to be attended not only by Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, but by Sir George Foster as the representative of Canada. In the representation of the British Cabinet a change was necessitated at the eleventh hour owing to Mr. Runciman's regretted breakdown in health. Mr. Runciman is personally popular as a politician and nobody questions his ability, but it may be doubted whether his absence from the Conference was really a disadvantage. The Conference had to deal with new conditions and a new world, and Mr. Runciman's mental attitude is towards the old conditions which prevailed before the War. Lord Crewe, his substitute, is not known to have any very definite ideas on economics or the method of fighting German trade, but Mr. Bonar Law's record shows that he takes a wider and more active view, although he has been silent on the subject during the last few months. Of Mr. Hughes's opinions there could be no doubt whatever among his colleagues ; his aim is to root out the German canker altogether, and his action in Australia in dealing with the metal octopus showed that this need not be an empty aspiration. His presence has been recognised by the leading French journals as that of a commanding man of affairs and an inspiration to others not to be satisfied with mere empty resolutions ; nor indeed is there any chance that France and Italy, both of whom have felt the pressure of German peaceful penetration, will neglect the opportunity. The British Government's attitude has throughout been far more hesitating, and despite certain brave words by Mr. Runciman—which he forbore to translate into action during the six months which elapsed between their utterance and his breakdown of health—it was generally felt

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that the British Government in this matter again lagged behind public opinion.

After Debate, Action.

In view of the non-committal position taken up by the Premier towards the deliberations in Paris, few people were prepared for the drastic recommendations which the Conference of the Allies unanimously adopted. These recommendations deal with three periods—the War period, the reconstruction period after the termination of hostilities, and the peace period. For the duration of the War a general stiffening of all measures affecting trade with the enemy or of enemy origin, and the blockade of enemy countries, is advocated. During the second period joint means for rehabilitating countries which have been in enemy occupation are recommended ; it is suggested that the enemy Powers should be denied for a period " most-favoured nation" treatment, and that protective measures should be taken against " dumping ". Finally, as a permanent policy, the Conference proposes that measures should be adopted to render the Allied countries independent of enemy countries in the matter of important raw materials, and generally to strengthen the economic ties which unite them. We have it on the authority of Mr. W. M. Hughes, who was one of the delegates to the Conference, that the adoption of these resolutions by the Allied Powers " will effect little short of an economic revolution ". The value of the recommendations, therefore, depends on the extent to which they are translated into action. In this matter, by common consent, Great Britain must lead the way, and the whole Empire will have welcomed Mr. Bonar Law's emphatic declaration on the subject of the pact. Speaking on June 23, at the dinner given to Mr. Hughes by Australians in London, he said: "I am certain that these resolutions will be adopted not only by the present Government but by the present House of Commons, and that they may be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Government."

The Russian Advance.

Russia has once more shown her capacity for big things. When the Austrians undertook their offensive along the Italian frontier, both they and the German military authorities must have been satisfied with the ability of the Austrian line to hold its own against the Russians. Possibly the latter were expected to have on their hands as much as they could deal with when the threatened German blow fell on Riga and the northern

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section of their line. But the menace from the Baltic disappeared when the German High Seas Fleet fled back from the North Sea to the safety of its own ports. A few days later Russia launched her attack, and along a front of nearly three hundred miles the Austro-Hungarian line, with the exception of the middle sector based on Tarnopol, crumpled up. Within a fortnight the Russians had captured the triangle of fortresses, Rovno, Dubno, and Lutsk, which guards the Brest-Litovsk-Lemberg line, as well as Czernowitz in the south, and had taken 170,000 prisoners. Before the end of the month the whole of the Bukovina was reoccupied. All this ground, it is true, has changed hands twice before in the War; but there is little likelihood of even the Austrian General Staff failing to appreciate the difference in staying power between the first Russian advance and the present one. Russia, however, does not hope to win the War by herself, and the full effects of her recent successes will not make themselves felt until her allies in the West are in a position to co-operate with her by closing in from their side on the Central Powers.

The Western Front.

THE battle for Verdun has entered upon its fifth month, and still the Germans show no sign of abandoning the attempt to capture the town. If they have arrived at the conclusion that the only way to stave off an allied offensive is to prolong their own, there is much to be said for the continued attack at this point of the French line, which they have probably convinced themselves must now of necessity be weaker than any other. The only diversion which the enemy allowed himself during the month was directed against Ypres, that dangerous salient which, it is to be feared, we have held on to so tenaciously as much from sentimental reasons as on military grounds. On June 2 the Germans opened an annihilating bombardment on some three thousand yards of the British line, from the neighbourhood of Hooge to north of Hill 60, held for the most part by Canadian troops. The suddenness of the attack may be gauged from the fact that two Canadian Generals were at the time in the trenches, and were unable to leave before they were taken prisoners. Overwhelmed as they were, first by artillery fire and then by the numbers launched against them in the infantry attack, which was heralded by a gas cloud, the Canadians put up a magnificent struggle. The following day they counter-attacked; but, although they gained their former positions, there was nothing left of the trenches and they had to withdraw. Ten days later they

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made good. An attack south-east of Zillebeke gave them possession of the greater part of the ground lost at the beginning of the month, and the Germans lost heavily. As we go to press, the news arrives of a combined British and French advance over a front of 25 miles in the region of the Somme. After a week's preliminary bombardment along the entire line, the attack was launched on July 1, and at once met with considerable success. Many villages which had been in the enemy's possession for twenty months fell the same day, and prisoners to the number of 10,000 were taken.

The East Africa Campaign.

THE Germans in East Africa continue to avoid as far as possible any decisive engagement, and the campaign has resolved itself for the time being into a series of "drives". During the past month a considerable amount of ground has been covered by General Smuts's forces. The advance along the Usambara Railway has brought one British column within forty miles of Tanga, which is said to have been evacuated. The enemy, as was to be expected, is falling back on to the Central Railway, and the bulk of his strength appears to be holding positions some ninety miles to the north of the railway. At Kondoa Irangi, General Van Deventer has made little headway since he occupied the town on April 19. Before long, however, he should benefit from the movements of General Hoskins's column, which is also heading southwards on a parallel line less than a hundred miles east of Kondoa Irangi. In the meantime the columns operating from Rhodesia and Nyasaland have penetrated some distance into German territory and will ultimately make their presence felt on the main body of the enemy, if he elects to make a stand on the Central Railway.

South Africa.

THE Botha-Smuts combination has become such an established factor in South African affairs that it seems quite natural in these days of Prime-Ministerial journeyings that General Botha should be contemplating a visit to East Africa during the progress of a campaign which is peculiarly the Union's. But the announcement has an additional interest, coming as it does at the end of a strenuous parliamentary session, which has shown how the spirit of the Rebellion still flames in the words and attitude of the Nationalist party. If General Botha is able to leave South Africa for a time, he must feel confident that, thanks to the loyal support of the Unionists, he has the political situation thoroughly

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in hand. Those whose knowledge of contemporary South African history is restricted to a vague appreciation of the splendid way in which the Botha-Smuts régime is "playing the game" will do well to read an article on "The Rebellion—its Background and Results," in the current issue of *The Round Table*. The writer graphically depicts the difficulties of the position and issues a warning against the optimistic view that South Africa has seen an end of its difficulties. He reminds us, in the words of Delarey, that "the way of the Boer" is to aim at multiplying independent governments. The independence of South Africa has given full play to this tendency, which under a different constitution might in process of time have been eliminated. In the early reward of their loyalty the loyal Dutch have received a heritage of trouble from which in their heart of hearts they must know that they would fain be relieved.

The Attempted Irish Settlement.

After the Irish Rebellion in April, it was perhaps inevitable that optimistic politicians should attempt in May to settle that Irish problem which has defied eight centuries. The desire for a new system of government came naturally from the revelation of the fatuity of the Irish Government under Mr. Birrell. When the extraordinary blindness and weakness of the Irish Executive was revealed by the Committee of Enquiry, it became clear that the existing system of government must go. What was to take its place was less clear; an efficient administration that should be alive to the dangers of the times it seemed impossible to improvise out of the impotence of Dublin Castle. Mr. Asquith went to Ireland, and in the course of a week visited not only Dublin but Belfast and Cork; on his return to London he announced that, after conversations with Irish politicians of every opinion, he found among them all, without exception, the sincere desire for a full and final Irish settlement. His experience was extremely fortunate; for, subsequently, Irish politicians have issued many contradictory manifestoes as to the nature of the settlement. Mr. Asquith, however, turned the whole matter over to Mr. Lloyd George, whose genius for conciliation is well known, and the Minister of Munitions at once began a series of conferences with Irish leaders.

At a later date the details of the proposed settlement were made public. It was suggested that the Home Rule Act of 1914, with

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certain necessary modifications enforced by the lapse of time, should come into force at once, and therefore that an Irish Executive and Parliament should be set up; but that, in order to meet the objections of Ulster, the six counties of Ulster which were most strongly Protestant should be excluded from the operation of the Act. At the conclusion of the War it was suggested that a general Imperial Council, including statesmen from the Dominions, should meet to discuss the whole question of the future government of the British Empire, including within its scope the future government of Ireland. This ambitious scheme was subject to a serious discount when it was more closely examined. Ulster agreed, with heavy heart, it is true, to the division of the province on condition that the bulk of it should still be excluded from the Home Rule Act; but feeling took a different turn when it was discovered that the exclusion was only to be temporary and until the end of the War, and that then the whole question was to come up again. This, it was felt by the Unionists of Ulster, was not a settlement at all but a temporary expedient. Meantime the Nationalists in the six excluded counties protested strongly, and their protests were backed by the Nationalists outside, who still cherished the vision of a United Ireland, and who also no doubt remembered that the new Irish Government would be deprived of the revenue accruing from the six wealthy counties of the north. But Mr. Redmond succeeded in carrying his followers with him. In the last week of June, however, after the consent of the two chief parties to the proposed settlement had been obtained, a recrudescence of opposition among English Unionists made itself manifest. Lord Selborne found it necessary to resign his post as President of the Board of Agriculture, and the threat of further developments of a similar kind led to an embarrassing postponement of a definite decision in regard to Ireland on the part of the Government.

Its Details.

THE people of Rhodesia—that is, such of the male population as are over age or otherwise ineligible for the War: few remain who do not come into this category—have been debating the proposal of the Chartered Company that the two Rhodesias should be amalgamated for administrative purposes. Southern Rhodesia, which pays for its own government in normal years and enjoys quasi-responsibility, must

Rhodesian Amalgamation.

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have the deciding voice, and so far opinion is adverse to the change. Opportunities for discussion are not frequent, but public meetings have been held both north and south of the Zambesi, and the annual meeting of the Rhodesian Farmers' Associations was an excellent chance for ascertaining the views of a section of the public which does not often get a hearing. A resolution proposing the shelving of the proposal for a year was amended in drastic terms, which affirmed that the amalgamation would be inconsistent with the Charter and contrary to the best interests of Rhodesia as a whole, and this was carried by 61 votes to 2. As to the first reason it may be said that the interpretation of the Charter is a matter for the Imperial Government; but the average Rhodesian has an uncomfortable feeling that the Imperial Government has neither the time nor the inclination to take much interest in his affairs. He wants to jog the memory of Downing Street. Apart from this and from the merits of the proposal itself, which can only be judged on fuller information than has as yet been vouchsafed, there are several reasons for postponing decision, the chief of which is that the question of the ownership of the land in Rhodesia is at present *sub judice*, and the decision is by no means a foregone conclusion.

A Land Settlement Conference.

An extremely valuable conference took place at the Institute on May 31 between the Empire Land Settlement Committee and six Members of Parliament interested in the subject, who came to hear something about the work of the Committee, and to express their own views upon it. Earl Grey, whose return to the duties of Chairman after some months' absence through illness made the occasion memorable, gave a sketch of the doings of the Committee and its two Sub-committees for "Home" and "Overseas" settlement respectively, as well as of the remarkable successes achieved by the Institute's representative, Sir Rider Haggard, in the self-governing Dominions. Speeches followed by the Chairmen of the Sub-committees (Mr. Christopher Turnor and Sir John Taverner) and other members of the Committee, and then the M.P.'s had the field to themselves. Those present were Mr. Leslie Scott, K.C., Mr. Rowland Prothero, Sir John Spear, Captain Bathurst, Mr. G. H. Roberts, and Captain Beville Stanier. Their contributions to the discussion, as was to be expected from acknowledged experts in agricultural matters, were all of the most informing description; and they expressed a cordial approval of the work the Institute's Committee

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was doing, and promised to support it in the House of Commons. Lord Grey in his final remarks said that he considered it a great privilege to have presided over a conference where every speaker had approached the all-important subject of British Agriculture from the highest standpoint of national and imperial interests, and proceeded to put to the meeting the following four resolutions, which were carried unanimously.

The Four Resolutions.

1. THAT this Conference approves the principle of the establishment of an Imperial Board, representative of the Mother Country and the Dominions, to deal with the whole question of Land Settlement within the Empire, and pledges itself to urge upon His Majesty's Government the appointment of such a Board at the earliest possible moment; and to this end recommends that a Committee should be formed in the House of Commons to work in co-operation with the Institute's Land Settlement Committee.

2. That this Conference views with satisfaction the reception given to the mission of Sir Rider Haggard, as Representative of the Royal Colonial Institute, in the self-governing Dominions, and the liberal offers already made to him by the Governments of Australia and the British South Africa Company, for the settlement of ex-Service men from the United Kingdom after the War.

3. That it expresses the hope that His Majesty's Government will make it possible to accept those offers by giving facilities for the raising of loans for the purpose of land settlement overseas, and by providing transport for the ex-Service men who may desire to emigrate to the Dominions.

4. That it welcomes the Small Holdings Colonies Bill now before Parliament as an instalment of a new policy of land settlement in the United Kingdom, and hopes that the principle it embodies may be extended.

Education and the War.

AN Education Committee has been appointed by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute for the purpose of providing advice and assistance in connection with the education of the children of men who have rendered service to the British Empire during the War, other than those normally resident in the British Isles, for whom provision already exists. The

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Committee consists of Colonel Duncan G. Pitcher, Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., Mr. J. W. D. Johnstone, C.I.E., Mr. Clarence Hooper, and Mr. W. Campbell Brown, M.A., who will act as its Honorary Secretary. It has been at work for some time past compiling a list of suitable schools willing to co-operate in this important effort, and is prepared to hear from parents or guardians requiring help. Elsewhere in this issue of UNITED EMPIRE the scheme is set out in greater detail, and those who wish to receive further information are invited to communicate by letter with the Honorary Secretary, The Education Committee, at the Royal Colonial Institute. All communications received by the Committee will be regarded as strictly confidential, and no financial or other responsibility will be incurred by the Institute.

The University of Cape Town.

THE University question in South Africa, it will be remembered, was solved by the establishment of three centres—the University of South Africa at Pretoria, which incorporates the existing University of the Cape of Good Hope with the Rhodes College at Grahamstown and the higher colleges in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal as constituent members; the University of Cape Town, with which is incorporated the South African College; and the University of Stellenbosch, incorporating the Victoria College. Steps are now being taken to give effect to the Act establishing the new University of Cape Town, and it is found that the exigencies of the War have taken out of the country many of those qualified for membership of the Convocation. As a period of six months from May 9, 1916, is fixed by the Act as the time within which application for admission as members can be made, it is necessary that those who are qualified should apply with as little delay as possible. Forms of application and further particulars may be had from the Office of the High Commissioner for South Africa, 32 Victoria Street, S.W., or from the Registrar of the University, Cape Town.

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LORD BRASSEY'S FAREWELL TO THE "SUNBEAM."

[By the kindness of Earl Brassey, that grand old mariner of the British Empire, we are enabled to reprint, from a privately circulated pamphlet, his address of farewell to the famous yacht with which his name has been so long associated, delivered at Bombay on March 17, 1916. The charm of it will, we are sure, be felt by numberless readers in all parts of the British world; for where was the *Sunbeam* unknown, and her owner not an honoured guest? She now, like the celebrated *phaselus* of the Roman poet Catullus,

reconditâ senet quiete

as a Hospital Ship for the sick and wounded at Bombay. We have also to thank Lord Brassey for the use of the illustrations of himself and his beloved vessel which accompany the text.—Ed. United Empire.]

I am here to-day to present my yacht, the *Sunbeam*, to the Government and the people of India.

And first let me say to your Excellencies how glad I am that this closing act of a long career at sea should take place under your auspices. Lady Brassey deeply regrets she could not be present. I value the more your support to-day. The mention of my wife's name is a fitting opportunity for acknowledging the courage, endurance, and devotion which she has shown in making voyages in the *Sunbeam*, such as that from England round the Cape to Australia—voyages as long and as arduous as we have ever undertaken. Lady Brassey was more than a mere passenger. She was a skilled navigator. She decided to go beyond the mere practice of navigation. She was keen to know the theory as well as the practice. In turbulent seas she would put questions which, to my regret, being ignorant of spherical trigonometry, I was unable to answer.

The reason why I have greatly desired personally to hand my old ship over is best given by reading to you a telegram received from His Excellency, Lord Hardinge: "On behalf of the Government of India I gladly accept your most generous and patriotic offer of the *Sunbeam*, as a free gift, for service as a Hospital Ship. I express to you my warmest gratitude for this splendid gift. It will be a pleasant thought for you that this beautiful yacht, with which you and your name have been so long and worthily associated, is destined for the future to bring comfort and help to the sick and wounded. I wish I could have seen you to thank you personally, but I hope to do so later in England." I should have been made of stone, if I had not been deeply touched by Lord Hardinge's kind words.

There is another gentleman to whom my grateful thanks are due. I refer to Captain Lumsden, the representative to-day of the Government of India,

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and, I may fittingly add, of the Royal Indian Marine, a noble service with a long record.

It is impossible to narrate the history of more than forty years in a few moments. The *Sunbeam* has sailed in every sea. She has logged 500,000 miles. The longest voyages include :—

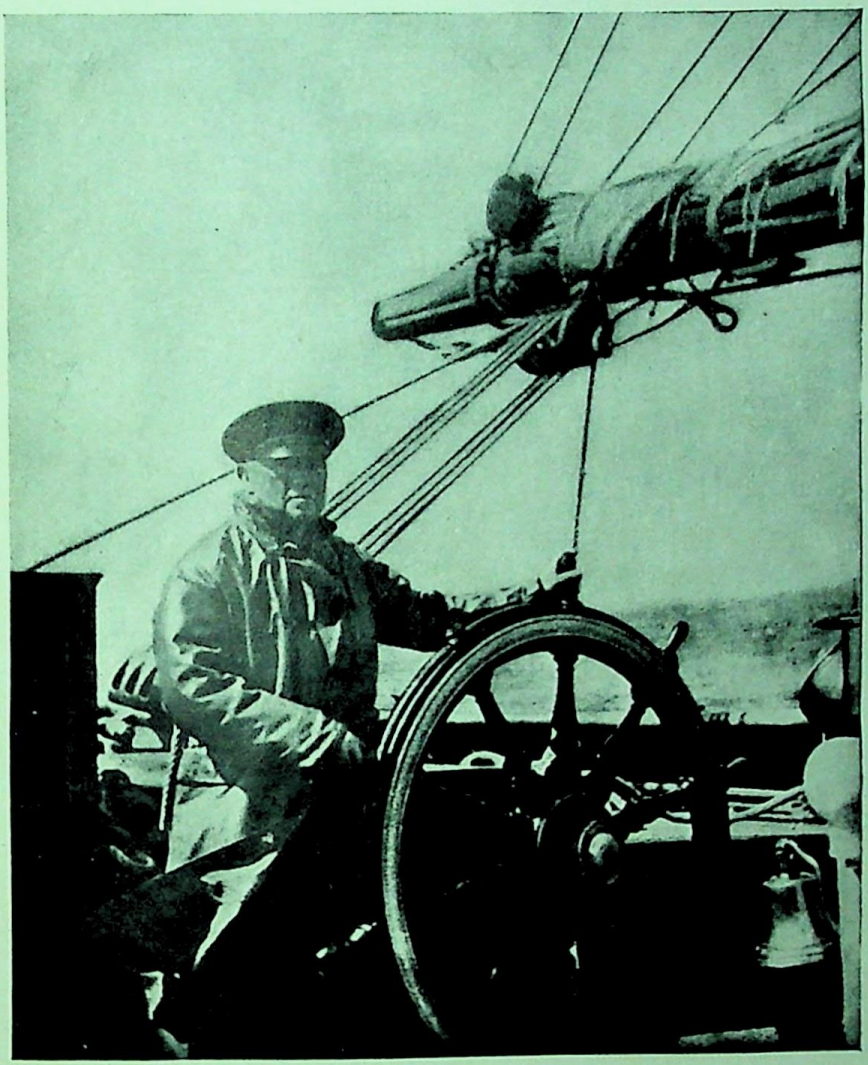
Round the World	1876–77
West Indies and United States	1883 and again in 1892
Calcutta and Bombay	1893–94
Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand	1895–97
Australia to England	1900
Canada	1903
West Indies and United States	1905
Iceland and Canada	1910
Bombay	1913–14
Mediterranean (as Hospital Ship)	1915
India, from Alexandria	1916

In addition to these voyages the *Sunbeam* has been to the Mediterranean and back seven times, as well as to Norway twice and to the Baltic. The earlier voyages have been narrated by a keen observer and a true lover of nature. I must not trust myself now to dwell on a sacred and beloved memory. The narrative of the "Voyage Round the World" was received with universal appreciation. Millions of copies were sold. It was translated into every language of Europe. Most truly I can say it has ever been the aim of all my family to make our experiences afloat of some value to mankind. From our deck first-aid to the injured was earnestly advocated, when, as yet, that holy cause had few active friends. From our deck the cause of Imperial unity has been warmly commended. We have endeavoured to carry messages of goodwill from the Homeland to the great Dependencies beyond the sea.

The *Sunbeam* once lay for three months at Calcutta as a sort of flagship of the Opium Commission, of which I was Chairman. Our Indian colleagues, bringing many friends, were our most constant visitors. During the five years—five happy years—of my residence in Victoria, as Governor, the *Sunbeam* was with me in those distant waters. Every port of importance was visited. We made repeated trips to Tasmania. Our cruises extended to New Zealand. The glorious scenery of the sounds and bays of the south-west of the Middle Island will remain a lifelong memory of the grand and the beautiful. We did our best to cultivate Imperial instinct. Nor should the encouragement of the dashing Australian yachtsmen fade into oblivion without a passing word. Later, at Montreal, we were flagship to a Congress, over which I had the honour to preside, of five hundred delegates, representatives of every Chamber of Commerce in the Empire. It was a notable gathering. Lord Minto, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and all his Ministers, Lord Strathcona, the

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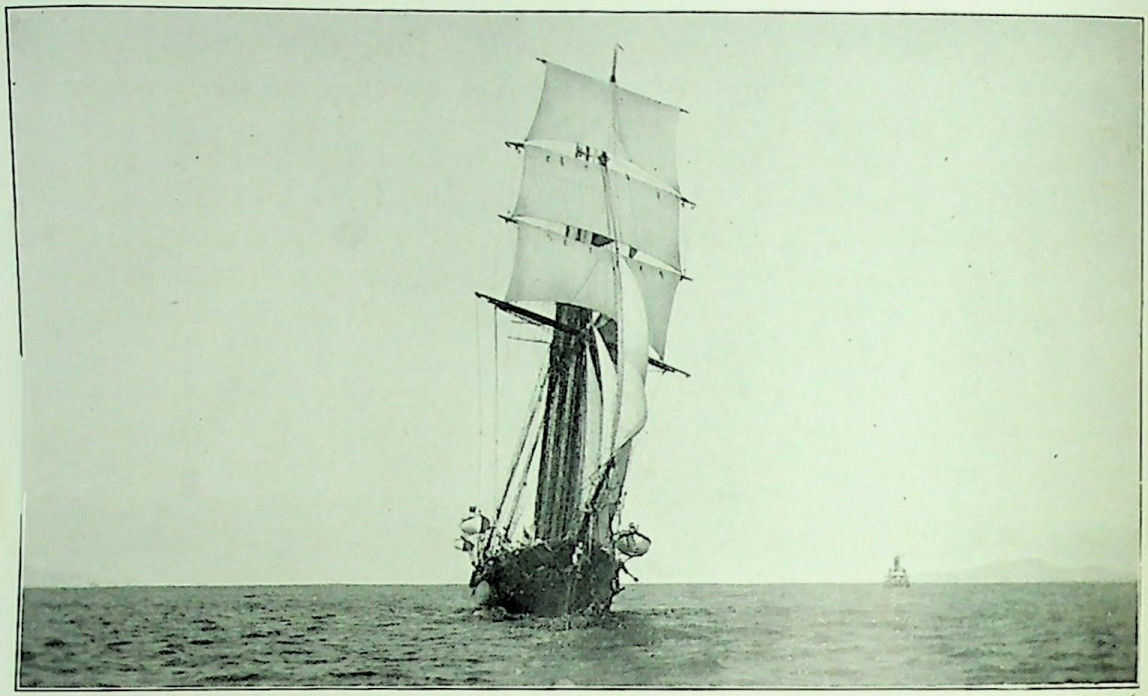
THE RT. HON. EARL BRASSEY, G.C.B.

[*To face p.* 446.

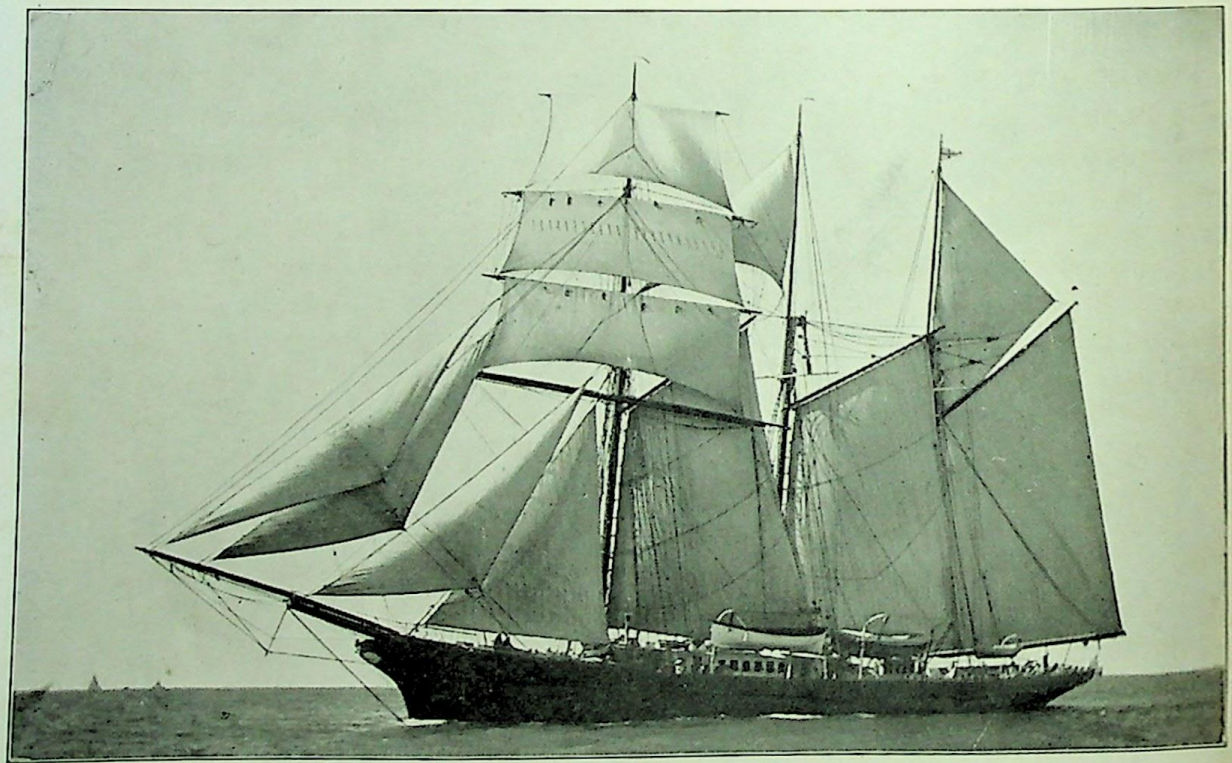
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THE "SUNBEAM."



UNDER COLABA POINT—February 28th, 1914.



STANDING FOR THE BOMBAY LIGHTSHIP—February 28th, 1914.

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leading men in finance and trade in Canada attended. They all came on board. The nurses and the doctors of every hospital in Montreal were welcome and delighted visitors.

The *Sunbeam* has been honoured by the visits—in some instances prolonged visits—of famous men. More than thirty years ago Mr. Gladstone made a voyage to Norway in the *Sunbeam*. The vessel was lent to the late Lord Tennyson for a few weeks, in 1889, for a cruise in Home waters. King Edward was an occasional visitor on board. Our present King has graciously allowed Captain Carter, the skipper of the *Britannia*, to be employed as master of the yacht. Mr. Horace G. Hutchinson—a name not to be omitted—went to Iceland and Canada in 1910, and wrote a description of the voyage under the title of "A Saga of the Sunbeam".

I owe a deep debt to the *Sunbeam* for the opportunity of gaining some knowledge of the sea and ships. It has created a lifelong interest in the Navy. It has made me a warm friend of sailors. I have ever been well served by British seamen. In my recent voyage I have, for the first time, been obliged to complete the crew with seamen of other nationalities, Greeks predominating. Ably led by Captain Carter, our mixed crew have well done their duty. Do not believe that there are no good seamen remaining in the present day. They always turn up when called upon, especially where they know they will be well treated. We had a recent proof when, two days ago, Captain Lumsden inspected the *Sunbeam*. His crew of lascars, led by Captain The Earl of Glasgow, R.N., were on the yards; instantly the order was given to loose sails, and all were delighted to do their work as seamen. The opportunities come all too seldom in these days of mastless ships.

There are other recollections. Here in Bombay it is a pleasure to remember that the visit of the *Sunbeam* in 1914 awakened general interest. All the Indian friends whom we had the honour to meet at Government House, the rulers of important States, those without claim to hereditary distinction—to use a fine old English phrase, "all sorts and conditions of men"—desired to see the *Sunbeam*, and were graciously received by my dear daughter, Lady Mabelle Egerton. There must be many here by whom she is remembered. Every man in His Excellency's Body-Guard was keen to see the *Sunbeam*. Many had never been afloat before. Their united weight almost submerged our fleet of boats. These splendid swordsmen, of whom not more than four could be in any cabin at one time, never collided, so sinuous, so serpentine, so skilfully and gracefully directed, was their every movement.

What shall I say more of the *Sunbeam*? Of early Victorian date, the old ship still deserves the Viceroy's praise. She is a thing of beauty; and things of beauty are said to live for ever. Long after she has ceased to exist, portraits will record how graceful was her hull, how seaworthy her appearance. No portrait that has ever been or can be taken can exceed that treasured parting gift from the members of the Royal Bombay Yacht Club two years ago. Their great kindness in escorting me to the lightship, with every vessel in their fleet, can never be forgotten.

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The *Sunbeam* is a sturdy craft. She has contended with many heavy gales. Once only have I seen her in difficulties. It was off Flamborough Head, in a notable hurricane in the 'eighties of last century. It was a gale so furious that every monarch of the forest in the central pathway of the storm, in the noblest and oldest parks of Yorkshire, was uprooted. Though sail had been reduced to two jib-headed trysails, we were thrown on our beam-ends, the gig and the lighter boats being blown to pieces. We instantly righted when sail was taken off.

I will not commend the *Sunbeam* as a flyer. Her steam-power is too small to give her a real turn of speed. Her spread of sail is too limited to enable her to compete with a racing yacht. Yet she has, under favourable circumstances, done record deeds. In a race across the Atlantic, not many years ago, she sailed 1900 miles under canvas in one week, covering the full distance from the longitude of St. John's, Newfoundland, to the longitude of the West Coast of Ireland, making 300 miles a day for three consecutive days, and 250 miles a day in the ensuing four days of the week.

On a later occasion, under steam and sail, we did a run of 1800 miles from Aden to Bombay in ten days. On the voyage just completed we sailed 1700 miles in seven and a half days. As to coal, we have not been voracious. The consumption on the two voyages was in each case approximately 36 tons. It is, I submit, a unique example of the effective combination of sail and steam power.

I must not detain you longer. I must now say farewell to the *Sunbeam*.

> "Farewell! a word that must be and has been
> A word that makes us linger, yet once more farewell!"

Dear old vessel! How many, many memories of joy and sorrow gather around your name! You are, I venture to believe, a household word in many lands. Nothing that is unworthy mars your long and chequered story. Old friend, you are as a living thing to me. How often have I stood at your helm, when spanking breezes filled your sails, and truly you walked the waters as a thing of life.

There may be sorrow without regret. For many reasons, on which I need not dwell, I feel sure that I am doing right. It is a real consolation to know that my old vessel in her new line may do good work in many ways for long years to come.

BRASSEY.

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ARMY RATIONS, PAST AND PRESENT.

"L'art de la guerre n'est rien sans l'art de subsiste."—VAUBAN.

THERE is a story—probably there be many—of a rustic who worked the bellows of the organ in a village church, and consequently took chief credit to himself for the rendering of classical melodies the organist produced thereon. In a measure he was right. Without his labours the organ would be dumb. So if a cook, even only a "tempy" cook, claims to have had a share in combating the Teuton hordes, such claim is not without definite foundation. The cook is by no means an unimportant cog in the complex wheels of the war machine—"though I says it as shouldn't".

If every cook cannot actively participate in killing the enemy, all have some share in keeping those who can fighting fit. For death comes not only by bomb, bullet, and bayonet of the Bosche.

The development of food supply, the whole business of transport and commissariat, is not without interest, as it certainly is not without importance. But though one side of it has been exhaustively studied—the side one may sum up with the phrase "First catch your hare"—the remainder, "then cook it," has met with singular neglect. Fortescue, in a paper on "Transport and Supply" * tabulates the evolution from primitive marauding—that is to say, plunder—through eight intermediary stages to the modern complexities of organised supply and transport. But details of these successive stages are buried in the profundities of the Treasury records, and it needs a braver, not to say a more leisured individual than a "tempy" cook, to search among such mysteries for "original information" which we have the best of authorities for declaring is not obtainable elsewhere.

When the sick were left to the chance care of the regimental barber, when prisoners were killed out of hand to avoid difficulties of feeding and transport, dietetic niceties need not be anticipated. However, there are limits to chaos and brutality even in war. Herein lies hope for a future generation of warriors. Chaos and brutality have, moreover, invariably failed in the long run. This does not argue that all war should be waged in white kid gloves. Sternness and brutality are not synonymous. But, at the blackest, humanity asserts itself, and methods and manners are mended for the nonce. Order begins to emerge from the welter, and a definite attempt to improve the soldiers' fare comes contemporaneously with the effort to wage war in a more humane and orderly fashion. By the eighteenth century we find not only a beginning of solicitous treatment of the sick, wounded, and prisoners, but a distinct betterment of organisation and administration of food supplies. We touch the fringe of modern methods.

Despite the elaborate staff ramifications of Treasurers at War, Commissary

* *The British Army*, 1783–1802, chap. vi.

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Generals of Victuals and Horse Provisions, Waggon-Master-General for Transport, Commissary General of Horse, and so forth, the soldiers of Cromwell's model army had to rely for their food on the provender purchasable at the markets held by the sutlers and vintners who followed the army and, in so far as the interferences of the Provost-Marshal permitted, battened on the needs of the soldiery, who had little or no supply from other sources often enough. Officially the rations of the army, which were weighed out in the presence of the men, consisted of a pound of bread—that is to say, biscuit or biscake—and a quarter of a pound of Cheshire or Suffolk cheese per diem. The bread was baked "anywhere where ovens could be got". * "Scotland and Ireland", notes a contemporary writer, "were conquered by timely provisions of Cheshire cheese and biscuits!" †

What the food of a seventeenth-century soldier—even a comparatively well-fed one—can have been like may be judged from a letter describing the provisioning of Dunkirk after its capture:

"Once in a yeare, the maggazine of bread, I mean the month's biskitt for 4,000 men, must be renewed, and the old given owt, and rebaitted of the soldiers pay; but before the old stock of biskitt so laid in be meddled with, the new stock to the same quantity must be first in store. . . . If I find the butter and cheese may be kept without spoyling, I shall lykewise save it; but I think, for provisions that are not to be made use of save once in a year, all cheese, or at least salt beef and bacon, or pork in liew of the butter will be best."‡

As for the butter, correspondence between the Commissioners of Victualling and the Naval Board, dated September 10, 1694, mentions that oil was "usually laden for supply of butter".§ At the same period another writer records that:

"half a pound of biscuit and half a pound of butter hath been a fit day's proportion for one man, or a pound of butter and half a pound of beef or else bacon a full day's proportion; or likewise half a pound of biscuit and a poor John between two men for one day, or two pounds of biscuit and a haberdine between four men for one day is a great proportion; half a pound of biscuit and four herrings is one man's allowance for one day, and so is a quart of peas boiled, or a pint of rice with the ordinary allowance of biscuit." ‖

The bread issued to French troops at the commencement of that century was composed of two parts wheat to one of rye, "and the bran and meal were mixed together in making it". ¶ By 1775 matters were largely improved, and we find Louvois provisioning the French army with dessicated meat. It was prepared in gigantic copper ovens, and for every pound of flesh an ounce of dried meat was extracted. From this soup could be produced, it is said, for eight men. Frederick the Great allowed his soldiers two pounds of bread a day, and two pounds of meat a week.

* Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 225.
† *Calendar of State Papers, William III*, 1691–2, p. 75.
‡ *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 216.
§ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1693–6, No. 1302.
‖ Francis Markham, *Decades of War*.
¶ De Praissac, *Art of War* (Cruso's translation), p. 143.

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Originally the Commissary was appointed by the Treasury. "Sometimes", writes Fortescue, "he was both an honest man and an able man of business; more often in early days he was neither the one nor the other; and the result was a traditional tendency among all soldiers to regard the Commissary as a natural enemy." * Probably not till the twentieth century would it be possible to find a campaign when the soldiers did not append as footnote to that—

"As it was in the beginning
Is to-day's official sinning."

"The biscuits are hard," is about the most genuine complaint to-day, and the number of "cases" with broken teeth and internal complications bear witness to the fact. "Digestive trouble," Sister briefly sums up the cause of Private Z—'s melancholy face and tedious sojourn in hospital. "I've 'ad an operation for appendicitis, an' another for chronic intestines in me bowills, an' they want me to 'ave another, but I've 'ad enough of 'em," volunteers a blue-armletted warrior. "'E's broke all 'is teeth—wored them away eatin' biscuit," a convalescent on crutches, stowing down a hearty meal, remarks of one with no visible injuries who requires "special" diet. Yet the biscuit, as such things go, is very excellent biscuit, but there is no denying the tooth-resisting qualities that make it almost bullet-proof, and suggest to the frivolous-minded uses never intended to be fulfilled by that important item of the army field ration. Personal experiment discovered that, if hard, it is not tough, and therefore is easy to break, if not to bite. But experiment and experience differ. A continual diet may well result in teeth approximating unduly to those in the drift-bedded skulls of prehistoric man.

The importance of food supply has received ample recognition from military students, practical and theoretical alike, both as regards the procuring and the distribution of provender. These be grave matters, factors whereon the success or failure of a campaign may admittedly depend. Jomini himself confessed that "the art of subsisting a body of men in the field is among the most difficult" of military problems. And in the matter of sustenance it is not enough to obtain and distribute food. A share in success or failure rests with a humbler person than any on the administrative staff, for much may hang on the personal resources of the company's cook. Who shall gainsay the possibility that a tempting meal may inspire a General to acts which will determine the future course of a campaign! Not every one is content—or, what is more important, at their best—with Wellington's Spartan fare—"cold meat at dawn".

Spartan though he were, the Great Duke had a word to say on culinary matters. "In regard to the food of the soldiers," he commented in a circular issued to divisional and brigade commanders at Freneda, "I have frequently observed and lamented, in the late campaign, the facility and celerity with which the French soldiers cooked in comparison with those of our army." This he attributed to "the want of attention of the officers to the orders of the army, and the conduct of their men, and the consequent want of authority over

* *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

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their conduct". His remedy—regularity of hours, and organisation of the preliminaries,* would doubtless have reduced "the inconvenient length of time" cooking had taken, and lessened the risk of his soldiers being "exposed to the privation of their food at the moment at which the army may be engaged in operations with the enemy".

But more than this would be required to better the ignorance of things gastronomic displayed by the "nation of shopkeepers" as compared with the "nation of cooks". There is the crux of it all. One could best furnish supplies, the other best prepare what supplies were furnished. "We know", remarks a writer in 1860, "what all the armies suffered from bad food during the Crimean War; and, although the British soldier is better supplied than any other in Europe, he is by no means the best fed—simply from defective cooking."† Much has been improved since then, and we have—alas! that we must now add the late—Lord Kitchener's word for it that during the South African War "the soldier was better fed than in any previous campaign".‡ He is even better fed in this war, but yesterday "an Officer in Egypt" remarks, in an article in *The Times*, that, "the failure to make the best use of materials is what is wrong with army cooking,"§ and proceeds to advise young officers to get their womenfolk to teach them how to cook. The writer displays no profundity of knowledge either of cooking or of womankind—English womankind, that is to say—alas! that so it should be. One gets nearer the root of the evil in advising the womenfolk first to learn, for though a greater percentage can now acquit themselves with some credit in the kitchen than would have been the case a couple of years ago, yet the average standard cannot be said to be what it might, nor even what it ought to be. The radical trouble is ignorance, and the prejudice bred thereby. There are many lesser contributary causes, but that is the main factor of offence. There is no lack among our women of willingness to serve, nor in ability to seek, but neither suffices without practical knowledge based on experience and experiment, and this is exactly what normal conditions for the majority at home do not give. There is consequently far too much of happy-go-lucky chance, on the lines of the schoolgirl making buns, who put in everything she could think of, and turned out "most lovely toffee".

It is otherwise overseas. Canada, for instance, was far ahead in the scientific training of women as dietetists. Late in the day—very late—we have awakened somewhat to the necessity of special training, and as a result last year nearly two hundred teachers of the London County Council Domestic Economy Centres gave up half their summer holidays to instruct soldiers in camp cooking with economy. Colonial troopers from Australia and Canada were among the keenest students. The men were billeted in the schools. At first sundry people were sceptical of the wisdom of this plan, but the men's behaviour was beyond all praise, and their appreciation of the teaching was very great.

* Wood-cutting, and the procurement of meat and water.
† Capt. J. Grant, *J.U.S.I.*, vol. iv. ‡ *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, p. 228.
§ *The Times*, May 10, 1916.

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Knowledge based only on normal conditions, with every elaboration of scientific device and accessory paraphernalia, is almost as much hindrance as help to the cook in war time, when conditions may be anything and everything other than normal, and none can tell at what moment individual powers of improvisation may be tested in a dozen different ways, and improvisation not only of method but material—the French in the retreat from Moscow used gunpowder in lieu of salt. One is reminded continually of the American attaché in Natal and his "way round," for so often it is a case of finding a "way round". Frontal attack by accepted culinary methods is obviously useless when one has to master a problem without those adjuncts and necessities deemed essentially requisite according to rule as exemplified and coded by Mesdames Marshall, Beeton, and other orthodox authorities.

So from history we have strayed to the cookery books, and there is yet more to be taken into consideration, for by no means to be forgotten are the differences of national dietary standards. Compare the American emergency ration—four ounces of sweetened chocolate, eight ounces of kiln-dried wheat, four ounces of dessicated meat with salt and pepper—which presumably embodies what America considers most nourishing and necessary—with the paste prepared from onions, garlic, flour, pepper, salt, water, and the inevitable lard and minced bread, which Percy, Napoleon's surgeon-in-chief, notes in his "Mémoires" kept him and his messmates "always sufficiently nourished" when others were starving. The ingredients, he remarks, can be obtained everywhere. You may find the recipe to-day given in the French official manual of Field Cookery under the title *Soupe à la Minute de Percy*. Writing on the provisioning of modern armies, an American authority confessed that "the waste and losses of our detachments in the Philippines fed, clothed, and equipped half of Aguinaldo's *insurectos*, in a way that surprised their wildest dreams of luxury". Of his countrymen he quotes, "They cook great quantities, eat great quantities, waste great quantities, and the commander cannot deny you that more is eaten than needed, and as much at least wasted as eaten".* Essentially Anglo-Saxon this, it would seem. So the salted prunes and cold rice that content the Japanese warrior would be to Tommy Atkins as dismal a meal as the *piou-piou's Soupe Vigneronne*, which in the French manual is "especially recommended for the *grand halte* or in the afternoon".† Tommy, indeed, has a profound suspicion of soup in any form. The writer proved this—if proof were needed—at a station buffet during the winter of 1915. Good hot soup was ready all night for soldier and sailor travellers, but of the hundreds who came for tea, coffee, bread and butter, and cakes, not a score of the cold and weary men welcomed the more nutritive soup. Pressed to partake, "We get enough of soup and stew," was the invariable answer. "I suppose it's the inevitable stew," grumbled the night staff in a military hospital when a cook—she was new to the job—proudly placed a casserole on the table for supper. A couple

* Sharpe, *The Provisioning of a Modern Army in the Field*, p. 23.

† *Soupe Vigneronne* consists of two and a half pints of French wine, ditto of water, five large tablespoonfuls of crystallised sugar, and seven ounces of minced bread. It is taken cold.

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of days later similar ingredients were utilised to produce a four-course dinner. Tommy, by the way, is not unique in his suspicions. Place an unknown dish before a batch of tired nurses, and—unless the cook is well tried and proven, or a savoury and recognisable odour reassure them—the odds are they will at best give it doubtful reception. In all probability they will prefer to sup on bread and jam, or cheese, rather than adventure on a delicacy of qualities unknown with component parts unstated. It is the tired worker who most needs food, yet is the most difficult to feed. Sheer hunger is a different matter; then, as a French writer has it, one would eat the devil if one could only find him.*

* * * * * *

Sitting here in the library of the Royal Colonial Institute to pen these hasty jottings, comes a vision of a hospital kitchen. Outside in the yard stand two motors, one owned by the sweet-faced girl in nurse's dress who hurries to the wards with boiled kettles for "dressings," the other by the cheerful bepinafored damsel who is busily concocting "the inevitable stew". (If only she would be persuaded to put less flour into it !). Down the passage bustles "Pants"—otherwise the pantry-maid—who stops for an instant that we may admire the bunch of beauteous orchids just arrived from her distant north-country home. Three convalescents come in to help—they will wash up, or peel the potatoes—whistling the latest favourite of musical comedy songs maybe, or, quite as likely, "Tipperary" and "Keep the Home Fires Burning." Cook displays a maple leaf, the gift of a Canadian soldier as he left for the front—a genuine leaf, fresh from Canada, he assured her. From the scullery comes a cheeky boy's voice, chanting a verse from one of the patients' albums :—

We're only X Red cooks,
And all we know we've learnt out of the cookery books.
If dinner is not ready
We get most awful looks;
But we don't care; you could not spare
The X Red cooks !

D. H. Moutray Read.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE INSTITUTE.

As has been customary for some time past the full Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting will be included in the forthcoming Year-Book. This compilation, while retaining most of its well-known features, will on grounds of economy, owing to the great rise in cost both of paper and printing, be considerably reduced in size. The geographical list of fellows will be omitted, as well as the list of newspapers and periodicals received in the newspaper room, and the statistics of the British Empire, 1915. The illustrations will be absent on this occasion for the same reason. By these curtailments, the necessity for which is regretted, it will be possible to publish the Year-Book at only a slight increase of expense.

* Georges Bertin, *La Campaigne de* 1814, p. 30.

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THE INSTITUTE IN THE WEST INDIES.

The Travelling Commissioner's Tour.

Major J. R. Boosé, C.M.G., Travelling Commissioner of the Royal Colonial Institute, has submitted a report to the Council on his recent tour through the West Indies and British Guiana. The following extracts are taken from this report :—

Jamaica.—I left England on November 29, 1915, and proceeded in the first place to Jamaica, where on my arrival the Institute had twenty-nine Fellows. In co-operation with the Honorary Corresponding Secretary (Mr. Frank Cundall), I arranged for a meeting at the Institute of Jamaica, at which Archdeacon Sims presided. A second meeting was held under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce at the Merchants' Exchange, at which the Governor (Sir William Manning, K.C.M.G.) was in the chair.

I travelled extensively through the Island and visited all the leading towns, as well as several of the sugar and fruit estates, and so got into touch with many representative men of the colony. During my stay the membership increased from 29 to 140. In order to spread a better knowledge of the Institute amongst the people of the Colony outside the chief city, I invited Mr. J. B. Kilburn to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary in conjunction with Mr. Cundall, who has occupied the office for many years past. Mr. Kilburn has his headquarters in Kingston, but is constantly travelling through the island, and thus comes in contact with the leading planters and merchants. I also obtained the consent of Mr. George Wilson, manager of the Bank of Nova Scotia, to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary in Montego Bay, and Mr. L. P. Downer to accept a similar office in Port Antonio.

Barbados.—This is the most easterly of the West Indian Islands and the chief centre of shipping. On my arrival the Honorary Corresponding Secretary was Mr. E. C. Jackman, who, in conjunction with Mr. E. G. Sinckler, has taken a keen interest in the work of the Institute for many years past. The number of Fellows, however, remained small. The hospitality of the people was unbounded, and within a few days following my arrival I was entertained at lunch on successive occasions by the Governor (Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.M.G.), Sir William K. Chandler, and Mr. J. C. Hoad, manager of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. These functions were followed by a Dinner at the Bridgetown Club. Sir Frederick Clark, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, presided, and there was a large attendance. As Mr. Jackman was about to leave the Colony for England, I invited Mr. Charles W. Haynes, one of the best-known men in the island, and Mr. Darnley C. Da Costa, to become Honorary Corresponding Secretaries, in conjunction with Mr. Jackman.

British Guiana.—From Barbados I proceeded to British Guiana, where the Hon. Dr. J. J. Nunan, the Honorary Corresponding Secretary, had made arrangements for an active campaign on behalf of the Institute. I should, in the first place, like to place upon record my indebtedness to him for the energy and enthusiasm which he showed in the Institute's work and for his untiring efforts on its behalf. The day following my arrival a large and representative gathering took place in the Hall of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana, which was attended by the Governor (Sir Walter Egerton, K.C.M.G.). Sir Walter Egerton, Dr. Nunan, and Mr. John Cunningham spoke in appreciative terms of the value and utility of the Institute, and the hope was expressed that more frequent visits might be made by emissaries from the Mother Country in order to make the people realise their

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duties in helping an institution like the Royal Colonial Institute. On a later date a luncheon was given by Dr. Nunan, who invited the leading representatives of the official, commercial, religious, and professional communities as his personal guests. On the eve of my departure from the Colony I was invited to address a further meeting of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, and was able to report that since my arrival in the Colony the membership had increased from 49 to 162. At the luncheon given by Dr. Nunan a Local Branch was formed, with the Governor as President and Sir Charles Major and Sir Charles Cox as Vice-Presidents, and since my departure weekly meetings have been held and a programme prepared for submission to a General Meeting of the Fellows resident in the Colony.

Mr. W. J. Gilchrist, the Police Magistrate, has consented to become joint Honorary Corresponding Secretary in Georgetown, in order to assist Dr. Nunan in the great work he is doing on behalf of the Institute. Outside the county of Demerara, there appeared to be a good centre for the extension of the Institute's work in Berbice. I got into communication with the Rev. W. J. Moody and Mr. W. J. Douglass, with the result that Mr. Douglass, who occupies the office of Stipendiary Magistrate, has consented to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary in Berbice and to form a Local Committee. Already several residents of the district have become Fellows.

Trinidad.—From British Guiana I proceeded to Trinidad, where Professor P. Carmody, the Director of Agriculture, has performed the duties of Honorary Corresponding Secretary for several years. He met me on my arrival, and was very active in furthering the success of my mission. I was the guest of the Acting Governor (the Hon. S. W. Knaggs, C.M.G.), and through his kindness had the advantage of meeting many of the leading residents of the island. Through the hospitality of those possessing motor cars I was enabled to visit many parts of the Colony, including the renowned Pitch Lake and the surrounding oil districts. The number of Fellows on my arrival was twenty-five, a very small proportion of the white population of the Colony. By personal interviews and the aid of the Press the number has been increased to ninety-nine, and many more are likely to join. I was invited to address the Trinidad Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Gordon Gordon, the President, presided, and there was a good attendance of the members. Acting on the suggestion of Professor Carmody, I invited Mr. G. Bruce Austin to become Joint Honorary Corresponding Secretary with him in Port of Spain, and the Hon. H. McLelland to represent the Institute in a similar capacity in San Fernando, which is the second city of importance in the island. Mr. McLelland has already proposed several new Fellows, and will prove of great assistance to the Institute in his own district.

The Windward Islands.—Having completed my work in the four chief centres of the West Indies, I proceeded to the smaller islands comprising the Windward and Leeward groups. The Windward Islands comprise Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. In those islands I did not attempt to organise public meetings, but limited my work to private interviews and the selection of Honorary Corresponding Secretaries. In Grenada I was the guest of the Governor (Sir George Haddon Smith, K.C.M.G.), and discussed with him the possibilities for increasing the Fellowship in that island. He undertook to place the advantages of the Institute before some of the planters, merchants, &c., and to assist in increasing its influence in the Colony. The Honorary Corresponding Secretary in Grenada is the Hon. D. S. de Freitas, M.L.C., who has done very good work in the past.

Whilst in St. Lucia I was the guest of the Administrator (the Hon. C. Gideon Murray) at Government House, and had the opportunity of discussing with him the opportunities

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for extending the influence of the Institute in that Colony, which is an important naval and mercantile coaling station. During my brief stay the membership was increased, and with the approval of the Administrator, I invited Mr. George Davidson to accept the office of Honorary Corresponding Secretary.

St. Vincent is a small island, and the opportunities for increasing the membership are therefore limited. I only stayed there a few hours, during which I had an interview with the Hon. C. J. Simmons, M.E.C., who consented to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary. The Institute is now officially represented in all the islands of the Windward Group.

Leeward Islands.—The islands of this group comprise Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis, and Montserrat. Antigua is the seat of government, and the Acting-Governor at the time of my visit was Mr. T. A. V. Best, C.M.G., with whom I stayed. He takes a keen interest in the development of the Institute's work, and invited a number of people to meet me during my brief stay. The Institute has not previously been represented in the island, and on the recommendation of Mr. Best I invited Mr. R. S. T. Goodwin to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary.

Dominica is another of the smaller islands, and the present membership may be considered satisfactory. The Institute has not previously been represented locally. I therefore invited Mr. Harry Walker to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary.

St. Kitts-Nevis is one of the most prosperous and successful of the group, and there is every prospect of a good result from my visit. The fellowship is now very small, but with the co-operation and assistance of Mr. A. Moir Reid, who has consented to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary, I am strongly of opinion that a substantial increase will shortly take place. The Administrator (Major J. Alder Burdon, C.M.G.), entertained me during my stay, and expressed his willingness to do anything in his power to further the interests of the Institute.

Bermuda.—The Institute has been well represented in this Colony for some time past by the Hon. Henry Lockward, M.L.C., who, with Sir Thomas Wadson, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, gave me a most cordial welcome on my arrival. The number of Fellows in the island was twenty-five, and during my stay I was enabled to obtain an additional fifteen, which, in the opinion of Mr. Lockward, was a good result. I was entertained at Government House by General Sir George Bullock, K.C.B., and also attended several private gatherings organised in my honour. At a luncheon given by Sir Thomas Wadson in the city of St. George's, which is the second city of importance in the island, I took the opportunity of inviting Mr. S. S. Spurling, a member of the Legislative Assembly, to become Honorary Corresponding Secretary in that district. I left Bermuda for New York on April 22, and arrived in London on May 9.

The tour, which was both interesting and instructive, was in every way satisfactory and successful. On many occasions the action of the Council in sending representatives to the various Colonies was referred to in appreciative terms, and the hope was expressed that such visits—so far as the West Indies were concerned—might be repeated from time to time in the future. It is the general opinion of the Honorary Corresponding Secretaries that such periodical visits are absolutely essential, as it is only in this way that interest in the Institute's work can be aroused and maintained. The result of the tour confirms this view. On my arrival in the West Indies the Institute had, in the Colonies I visited, 194 Fellows. This number has been increased to 553, and will undoubtedly continue to increase, as the Local Branches and Committees are formed and begin work.

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List of Honorary Corresponding Secretaries Appointed.

Jamaica (Kingston): J. B. Kilburn; (Montego Bay): Thomas Wilson; (Port Antonio): L. P. Downer. British Guiana (Georgetown): W. J. Gilchrist; (Berbice): Walter J. Douglass. Trinidad (Port of Spain): G. Bruce Austin; (San Fernando): Hon. H. McLelland, M.L.C. Barbados (Bridgetown): Charles M. Haynes; Darnley C. Da Costa. St. Lucia: George Davidson. St. Vincent: Hon. C. J. Simmons, M.E.C. Antigua: R. S. T. Goodwin. Dominica: Harry Walker. St. Kitts-Nevis: A. Moir Reid. Bermuda (St. Georges): S. S. Spurling, M.C.P.

LUNCHEON TO THE HON. T. J. RYAN.

On May 31 the Hon. T. J. Ryan, Premier of Queensland, was the guest of the Royal Colonial Institute at a luncheon at the Hotel Cecil. Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., presided, and there was a numerous attendance. After the toast of "The King and United Empire" had been honoured, the Chairman said:—

The guest of the Institute this afternoon is the Hon. Thomas Joseph Ryan, Prime Minister of Queensland. I presume there are some, at any rate, if not many, present who are not Queenslanders, and I should like to remind them that the territory comprised in that State of the Commonwealth is five and a half times larger than that of the United Kingdom, and three times larger than the German Empire; its population averages one to the square mile, while that of Germany averages 311. But the potentialities of Queensland are very great; I leave the Prime Minister to enlarge upon them, but I may say I have had the opportunity of visiting large portions of Queensland, and am able, therefore, to speak at first hand of the splendid future that is before the north-east corner of our Island Empire in the Southern Seas. Mr. Ryan was born in Victoria only forty years ago; he has, therefore, many years of valuable political use to Australia in store, and doubtless in a larger and more extended sphere than in the State of Queensland. He is member for The Barcoo—that westernmost portion of Queensland which is sometimes the embodiment of the word "drought," but at the same time this great black-soil area is full of vast potentialities when water storage and irrigation are better known and developed. To myself, as having been in command twice for periods of three years in Australia, Queensland is to me one of the prominent features in the Imperial movement of Australia; it is the corner of Australia which is more open than any other portion to offensive action on the part of alien races, and, for that reason possibly, Queensland has always been one of the prominent protagonists of the Imperialist movement in that country which followed upon the rise of Japan to the position of a first-class naval and military Power in the Eastern Seas. Again, Queensland was the first of the Australian States to offer troops for the South African War of 1899-1902. We welcome Mr. Ryan as Prime Minister of that vast Australian State; we members of this Institute especially bid him welcome, inasmuch as he and his Government have recently received our Commissioner for Land Settlement, Sir Rider Haggard in the most practical spirit of sympathy and goodwill. You all know the special stress which the Council of this Institute has laid on the settlement of ex-soldiers upon land in different portions of the King's Dominions, and we have on our own account sent as our missionary round the Empire the well-known writer and Imperialist Sir Rider Haggard. I have the permission of our guest to read this telegram, despatched by Sir Rider after the Queensland Government had decided upon the terms: "Queensland gives million acres, provided can borrow necessary

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money, and subject to selection of the men". A Reuter's telegram later expands that message as follows: "The Government of Queensland is prepared to provide one million acres of land suitable for dairying and agriculture for the settlement of discharged soldiers and sailors from the United Kingdom on condition (1) that it can raise a loan of sufficient amount to build the necessary railways and prepare the land, and (2) that it should have the right to select the settlers." I may perhaps remind you that this is no new idea; our Colonial Governments, now known as the Overseas Dominions of the King, after previous campaigns and wars, have repeatedly granted special facilities for soldiers and their families to settle upon their unoccupied lands. I speak particularly of Canada after the French wars ending with surrender of Montreal in 1764, and of South Africa after the Napoleonic Wars in 1805 and the Crimean War in 1856, while large portions of New Zealand land were allotted to ex-soldiers and sailors after the Maori War in 1865. Thus this idea is only the revival of one which is known to have had satisfactory results in the past, and which, we consider, will bear very satisfactory and valuable fruit in the near future.

There is one other reason why the Institute should be ready to welcome Mr. Ryan. He is a member of the Labour Party of Australia—a follower of and a believer in the principles which we have heard enunciated by the Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes at various times and in various places during the last three months. Mr. Hughes's speeches have struck a note which has reverberated not only throughout the United Kingdom, but through every corner of the Empire. Personally, as a humble individual, I have the greatest possible interest in the Labour Party of Australia, because I was present at their birth. I was commanding in New South Wales in 1893-6, when, in 1894, the Labour Party in Australia practically came into existence. The three men who then headed the movement were the Hon. Joseph Cook, the Hon. W. Watson, and the Right Hon. W. M. Hughes. I have watched the growth of the party with the greatest possible interest, for they were at the time I speak of my most violent opponents. Individually, I never could expect to receive greater kindness from members of any party, but collectively, as a political party, and as represented by the *Sydney Bulletin* they alternately ridiculed and abused me. In 1901-4, when I went out on behalf of the Commonwealth, the Labour Party were again my most bitter critics, though individually my very good friends. But at the end of my time in 1904 in Melbourne, I served under Mr. Watson, the Prime Minister of the first Labour Government in His Majesty's self-governing Dominions, and the first thing he said to me on paying him my official respects was, "Pray sit down, General! Let me tell you at once that I and my party believe in the principles for which you have been contending now and in 1893-6 and we are going to see you through". Much has happened since, and I have lived long enough to see the principles I fought for in 1893-6 and 1901-4 adopted as planks of the Labour Party. I wonder whether you realise what I mean. It is this: That there is no portion of the British Empire which at the present time is more strongly in favour of "United Empire" than the Labour Party of Australia. The great principle for which I fought in 1893-6 was co-operation for defence between all the States of Australia as a step towards Federation, and for a strong and powerful Australia as an outpost of the Empire in the Eastern Seas. The Labour Party during the periods mentioned opposed me, until afterwards, as I have said, Mr. Watson came into power, and he and the Labour Party between them acknowledged the principles to be sound. Since 1908 the Labour Party has been continuously in power, and the present Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, has come to this country. What are his principles? Have you read his magnificent oration to the representatives of Labour at the House of Commons upon April 16 last? If not, let me commend his words to you, because Mr. Hughes is the protagonist of views we shall assuredly see in a large measure generally accepted when this war is over and our five million men have returned to their homes. It is universally admitted that there are going to be vast political changes, and the Labour Party, though I do not agree with all their principles—the Labour Party in Australia

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have struck the right note in the Imperial aspect of these changes. These are Mr. Hughes's words: "The driving force behind the Labour Party is spiritual in its character—an enthusiasm in the truest sense religious." He went on: "We have endeavoured to build up". I regret to think our Labour Party in the old country leads us to believe their policy is *to pull down*. In Australia, says Mr. Hughes, "We have endeavoured to *build up*. We must not only secure our national safety, but the economic and social welfare of the whole body politic, and lay the foundation of a great national policy worthy of our race and of a truly civilised people". That is a policy which we of this Institute, I think, would heartily endorse. It means a greater, a vaster, a more united Empire than we have ever had before; determined through our trade and defence systems we stand to maintain for all time the Freedom of Man and the Development of Civilisation. It is on these two counts I ask you to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Queensland.

The Hon. Thomas J. Ryan: It is a great privilege, I assure you, as representative of one of the Oversea Dependencies, to have the opportunity of being present in the centre of the Empire in the midst of the most momentous crisis in its long history. It is an immense advantage to me to have the opportunity of conversing with those who are charged with the responsibility of governing and of steering the ship of State in these troublous times. It also gives me much pleasure to have the opportunity of partaking of the hospitality of the Royal Colonial Institute, an association which devotes so much of its attention to the Overseas Dominions. I thank you, sir, for the kind manner in which you proposed the toast of my health, and those present for the cordial manner in which they have received it. The Chairman has had great experience of Australia. I am glad he gives credit to the Labour Party for being able to oppose individuals without any loss of personal friendship. It is, indeed, one of the characteristics of the Labour Party that they are prepared to listen to reason. The Chairman has the satisfaction of knowing that a good deal of the military policy of the Commonwealth which he so long advocated has been adopted and carried out, and is responsible to a great extent for the military efficiency displayed by the Australian Commonwealth during this portentous struggle. It is unnecessary to go into the conduct of the Overseas Dominions in this great contest. They have done nobly not only in the military direction, but also in the assistance which they have rendered with their naval force. The little mosquito fleet of Australia did useful work by keeping the Pacific clear for commerce, and in particular by the great feat of the *Sydney* in destroying the *Emden*.

The Overseas Dominions have nobly borne their part in the carrying on of the struggle to what I hope will be a speedy and successful issue, and, naturally, they feel they should have some greater voice than they have in the Councils of the Empire.

I do not think any scheme has yet been crystallised, whereby one can lay down definitely how that admission to the Councils of the Empire can be brought about. But there is one thing, I think, all the Overseas Dominions are anxious for, and that is to have some voice in the Conference with regard to the settlement of the terms of peace, and I feel certain their desire in that direction would be duly regarded by the Imperial authorities. I am glad to hear what the Chairman says with regard to the practicability of settling ex-soldiers on the land, because we do sometimes hear that having engaged in war unfits men from settling down on the land. I am glad to have heard his experience in that matter, and to say that the Australian States will be just as willing, and quite as ready, to do their part in the solution of that great problem, as they have been in the endeavour to bring the war to a successful issue. Here, perhaps, it is not out of place to refer to the fact that the States as distinguished from the Commonwealth have the control of all the land of Australia. They have the control of all those Government instrumentalities which will be used in the settlement of the post-war problems, and therefore, in a sense, they are parties who will require to be consulted. I am glad you have taken the opportunity of sending

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out Sir Rider Haggard, and to hear the cablegram intimating that Queensland is willing to give one million acres on condition that money can be found to build railway communications with that land. We do not want the money given to us, I may tell you; it is only a case of lending money to build railways. And there is also the condition that we are to be given a voice in the selection of the persons who are to settle on the land. Now Queensland has more Crown lands than any other State in the Commonwealth. I am reminded by Mr. Mills that she has 400,000,000 acres of land available for settlement, and I do not think the Queensland Government will stop at a million acres; it would be prepared to go to millions of acres for the purpose of settling ex-soldiers. We have a vast area—670,000 square miles of country. That great area of Queensland is rich in minerals and contains a large extent of fertile land. Our only difficulty is that some of these large areas suitable for close settlement have no railway communication, and, as you know, conditions now are such that money for such work is somewhat restricted. We cannot get the large amount which perhaps could be profitably expended in that direction, and if the Imperial Government will take into consideration the amount of land we could make available, I think they will find it would be a good business investment to take steps to enable us to get the money necessary to build these railways. We in Australia, at all events, regard it as a duty of the State, and I hope it may be also regarded as a duty of the State here and in other parts of the Empire, to maintain the soldiers until it is possible to provide for them by some scheme of post-war settlement. If it is possible to maintain a large army in time of war, it is also possible to maintain the same army in time of peace, at all events for such a period as will enable provision to be made for their settlement. I hope that not only will it be possible to maintain them for the short period which will be necessary to enable provision to be made for their settlement, but that some scheme can be devised, whether by commutation of war pensions or by some other means, whereby some little capital will be provided for each to make a start. It would be a good investment for the Empire. These men went to the front prepared to sacrifice all to fight for the Empire, to fight for you and me, and for our property, and it is our duty to see that they are hereafter provided for.

Apart from the question of the settlement of soldiers, I may add that Queensland, with its vast potentialities, will provide a good field of investment for persons having money here who desire to invest it in good securities. I should like to assure you that the Labour Party—I think Sir William MacGregor may be able to bear me out—and I do not confine my remarks to the Labour Party of Australia—are a party of sane and rational persons. They form constitutional Governments, and the word "confiscation" is not known to them. I say that because there is a good deal of misapprehension with regard to our legislation.

It is a misrepresentation to say that we are prepared to appropriate or confiscate anybody's property. We believe in the principles of justice. The same thing, I believe, can be said of the party throughout the Empire, and here I may say I am inclined to dissociate myself from one remark made by the Chairman, who, I thought, made some reference to the Labour Party in Great Britain. I believe that party have used all their efforts to induce the great body of workers to throw their whole energy into the prosecution of the war. I know that from my association with them. If it were not for their efforts—the efforts of the most prominent members of that party—I believe the same whole-hearted co-operation might not have come from the great body of workers in this country. And, gentlemen, without them you cannot win. That is the thing you want to understand—a thing which we do understand in Australia, and I believe from my information you understand it here. In conclusion, I assure you of our absolutely concordant faith in the justice of the cause for which the Empire is fighting. This afternoon I shall have the privilege of inspecting a monument erected to the memory of those who fell in South Africa, and in the presence of men who are now fighting or will be soon on the Western front, and who will have

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the satisfaction of knowing their comrades did not fall in vain in South Africa. They have the unique honour of fighting side by side with the very men they fought against in South Africa—men who are now fighting with them for the same cause under a free Government and a free Empire. I thank you for the great kindness you have extended to me and for the opportunity of being present at this gathering.

The Right Hon. Sir W. MacGregor, G.C.M.G., C.B., proposed the health of the Chairman. He was able to speak from personal knowledge of Queensland as an ex-Governor and referred to the extraordinary potentialities of the country, if irrigation schemes were carried out on a large scale. Education, he added, was going to be the great determining factor with regard to our commercial and our political position in the world, and the people of Australia are doing much for education.

THE AEROPLANE AND ITS USE IN WAR.*

By ERIC STUART BRUCE, M.A.Oxon., F.R.Met.Soc.

In this period of tremendous gloom, one of the brightest beams of light that has pierced the darkened skies is the great rally of the Dominions Overseas round the standard of the Mother Country. Our Colonies, without hesitation, questioning or criticism, have given us their best, and have cemented an Imperial Union such as the world has never seen before. One special way in which our Colonies have helped the Motherland since the outbreak of the present war is their munificence in presenting our Government with aeroplanes, so as to add materially to the resources of our air services. As is well known, thousands and thousands of pounds have been collected in various Colonies for this most admirable purpose. It was at the beginning of last year that the nation accepted and christened with pride the aeroplane that the Commonwealth of Australia had placed at the disposal of the War Office. Now in a little over a year's time, the same country presents us with an aerial squadron, comprising 28 commissioned officers and 186 men.

Within the last few weeks has come news of continued Colonial generosity. We now read in the papers how Mauritius has added to our aerial equipments no less than three aeroplanes in six weeks. Then the first two annual instalments of £10,000—a portion of the £80,000 which the Gold Coast Government is contributing to the expenses of the war—is being devoted to the provision of aeroplanes for the Royal Flying Corps. Rhodesia has contributed three machines. Trinidad another. Ceylon, too, is a donor, and I might go on quoting a long list of contributors, among which the Overseas Club (founded by our Chairman to-day) and the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas have been conspicuous. By all these welcome aeronautical gifts our Colonies have shown true appreciation of the splendid work of the National Air Services in this war. They have formed a true estimate of their worth. They have re-echoed the words of Lord French, written of our airmen near the commencement of the struggle. He then said, "Their skill, energy and perseverance have been beyond all praise. They have furnished me with the most complete and accurate information, which has been of inestimable value in the conduct of the operations."

* *Paper read (with Lantern Illustrations) at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on Tuesday, March 28, 1916, Evelyn Wrench, Esq., in the Chair.*

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They re-echo, too, the message of General Joffre to Lord French : " Please express most particularly to Marshal French my thanks for services rendered on every day by the English Flying Corps. The precision, exactitude and regularity of the news brought in by its members are evidence of their perfect organisation, and also of the perfect training of pilots and observers."

Our Colonies have doubtless remembered the words of Sir Ian Hamilton's despatch concerning the Dardanelles campaign. Speaking of the Naval Airmen, he says, " Let me here thank them, with their commander, Colonel F. H. Sykes, of the Royal Marines, for the nonchalance with which they appear to affront danger and death, when and where they can. So doing they quicken the hearts of their friends on land and sea—an asset of greater military value even than their bombs and aerial reconnaisances, admirable in all respects as these were."

It was the British Military and Naval Airmen who initiated offensive tactics in the air. It was the vigorous use of the aeroplane for directing artillery fire as displayed by the Germans which roused the British airmen to take to the offensive. At the beginning of the war the fighting machine, as such, did not exist. Sheer necessity has been evolving the fighting aeroplane as the war progresses. It is to the greater credit of our flying men that at that time, without machines adequately armoured or armed, they were able to attain to an ascendency that was truly remarkable.

Perhaps it was the work of the British Naval Airmen who first started aerial raids in organised squadrons that sent the greatest thrill of pride through the Empire.

As is well known, with a few aeroplanes they in turn raided the Zeppelin sheds at Düsseldorf, Cologne and Friedrichshafen, and dropped on them effective bombs. They made a reconnaisance of Heligoland Bight, dropping bombs on points of military importance. As early in the war as February 11, 1915, they made the great seaplane raid on the Belgian coast with thirty-four aeroplanes, attacking the German submarine bases, and doing great military damage. A few days afterwards they did one better than this, turning out forty strong, and, with the assistance of eight French machines, made another successful raid over Belgium.

One stimulus to our Colonies for giving substantial aid to our air services has been the knowledge that from the Mother Country first sprung the beginning of aeronautical science.

It was in 1866 that the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain was founded—the oldest Aeronautical Society in the world ; and it is no exaggeration to say that some of the foremost principles of Flight were formulated and discussed at the early meetings of that Society. For instance, at its very first meeting Wenham read his now classic paper on the value of superposed surfaces. Curiously enough, towards the end of the last century, at the very eve of the fulfilment of the aspirations of the students of flight, public interest in this country was flagging behind other nations. They were beginning to reap the fruits of the seeds sown by our countrymen.

At that time a small band of workers associated themselves together, to try and fan once more into life the apparently dying flame. They revived the Aeronautical Society, which had begun to exist merely in name ; they unearthed its old Transactions, which will ever remain amongst the classic literature of flight. They showed that

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enthusiasm for the way of the air was not identical with fanaticism, but was common-sense. Little by little they re-enlisted the sympathies of the public with the possibilities of human flight, and established belief in the importance of the new arm of war. I had the great privilege to work with that small band for over eight years, as Hon. Secretary of the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain. I can with truth say that for the years of labour then expended in the cause of human flight, the knowledge of the undisputed usefulness of the flying machine to the nation in the present war, and of the truly great, heroic—nay, almost superhuman—achievements of our flying men in the great struggle, is full and ample reward.

I have spoken of the Aeronautical gifts of our Colonies. It is not only by gifts that they are aiding the cause. The Colonies are displaying an aeronautical activity amongst themselves that is truly remarkable. We hear of the foundation of aeronautical societies, clubs, and flying-schools. In Canada there is special activity in the training of pilots for active service at the front. Then at Hemnant, near Brisbane, the first aeroplane built in Queensland was lately christened. This was a biplane with Caudron-like wings and having a 35-h.p. Anzani motor. It was built by the members of the Queensland Volunteer Flying Civilians. Since the war broke out a small dirigible has been also constructed at Sydney.

One of the most important of Colonial aerial doings is the brilliant work accomplished by the South African Aviation Corps in the campaign in German S.W. Africa An interesting account of their work has been published in that excellent periodical "Flight." I may now say that eight aeroplanes, 2 B.E. 2 C type, with 70-h.p. Renault engines, and 6 Henry Farman machines, with 140-h.p. Canton-Unné engines, were landed at Walfish Bay on May 1, 1915. On June 24, at Kalkfield, the enemy was located by aerial reconnaisance thirty-five miles away. A few days later peace was declared, victory having been hastened by the valuable reconnaisance made by the South African aviators.

Considering the intense present interest of our Colonies in the aeroplane, it may perhaps be opportune to sketch briefly the history of the aeroplane and speak of its present state of progress, as far as it is allowable at this national crisis ; for, as we all know, there are certain developments over which the veil must be kept tightly drawn and, in speaking of this subject, if we err we must err on the side of prudence.

Some of us, perhaps, still think of the aeroplane as a new strange thing, but under another name it has been with us from childhood's days—we handled it when three years old. In itself, the aeroplane is a kite.

Recognising that the kite was at the basis of human flight, the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain in 1903 held the first International Kite Competition on the Sussex Downs. That event was supplemented by the Kite Display held at Sunningdale in 1907. Before leaving the subject of these large scientific kites I should like to make the remark that even now the aeroplane is not so far perfected that a further series of observations as to the behaviour in the air of large kite surfaces might not prove useful for its further development. This war has taught us how necessary it is to get the utmost lifting power out of our aeroplane surfaces. In this respect the kite may

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yet teach us much. Research as to lift, with variously-shaped kite surfaces, is one that I would commend to our enterprising Colonies.

Let us rapidly trace the history of the flying machine. Though it has now come, it has been a long time in its coming. Pay a visit to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and you will see there the relics of the Stringfellow and Henson aeroplane devised in 1848. The son took up the father's work in 1868, and the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain at that time awarded Stringfellow a prize of a hundred pounds for a light motor. But in those early days the combination of power with lightness was not forthcoming. It was Sir Hiram Maxim and the late Professor Langley who, in the last decade of the last century, applied scientific knowledge to the construction of light steam motors suitable for the purposes of flying machines. Steam motors were, however, not destined to survive ; they have been supplanted by what was, for long, the missing link in aerial navigation—the light petroleum motor.

The giant flying machine of Sir Hiram Maxim spread 4,000 ft. of supporting surface, and weighed 8,000 lb. It had a compound steam engine and a boiler of 363-h.p. This apparatus was provided with wheels, and placed upon a railway line, being kept from premature flight by a pair of wooden rails placed above the wheels. After some years of exhaustive experiment, the machine in 1894 unexpectedly took free flight by bursting through the upper rails during one of the tests. It flew for 300 ft., but steam was shut off, and the machine alighted, and was damaged.

In 1876 Langley's working model had luck with the aerial currents and flew three-quarters of a mile over the Potomac river.

It was the difficulty of stability which led Lilienthal in Germany first to experiment with gliding machines. These were launched from some hill against the wind, and depended on gravity for their motive power. In this way the art of balancing could be practised on motorless aeroplanes. It was Lilienthal who applied quantitative research to the subject of arched surfaces. In Lilienthal's machine the position of the centre of gravity was altered by a change in the position of his body. Lilienthal made some 2,000 glides, but he made one too many. In August, 1896, his glider was upset by a gust and he was killed. Pilcher in England took up the work of Lilienthal, and made some hundreds of glides, but he, too, met his death in attempting to start from level ground by towing his apparatus with horses. The next great step was made by Chanute in America. He first made the surfaces movable instead of the man—a vital principle for success in flight.

I will now speak of the work of two great men. They first realised the dreams of Fairy-land, the aspirations of enthusiasts, the hopes of scientists, and the desires of aeronauts. They first flew. These two great men were the brothers Wright. An historical photograph is now before the meeting—the Wright glider on which they made their preliminary experiments. These early experimental gliders embodied two vital features, on which the success of the Wright's experiments depended—principles important for the success of those who have followed him—(1) the hinged horizontal rudder for the regulation of vertical movements; (2) the warping or flexing of one wing or the other for the maintenance of equilibrium.

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The next pictures shown, "skimming the ground" and "landed," were photographed by Chanute, who gave them to the author.

In 1903 the brothers Wright added to their glider a motor and screw propeller, making short flights of from 12 to 59 seconds. The next year no less than 105 flights were made. All this valuable work was carried on in a secluded spot, and unpublished.

In December, 1905, the world was startled by the announcement first made by the brothers Wright to the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain, that they had flown at Drayton in America for 24¼ miles in half an hour. Much more than this the Wrights would not say, and for three years the world thirsted for the fuller knowledge only revealed in 1908. In the motor-driven Wright machine, in some respects still unsurpassed, the two superposed slightly concave surfaces were about 32 ft. × 6 ft. 8 in. These were separated by a distance of 5 ft. 8 in. Between the planes was the motor and the aviator's seat. In front, that vital portion of the apparatus, the horizontal oval planes for controlling the vertical movements. Behind this was the rudder for horizontal control; the two wood propellers were 9 ft. × 2 in. Total sustaining surface of machine 520 sq. ft.

While the world was waiting to acquire knowledge of the details of the Wright machine a temporary class of aeroplane came into existence in France, which may be described as a stiff unbending type, devoid of the vital principle of movable surfaces. The first of these was the bird of prey of Santos Dumont. Rudely simple was it in its construction. Two box kites for the supporting surfaces. We should laugh at anyone trying to fly with such a machine now, but it was the first to fly in Europe. Another type of rigid machine was the original Voisin. Considering this machine did not bend its main surfaces to adapt itself to circumstances, the early feats which Mr. Henry Farman managed to perform with it were highly to his credit. After the successful flights of the brothers Wright in 1908, the advantages of flexing the carrying surfaces was obvious, and this principle has been more or less imitated in later machines.

The Farman biplane has, indeed, been famous for its records in Peace and in War. In the Henry Farman biplane the alteration of the main surfaces is effected by two hinged flaps at the rear ends of the main surfaces. These hang down when the aeroplane is at rest, and rise during flight into a horizontal position. Flexing these up and down tends to produce lateral stability.

The next photograph shown is an armed Farman Scouting machine, showing gun in position, the Gnome motor, etc. It will be noticed that the upper plane is larger than the lower one; the reduction of the size of the lower plane was a valuable step in the attainment of greater speeds. It was Mr. Henry Farman who first applied to the aeroplane the now famous Gnome motor, in which the seven cylinders revolve.

Another parent type of aeroplane distinguished in the days of peace for practical, picturesque and historical achievements is the famous Blériot monoplane.

On this machine Bleriot first flew over the Channel in 1909. After he had accomplished this feat I said in my public lectures, "Great Britain has ceased to be an island." A smile then was wont to come over the faces of some of my listeners; now we know what that remark meant.

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As is well known, the British Royal Aircraft Factory has evolved most efficient aeroplanes, which are doing excellent work at the Front. For obvious reasons, at this national crisis it is impossible for me to speak of their details. I may, however, say that our aeroplanes in the war have given evidence of three most essential qualities—speed, inherent stability, and strength. Dr. Glazebrook has pointed out that precise investigations as to the air pressures in relation to lifting power, friction and drag have gone far towards increasing the usefulness of our aeroplanes. As I wrote in the *Dublin Review* in January last, "One type of British biplane used in the war has been remarkable for its swiftness; owing to its speed it has proved to be invaluable for making a rapid reconnaissance, and its very fleetness is its best protection from enemy gun fire. The quality of speed in flying machines in itself endows them with stability while all goes well with them, but machines in which everything is sacrificed to speed require very special handling. It is extremely desirable that the large majority of military aeroplanes should possess inherent stability; for such machines can be piloted by those who are less expert than those qualified to drive machines designed for extreme speed. During the war it is necessary to train pilots rapidly. The amount of stability attained in one type of British aeroplane has enabled beginners to become quite dexterous in handling them. The introduction of the means to produce inherent stability in an aeroplane tends, however, to slow the machine, and in designing any class of aeroplane it must be considered how far speed should be sacrificed to stability. A very happy result has been attained in the form of stable aeroplane which is made in the Royal Aircraft Factory and was due to the labours of the late Mr. E. T. Busk."

Indirectly we can ascribe the attainment of stability in aeroplanes to the profound mathematical researches of Professor Bryan, and thus to the honour of this country belongs the attainment of the great desideratum of human flight. Those who have to fly near the earth's surface, where there are tricky air currents, produced by the configuration of the country, such as hills, cliffs, etc., know indeed the value of stability. For instance, when the wind blows against a cliff there is an upward current produced—a disagreeable incident to an aviator if the machine is flying low over the cliff.

The problem of the fighting aeroplane is perhaps the most difficult one that the aeronautical engineer has ever had to face. It should combine speed and climbing power with weight-carrying capacities, so that it can be adequately armoured and carry sufficiently powerful weapons, and it should possess stability. But armouring and arming oppose the vital qualities of speed and climbing power, and the question arises, Which in a fighting machine is to be sacrificed to the other?

One of the aerial surprises of the war has been the durability of aeroplanes. Before the war most people thought that such light and flimsy constructions as aeroplanes would quickly succumb to wear and tear, and be easily placed *hors de combat* by gun fire. But aeroplanes seem to have a charmed life. Their power of resistance to rifle bullets and shrapnel is quite extraordinary. Their weakness has been their strength. We have heard of a French aeroplane that has been exhibited in the Invalides that has safely accomplished more than 120 flights over the enemy's lines, and carries the scars of 400 bullets and shell splinters which perforated

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its canvas wings. Fourteen bullets passed through its armoured hood. During the war it has spent nearly 250 hours in the air. For 77 hours it carried out its reconnaissances over the enemy's lines, 48 times it directed the French artillery fire, 27 times it was engaged in single combat with German aeroplanes.

I have spoken of British prowess in the air. I could not give this lecture without making reference to the great airmanship of our Allies the French. Of them we read tale after tale of bravery and pathos. One time how an observing officer in an aeroplane had the machine all but wrecked by the enemy's fire, and yet, while falling perilously to earth, unperturbed completed his important observation. At another time we read how a pilot who had ascended with bright and eager eyes came to earth and stepped from his machine a blind man for life. Concerning the French work during the first eight months of war, the aviators carried out some 10,000 reconnaissances, corresponding to 18,000 hours of flight. These flights put together represent a distance of 1,800,000 kilometres, or forty-five times round the world.

Practical aeronautics has sustained a grave loss in the death of the renowned Pégoud, who fell a prey to the German aviators while fighting in the air. His death has been widely mourned. It is said that even an enemy aviator dropped a wreath from his aeroplane over the spot where the great French airman fell. But Pégoud lived long enough to win enduring fame. As I wrote in my book, "Aircraft in War," he "performed experiments in the air that the most sanguine enthusiast of a few years back would have deemed far beyond the region of the possible. In his graceful air diving, looping the loop, and flying upside down, he gave the world a great object-lesson of the materiality of air. He showed the air can give the aviator as much support as the water can to a fancy swimmer. He showed that when the aeroplane lacks stability, the human brain can supply it. That in human flight, like the bird and its wings, the machine and individual can be in closest touch. No one has stripped the air of its terrors as has M. Pégoud. In the yielding air there is safety! It is the ground the aviator has to fear!"

The usefulness of Pégoud's lessons have been well exemplified in this war. When the balance of a machine has been lost it has been found possible by Pégoud's methods to recover it. No better example could be found than when the late Flight-Lieut. Warneford, V.C., dropped his bombs on a Zeppelin and exploded it in mid-air. The force of the explosion caused Warneford's Morane-Saulnier monoplane to turn upside down, but Pégoud had shown that for an aeroplane to turn upside down is a mere incident of flight, and Warneford reached the ground safely.

Now I will say a few words about the German aeroplanes. From the very first the Germans had been intent on making their aeroplanes of a type that would be useful in war, and great efforts were made to render them simple, strong and stable. The Taubes, the dove-shaped flying machines which were so largely used by the Germans at the beginning of the war, were, fortunately for the Allies, more fitted to be machines for reconnaisance and directing artillery than offensive ones. The superior speeds displayed by the Allies were very efficacious in disposing of the Taubes. As has been mentioned, later on in the war the Germans have been using the Aviatik

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and other forms which in gun-carrying capacity are more fitted for offensive operations. The German monoplanes of the Taube type are easily distinguished by the bird form of their wings, the ends of the wings projecting beyond the central part. As an example of a Taube I will show the meeting a photograph of the Rumpler monoplane, a type developed from the Etrich Monoplane. The machine, however, differs considerably from the original Etrich. The ends of the wings are flexible, and the stability of the machine may be said to depend upon both the shape of the wings and their flexibility.

The Aviatik biplane, which is one of the types now supplanting the Taubes, is an exceedingly powerful machine. It combines some of the foremost features of construction which experience has suggested. For instance, as in the case of the Farman biplane, the upper plane is larger than the lower one. Each plane is divided into two sections, fixed independently of the fuselage (body), and the machine can be very rapidly erected and taken to pieces. Another feature is the abundance of space provided for the observer in the front part of the fuselage. The machine is well armoured and provided with machine guns.

The Albatross biplane is not so remarkable for any originality in its design as for simplicity in certain details of its construction. For instance, the fuselage is built up without the use of any cross-bracing.

Much has been said about the German Fokker monoplanes; but their power has been greatly exaggerated. They are an imitation, and an inferior one, of the famous French Morane-Saulnier monoplane. Even the motor is an imitation of the famous Gnome construction. These machines can travel at high speed, but their range of action is not large.

There have also been seen over the Fronts twin-engined German machines with single fuselages. Some of these have been said to carry weapons heavier than machine guns, and capable of firing a shell, though it was probably some kind of case shot that was fired. Then there are the reported large German biplanes with two fuselages and an engine in each.

But it is not only Germans that now make use of twin-engined machines. The French Caudron twin-engined biplanes have been exceedingly successful, and the British Caudron Company have been turning out some excellent machines. It is not permissible to give figures as to their carrying capacity, speed or climb, but these are said to be exceedingly good. I have some prints of these machines which were published by "Flight" on my lecture table. It will be seen the machines have three nacelles; the central one for pilot and observer, the smaller ones on each side to contain the Anzani engines and tank.

Speaking generally of the progress of aeroplane construction, notwithstanding the many developments made during the war, the aeroplane still contains certain imperfections which are not likely to be removed until the cessation of war gives room for new research and experiment.

One of these is the want of variability of speed. In this particular way the airship has still the advantage. Of machines yet devised the Sopwith would appear to possess

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the largest range of speed. But the ideal aeroplane should be able to travel at very high speeds, and yet be capable of proceeding at a very slow pace.

It is interesting to note that the first suggestion for a variable speed machine, by making the surfaces collapsible, came from the Dominions overseas.

There will also have to be exhaustive experiments relating to the application of horizontal screws to both airships and aeroplanes, so as to accelerate vertical movement. The application, too, of horizontal screws to aeroplanes would greatly facilitate their vertical movements. But when we multiply the screws we are passing from aeroplane to Hélicoptère. Will the aeroplane be the permanent flying machine, or will support as well as motion be furnished by arrangements of screws? These are questions the future alone can decide; a simple experiment shows how well a little model machine without any supporting surface, save its screws, can fly.

Another aeronautical problem will be the production of giant aeroplanes capable of carrying great weights. As many of us know, Russia before the war had produced a very large aeroplane, the Sykorsky type. In this the supporting surface was 182 sq. metres, length 20 metres; motor power, 4 Argus motors of 100-h.p. each. This type has since been successfully used in the war.

But the Sykorsky machines are small compared to what the future will demand of the nation who aspires to supremacy of the air. Some may have thought that in this paper I have dwelt at times too much on the past, but to science the past is as valuable as the present. Often we have to retrace our steps to gather up from the past precious fragments that have been left behind—links that once would not fit in the connecting chain because their proper place was in the future portion, then unforged.

We have sometimes smiled at the size of the giant aeroplane of Sir Hiram Maxim, but history will repeat itself, and on flying machines will again be spread 4,000 sq. ft. of supporting surface—yes, more than this. Perhaps in days to come there may be aeroplanes as large as the mammoth gas bubbles, the Zeppelins, which have only to be hit by the well-aimed bomb to collapse in flames.

For the solution of the unsolved problems that will give us Imperial supremacy in the air let this nation ever seek the help of our Colonies.

When the blest morn of peace has once more dawned, it might be well for us to consider if there could not be an Imperial Aeronautical Congress held every few years in London, to discuss the great aerial problems that must arise. Possibly this might develop into a vast Imperial society of aeronautical research.

The formation of such a union was, long before this war, one of my day-dreams, and the nebulæ of thought sometimes condense into fact. Anyhow, let us in aeronautical matters think imperially, experiment imperially, fly imperially; not, indeed, with the desire of unlawful aggression, but for the preservation of lofty ideals—Liberty, Justice, and the Right.

Before the reading of the Paper:—

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Evelyn Wrench) said: It gives me much pleasure to be here this afternoon as a member of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, and to introduce to you so distinguished a speaker as Mr. Eric Stuart Bruce. The subject

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is one which vitally affects all of us just now. Mr. Bruce is one of the greatest experts in England on the subject of aviation. He is late Honorary Secretary of the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain, Membre d'Honneur of the Aero Club of France, late editor of the Aeronautical Journal and author of "Aircraft in War," etc. Sir Harry Wilson has asked me to take the chair to-day because the Overseas Club of which I have the honour to be Honorary Secretary has played a certain part in stimulating interest in our air services overseas ever since the War broke out. Over a year ago we formed the Imperial Aircraft Flotilla, which has enabled all sections of the Empire to take their share in providing our air services. Since Empire Day last, thanks to splendid generosity, we have presented 60 aeroplanes to the Government on behalf of British subjects overseas, and, as the result of our propaganda, nearly one hundred machines have been presented direct to the Royal Flying Corps. The Patriotic League of Britons Overseas, of which I am also a joint Honorary Secretary, has presented a flotilla of sea-planes to the Navy, and the gift has been gratefully acknowledged by Mr. Balfour. I cannot let this opportunity pass without putting into words the thoughts which I believe are uppermost in all our minds just now. Despite the soothing syrup of politicians and notwithstanding the magnificent bravery of our flying men—and I believe they are the bravest in the world—Germany at present does possess supremacy in the air. We know the enormous advantage which Germany has in the possession of a great fleet of Zeppelins which are the eyes of the German Navy. Our Government have a heavy responsibility in this matter, and I trust they will rise to the occasion. As you know, in the early months of the War and up to the end of last summer, our Flying Corps could claim an aerial ascendancy over the Germans as far as the British Front in Flanders and in France was concerned. It is lack of foresight on our part which has enabled the Germans to surpass us. Those of you who have relatives at the Front know only too well that, at the moment, many of our machines are outclassed in the matter of design. It must be confessed that surprisingly little imagination has been displayed by our rulers in adapting themselves to the modern conditions of aerial warfare. It is not a question of our defences against this or that air raid. It is something vastly greater. It is the problem of recognising that from the military standpoint we are no longer an island, and our whole future security depends on the realisation that we must build up a service which will be to us in the air what the Navy is on the sea. If only we will give free scope to the best brains, I believe that we have the men, the money, and the facilities for creating a great air service, and I should like to see that service in charge of a responsible minister who could firmly establish British supremacy in the air.

After the reading of the Paper, the following discussion took place:—

Mr. A. H. VARNIER, Hon. Secretary of the Aerial League of the British Empire, explained that the Overseas Aerial League had been formed in conjunction with the Overseas Club with the object of securing co-operative action between the Mother Country and the Dominions in matters relating to aviation. At the commencement of a new science such as aviation, we obviously ought to take advantage of the experience of the whole world. It is proposed to establish branches in the large centres of population to encourage and develop the practice of aviation for industrial purposes, as well as for naval and military operations. The services which our airmen have performed in the War are vastly more than could have been even imagined two years ago. Notwithstanding all that Germany had done and is doing in the matter, he felt confident that this country, in aviation as in everything else, would make good her stand in this War. We had more than encouragement in the manner in which our men had carried out their arduous duties—duties we should have called impossible some three years ago. It was, indeed, an incentive to us, as well as to the Oversea Dominions, that so many of their young men were coming over here and learning to fly, because the common interest which this would generate would be of great advantage to the future of our Empire. It was also very important that, for experiments and other

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purposes, the aviators, inventors and others, in our various Colonies, should have the best information and advice which the Mother Country could give them; this was the main idea in the formation of the Overseas Aerial League.

Mr. CHARLES BRIGHT, F.R.S.E., M.Inst.C.E., thought they would all agree that the Institute could not have selected a more admirable exponent of the subject than Mr. Bruce. He did not propose to dwell on what we had failed to do; but, as a matter of historical fact, the administrative side of aeronautics had always lagged a good deal behind its scientific development. It was nine years since an agent of the Brothers Wright came over from America to invite our Government to take up certain famous aviation patents; and the reply then given, by the First Lord of the Admiralty, was that after careful consideration it had been decided that no use could be made of these patents, which rather reminded one of the answer given by the same (and probably our most efficient) department to an early telegraphic inventor (Mr., afterwards Sir Francis, Ronalds) namely, that there was no need whatever for electric telegraphs of any kind in our country! He thought we had made a great mistake in not recognising the utility of the rigid air-ship. It was only now that the conviction had been brought home to us that, after all, the Zeppelin had considerable advantages. It would be thoroughly recognised now, he hoped, that attack is the best defence.

Mr. A. MONTEFIORE thought that after the lecture their minds would be stored with a good deal of knowledge that would be helpful in the agitation for an Air Ministry and for the better defence of the country. His own interest and connection with aviation dated back to a period eighteen months before the War—about the time when Hamel made his non-stop flight from Dover to Cologne. Personally, he could look back with pleasure on the fact that he had the courage to guarantee the cost of building that aeroplane, and also the cost of undertaking the flight. He was strongly advised at the time not to undertake anything of the kind, and was told, indeed, that he ran the risk of losing his reputation. It was no small anxiety when one recollected that Hamel made no less than four attempts before he succeeded. It meant a cost of practically £100 a day while these experiments were going on. He thought they would all agree that that fourth successful attempt marked a considerable epoch in the history of aviation. If the Government had adopted a more courageous and far-seeing policy we should not, in his opinion, have had so many air raids in this country.

Miss MOUTRAY READ (Hill Johnson), who, the Chairman stated, had contributed an interesting article on aeronautics to UNITED EMPIRE, explained that she had not expected to be called upon to speak, and wished she could share the cheerful belief that the appointment of an Air Minister would remove all the evils from which the country was suffering, due to mistakes made by Ministers already existing. Events had bred in us profound distrust of politicians. The appointment of an Air Minister threatened to be another political job. If she could be assured that the man who had most practical knowledge of aviation—military aviation and questions of strategy, military and naval—was going to be the man who would dominate our air policy, she would have more faith in such a scheme. One reason why the R.F.C. at the outset attained an ascendency and were able to do such wonderful things was the fact that two or three R.F.C. officers, of their own initiative, without encouragement from official sources, could work wireless, and had wireless apparatus in their machines. Now every squadron has a wireless flight, and all R.F.C. officers are trained in wireless.

THE CHAIRMAN, proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Bruce for his extremely interesting lecture, said that, with no desire whatever to belittle what had been done, some of them did hold strong opinions on this question, and he was glad to hear one of the speakers (Mr. Bright) refer to the question of offence. It was rather curious that since Mr. Pemberton Billing was returned for East Herts there had been two offensive air raids, and that there had been none for fifteen months previously. With reference to the Brothers Wright, he was staying in the South of France with Lord Northcliffe some eight years ago, when the Wrights were flying at Pau; and one of the things which struck him was the extraordinary trouble which they took in examining every

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detail of their machines before a flight. He also remembered being in Germany in 1900, and going to see the great Zeppelin shed on the shores of Lake Constance; for the Germans were experimenting with Zeppelins as far back as that. It was a curious fact, by the way, that when the Brothers Wright were experimenting, the German staff was represented by three General Officers who spent all their time on the flying ground. It had been said in the lecture that, in the great offensive in September 1915, we had the ascendency over the Germans. That was true, but the ascendency had not been maintained. German supremacy in the air dated from the latter part of last year. If, as the speaker had said, we had this supremacy as late as last September, and if we had the most splendid flying men in the world, as he believed we had, he wanted to know why, in Heaven's name, we did not keep the ascendency. Another point on which he felt strongly was that progress in this matter had been largely due to private enterprise, and he thought they would all like to see the Government doing more to encourage such enterprise.

Mr. E. S. BRUCE replied briefly, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

REVIEWS.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH.*

THOUGH there is no end to the making of books, great books are not frequently produced; but this, "The Problem of the Commonwealth," is certainly one of them. The price at which it is sold is so extremely moderate, that there may be a danger lest it should be mistaken for one of that class of books which is endless. The activities of the Round Table circles, frequent Press notices, and the immense importance of the subject discussed may prevent the price from impairing its sale. The economics of bookselling is however a mysterious business!

The "Problem of the Commonwealth" was circulated privately for some time before it was offered for public sale, and anonymously. Many were the speculations of those privileged to read it who the gifted author might be. The sublimity of mystery was not indeed necessary to add to its greatness, and it is gratifying to see the author's name to the Preface of this edition. The Preface is new, and gives an account of the origin of the book. "In 1910 groups of men belonging to all political parties were formed in various centres in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa for studying the Imperial problem. Other groups were subsequently brought into existence in the United Kingdom, India, and Newfoundland, and they all came to be known informally as 'Round Table groups,' from the name of the Quarterly Magazine instituted by their members as a medium of mutual information on Imperial matters." As a result of the studies of the Round Table groups "it was decided to prepare a brief separate report on one single aspect of the Imperial problem, that raised by the question *how a British citizen in the Dominions can acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles.* A draft was prepared and widely circulated for criticism in the autumn of 1915, and in view of this criticism the text has now been substantially revised."

The materials and criticisms furnished by his colleagues and the Round Table circles are the bases of the "Problem of the Commonwealth," without which it "could never have been written in its present form." But the choice of the materials was made by Mr. Curtis, and the conclusions are his own. "It is for that reason that he alone can make himself responsible" for the issue of the book.

The form of the book, its vigorous language, and its cogent reasoning must therefore be the creations of Mr. Curtis. How much of the materials it contains are furnished by Mr. Curtis himself, and which we owe to his great knowledge and vast experience, the reader can never guess.

* *The Problem of the Commonwealth.* By Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co. 1*s.* 6*d.*

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Such is the origin of a work which seems destined to be to the British Empire what the Federalist was to the framers of the Constitution of the United States of America. It cannot fail to occupy a lasting place among the great works on politics of all time.

"The Problem of the Commonwealth" is "how a British citizen in the Dominions can acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles." At present Great Britain and Ireland have a more dominating control over British foreign policy than Prussia has over that of the German Empire. Mr. Curtis does not inform the reader that this fact must come to him as a rude shock. That such a state of things has not proved intolerable is a matter for wise men to wonder at.

Mr. Curtis takes up the task of solving the problem by tracing the growth of responsible government in the United States and in the British Dominions, especially in Canada. In the early colonial days the Colonies possessed representative government, but not responsible government. In each Colony the Governor and his Council were responsible to the Crown, not to the Assembly which voted the taxes, and whose assent was necessary for the making of laws. To make the Governor and his Council responsible to the Assembly would have been considered a highly dangerous step, and marking the end of the unity of the Empire. There were frequent disputes and many deadlocks between Governors and Assemblies, which were only ended in the Thirteen Colonies when they proclaimed their independence. Then Governors and Councils became responsible to the representatives of the people. But as the Colonies were thirteen in number, and as the British Government had managed all those matters which were common to them all, the inhabitants of the Thirteen States were compelled to frame the Constitution of the United States. Each "State" surrendered to the new Government thus created such powers as were deemed necessary to enable the thirteen to act as one great power, and no more. This memorable step was forced upon them all because, as Thirteen States, they had failed to pay their debts, and could take no joint action for defence against military aggression or diplomatic intrigues.

In Canada the old methods of government lived on, or rather continued to exist, for many years. Constant troubles between Governors and Assemblies, as well as other causes, at last led to rebellion. Lord Durham was sent out by the British Government with full powers to redress the evils of Canadian rule. His memorable report led to the adoption of responsible government in Canada, and in the great Dominions.

As in the case of the United States, so in Canada, Australia, and South Africa it was found that their component provinces had many important matters demanding settlement and control, which no one province could settle for itself. Again, as in the case of the United States, in Canada, Australia, and South Africa the colonists were driven to frame governments to bear rule in those matters common to each group of Colonies. In the old Colonial days such progress in responsible government would have been regarded as heralding the disruption of the Empire. Such, however, has not been the result. Self-government, or responsible government, has become a bond of union between the widely scattered parts of the British Empire. Everyone is familiar with the saying that in this great War the forces of despotism are arrayed against the forces of freedom. The British Empire has become the champion of freedom, and by freedom is meant self-government.

Lord Durham, however, never anticipated that the Dominions would, or could enjoy so great a degree of self-government as they have acquired since his time. In his opinion the Imperial Government alone must have continued to exercise the powers of amending Colonial Constitutions, regulating their foreign commerce, and controlling their immigration laws. But in a comparatively short time these great powers were ceded to the self-governing Colonies. Tariffs were imposed by them upon goods manufactured in the Mother Country. To the many critics of the British Empire it was no empire, but a loose confederation, which must fall asunder should any attempt be made to give it greater organic unity. Its enemies believed that at the first shock

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of war it would fall to pieces, and that Great Britain would have to face her foes alone. No empire had ever been known to hold together whose component parts were empowered to raise tariff walls against each other. Did not Canada and other British Dominions make commercial treaties with foreign countries, and was it always possible to draw a rigid distinction between commercial and political treaties? Without doubt the British Empire must fall to pieces in time without a war to hasten the process.

The war has come, and the British Empire has not only held together, but is more united than it has ever been before. "From the uttermost parts of the Commonwealth" its children "have come to honour their uncovenanted bond, obedient to one uncalculating purpose; and the fields of their final achievement, where they lie in a fellowship too close and a peace too deep to be broken, are the image and epitome of the cause for which they fell. They have not feared to enter the darkness, because they walk by a light that is in themselves, which burns and shall burn unquenched wherever their ashes lie mingled by land or sea. From that fervent dust the breath of one man might kindle a flame whereby these nations might find and follow the print of their feet. So might a new birth of freedom be raised from their seed. So might these severed threads be caught up and woven into the stuff of other men's lives." *

Such is the binding strength of British freedom. It has proved stronger than the most potent of paternal despotisms, and confounded the wisdom of its critics and the malice of its enemies. It seems incredible that that freedom is so severely limited, and that the communities whence came our Brethren, whose glory is proclaimed by Mr. Curtis in the above passage, have no control whatever over the foreign policy of the Empire and the great issues of peace and war. We feel as if we had been smitten in the face when told that Great Britain has a more predominating influence in these great matters than Prussia has in the destinies of the German Empire, and that a common heckler in Great Britain has a greater influence in the foreign affairs of the British Empire than a Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The second part of the book is devoted to the solution of this glaring anomaly. It is well to be warned at the outset that no process of tinkering with existing conditions can solve the problem. By a process of elimination Mr. Curtis reasons out one peddling expedient after another and dismisses them as impracticable. The champions of an Imperial Council including representatives of the legislatures of the Dominions have to face the fact that such a Ministry would be responsible to five parliaments. It would be as difficult for such a Council to take any action as it is to amend the Constitution of the United States of America. Ministers must be responsible to one assembly only. No Minister hankers after more than one.

Those who would solve the difficulty by summoning representatives of the Dominions to the British Parliament are advocates of a policy which is contrary to the principles of self-government. In that case the representatives of Canada or Australia would help to decide matters purely British, and perhaps in a way repugnant to the wishes of the British people. On the other hand, the British Parliament has no control whatever over purely Colonial affairs. The Imperial Conference can do nothing in great crises such as the present one. Its members are needed at home when the Empire is at war. Even the settlement of peace terms must be made without them. Terms of peace are discussed whilst a war is still raging.

There is but one solution of the Problem of the Commonwealth. An Imperial Parliament must be created with a Ministry responsible to itself for the conduct of Imperial affairs. The British Empire must follow the example of the United States, and the British Parliament must become a local assembly for purely local affairs. The Imperial Legislature must be empowered to enforce the payment of taxes set apart

* P. 247.

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for Imperial purposes, and a just proportion of those taxes must be paid by each of the Dominions. Then the burden of our heavy debt will not be intolerable, and the financial credit of the Empire will be vastly enhanced. Mr. Curtis sees no insuperable difficulties which will prevent the realisation of these great results. Difficulties of course must arise, but if the issues do not become party questions, then the solution of the Problem of the Commonwealth cannot be long delayed. The conditions which prevailed before the War must not be perpetuated. The blood of our slain Brethren from beyond the seas will cry from the ground against any attempt to exclude the Dominions from the control of Imperial affairs, and brand those who will be perverse enough to do it as champions of a more than Prussian hegemony in British affairs.

Three lines of criticism suggest themselves as possible for an opponent to take up.

In the first place, the scheme set forth by Mr. Curtis is too logical, and the British are not a logical people. A little more logic would, however, improve even the British and help them to devise machinery fitted for the work it is intended to do. They might even be persuaded to see to it that responsible Ministers have some qualification for their office except that of complete ignorance of their duties. Some solution of the Problem of the Commonwealth must be found. It would assuredly be madness to accept one because it is illogical.

Secondly, such critics might object that Mr. Curtis is a revolutionary. It would be easy to show that this is not so. Mr. Curtis has lived in the Dominions, and has seen the growth of groups of Colonies into powerful nations. He played a part in bringing about the Union of South Africa. For more than half a century the tendency towards union has been the most remarkable feature in the history of the British Empire. The Constitution of the United States was attacked because its establishment was a reactionary movement. Criticism, like wisdom, is justified of all its children.

Thirdly, there are those who deprecate all hurry in adopting a solution because the British Constitution is a growth, not a creation. Something will grow, and behold there will be no Imperial problem, it will have solved itself. This is a dangerous doctrine, and is only another form of the old Teutonic theory of Professor Freeman and others. It has been elaborated with great learning, and is part of the mental furniture of many. Its absurdity is manifest. Mr. Curtis believes rightly that politics demand hard and careful study. No inner light of Nature, which is generally darkness, will be of much use when difficulties must be overcome. At every step in the constitutional progress of this country some one has done the necessary thinking. If such is not attributed by historians to kings and statesmen, it does not follow that it was not done at all. It may have been done by some obscure clerk, who had not even the honour of being forgotten. Mr. Curtis and his colleagues have now done the hard thinking for the British people, who can best reward him by believing there is a Problem of the Commonwealth, and making themselves familiar with the solution set forth in this book.

T. Stanley Roberts.

THE EMPIRE AND THE FUTURE.*

In a prefatory note Dr. Newton tells us that this is the fourth of the volumes of collected lectures, so far published as the result of a "movement for the more adequate academic study of the problems of the British Empire" initiated within the University of London more than two years ago. And to the five lectures about to be issued under the above title an introduction is contributed by Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who presided at the opening lecture.

Following the introduction, we have Sir Charles Lucas speaking on "Empire and

* *The Empire and the Future.* A series of Imperial Studies Lectures, delivered in the University of London, King's College. Macmillan. 1906.

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Democracy"; Mr. A. L. Smith, the new Master of Balliol, on "The People and the Duties of Empire"; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, on "Imperial Administration"; Mr. P. H. Kerr, editor of *The Round Table*, on "Commonwealth and Empire"; and Dr. Parkin on "The Duty of the Empire to the World." These are subjects the consideration of which is admirably calculated to promote the object in view—the more adequate academic study of the problems of the British Empire: and the exponents of these subjects are men whose names entitle them to command the attention of the wider public to whom their thoughts are now accessible.

There is a literary quality in Sir Charles Lucas's lecture which makes it pleasant reading, apart from what it tells us of the subject under discussion. Starting from Thucydides' dictum "a democracy is incapable of empire," * he leads us through analysis, quotation, apt illustration and many surprises to the plain truth. The word, unless you strip it bare of all, or almost all, its classical and mediæval associations, is a mere misnomer when applied to the communities whose whole life is conditioned to-day by the circumstance that in them the electorate, and not the sovereign, or his delegates, is the ultimate repository of governmental powers. The slave-borne *lectica* of a fashionable Roman lady in the time of the Cæsars bears as much, or as little, resemblance to the *limousine* used by her sister of to-day—with the delicate interplay of its complex mechanism and its 40 horse-power—as does the "democracy" of a Greek city-community, or an Italian mediæval republic, to the system of government now established in France, the United States, or in any of the self-governing communities within the British Empire. In the million-peopled democracies of to-day the many cannot *rule*; they choose the few who do rule.

But there is a still more recent development of the democratic principle. The "New Democracy," as Sir Charles names it, just as he calls the British Empire the "New Empire," "is represented by the rise of the Labour Party, which grows in strength in Great Britain, and is at this moment governing the British Commonwealth of Australia." It means "the rule of the manual workers. It is avowedly class rule. It comes into being in virtue of the numerical preponderance of the class, but its basis is, as its name implies, not so much numbers as kind. In this class rule, again, the few govern the many. However much representatives are reduced to the position of delegates, in the intervals between the general elections the power is in the hands of the few."

And so, abandoning the general for the particular, and adapting the question to present-day conditions, Sir Charles asks first, "Can the New Democracy manage the New Empire?" and then, probing still deeper, "Can a class government permanently manage an Empire?"

To the question in this form he replies unhesitatingly "No," since "class is the enemy of the State"; but he believes, and gives reason for believing, that "class government cannot stand for any long time" in a British community, still less in a union of British communities, and least of all in the British Empire. And why? It is the diversity of the Empire, being at once the result and the pledge of freedom, which gives it an enduring vitality and strength.

"It is in its diversity, its apparent weakness, that the real strength of the Empire consists. Diversity means that all the component parts are developing each on its own lines, which must result in fuller life and greater vigour than if their development was prescribed on a rigid, uniform system. It means that the members supplement instead of multiplying one another, that the one gives what the other lacks, the sum total being proportionately enriched."

In a political system founded upon this principle the interests of no one class, not even of a

* I prefer this to Jowett's translation, as being closer to the thought value of the original, and if anything more compact. The natural equivalent of the Greek concrete (ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, "to take the lead over others") is the English abstract "empire" (*not an* empire).

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class so numerically preponderant as that of the manual workers, can ever become identified with the interests of the community as a whole. In each State of the Empire class will commingle with class; and the various classes of the same category, the landowners, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, professional men, artists, tradesmen, skilled artisans, and manual labourers, will differ in each State with the differing conditions and ideals of the State to which they belong. In such a system the process of "slow broadening out," which will have the "practical result of slowly narrowing in," will go on, and out of diversity will come a higher unity—a unity of thought and purpose in all matters essential to the well-being of organised human societies.

And so, in Sir Charles Lucas's words, "the New Democracy will manage an Empire, in proportion as the Empire moulds the New Democracy." *

To this end—the shaping of the new democracy into a form consistent with the facts and responsibilities of the British Empire—the War will contribute greatly. It is "teaching the lesson that obedience is necessary to existence" not merely in the camps and the trenches, but also among the home-staying masses; and that the man who would command must first learn to obey. It has revealed the so-called "idle rich" as a class "conspicuous for voluntary service and self-sacrifice." It has strengthened "the principle of rule by the few over the many." It has shown to the masses of the United Kingdom what the British Empire really means. It has brought Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and Indians, wounded in our cause, and theirs, to English hospitals; and united in the comradeship of the trenches not merely the Home and Oversea British, but these with the non-European peoples of the Empire. Therefore Sir Charles looks to the War "as likely to counteract the weaknesses of the New Democracy, and to enable it to manage the New Empire, by a general widening of view, by giving to the working classes of England first-hand practical knowledge of the Empire, and by strengthening the machinery which alone makes Democracy possible, the leadership of the few."

On all these aspects of the question, and on many others the bare mention of which is forbidden by the need for brevity, the reader will find much that was well worth saying, and is well worth remembering, before Sir Charles discovers himself to his audience in a final passage racy with Socratic irony.

"Ladies and gentlemen, having patiently listened to this lecture, you will probably say, now that I have come to the end of it, that I have been playing with words, with the terms Empire and Democracy. I think I have, and have proved myself a democrat in so doing. Words and phrases are the current coin of Democracy, a token coinage, which may or may not have a reserve of gold behind it. The simple truth is that we have been talking about machinery, and what matters is not so much the machinery as the hands which use and the brains which guide it. Empire and Democracy mean something or nothing according to the race which professes Empire or professes Democracy. I cannot tell you whether the New Democracy will manage the New Empire, but I can tell you what will manage it, and that is invincible British common sense."

In dealing with the remaining four lectures I shall confine myself to the one or two points on which I do not find myself in agreement with the opinions of the authors.

* The same striking thought, based upon the Spencerian formula of the Law of Evolution—the change of matter "from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity"—was applied by Sir Harry Wilson, in a paper read at the Institute on April 18 last, to the historical facts which mark the development of the British Empire. There the lecturer showed how the "integration," or separate development of the several parts upon their own lines, tending to make each part differ from the rest in proportion as it attained maturity, was none the less an essential and valid contribution to the attainment of unity and maturity—"integration" in fact—by the aggregate composed of the differentiating parts. Thus the biological analogy points to the fact that a composite political system may actually gain strength and unity not from the similarity, but from the dissimilarity, of its component parts: and the British Empire becomes, as Sir Charles Lucas says, a notable illustration of the Bible words, "Strength is made perfect in weakness."

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I do so, not from any love of fault-finding, but because I wish, without exceeding the space at my disposal, to add something, if possible, to the wealth of thought and suggestion stored between the covers of this book.

Mr. Kerr urges the substitution of "Commonwealth" for "Empire," on the ground that it is desirable to get rid of the misleading associations of the latter and its adjective "Imperial." And in the introduction to the lectures Mr. Steel-Maitland endorses the proposal.

It is the "imponderabilia" which count, as Bismarck said; and this question of nomenclature deserves attention. On the other hand, as in effect Sir Charles Lucas has pointed out, the British Empire is a big enough, and a strange enough, thing to make its own associations. None the less, if a change of style be deemed necessary, I should like to enter a *caveat* against the too hasty adoption of the word "Commonwealth." The associations of the military despotism of the Cæsars are bad no doubt, but are the associations of the British Commonwealth any better? The Commonwealth, or Republic, began with an assertion of the people's rights, but with the dissolution of Parliament in January, 1655, all "show of legal rule" was lost, and from that time it became the "simple tyranny" of Cromwell's government. It was the almost universal desire for liberty, voiced in the cry of "a free Parliament," which brought back the monarchy.

The word which means most—which we want to mean most, because it holds for us the ideals that have made the British Empire "the greatest secular agency for good as yet known to the world"—is *British*. To emphasise this word it should be joined not to "Empire," which seems to proclaim that Might is Right; not to "Commonwealth," which recalls a time when in England the cloak of liberty was used to hide a sordid tyranny, galling alike to soul and body; but to some colourless term—Union, Realm, Dominion, Sovereignty, or the like. Among such terms the word Union seems to have a prior claim. It is free from all offensive or obscuring associations; while its natural meaning would mark appropriately the transformation of the Empire of to-day into "the States united under the British Crown, known as the British Union."

Dr. Parkin, in his eloquent address on "The Duty of the Empire to the World," enters a plea against the principle of preferential trading within the Empire. Briefly put, his contention is that our exceptional position, as holding so large a proportion of the productive areas of the world, creates a special obligation on our part towards foreign nations, and that therefore we should waive our national right to pursue the commercial policy which suits us best, and "throw open to the world," after the War, "the markets of all those vast regions that are under our flag.' To do so would "point out the way of escape from mere nationalism in this particular"; and, in his judgment, "go further than most things to satisfy in the world's opinion our unique position."

It is a serious matter to challenge the opinion of one who has been called with justice the "Nestor of the Federation Movement," but even at this risk I should like to point out certain considerations that cannot be overlooked in the discussion of this question. The same appeal was made, a few years before the War broke out, by Lord Cromer in the House of Lords. To abandon the policy of Free Trade (meaning thereby the United Kingdom practice of Free Imports) would expose, he said, Great Britain to the diplomatic hostility of its industrial rivals, Germany and the United States. The extent to which Germany has been softened towards us by the consideration thus shown for her economic interests has been manifested in the War. In the relations of peoples as of individuals Goldsmith's words hold good: "In our bad world, respect is given where respect is claim'd."

No one has insisted more strenuously than Dr. Parkin upon the greatness of the mission of the British peoples, or the moral value of the British Empire as an instrument for the spread and maintenance of truth and justice, religion, peace, and freedom throughout

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the world. He does so in this lecture. But to fulfil this mission successfully the instrument must be adequate to the task which is required of it. Up to the outbreak of the War this instrument—the British Empire—was notoriously deficient in organisation, and the lack of organisation was manifested with the most fatal effect in the field of economic action. Between the years 1881 and 1911 more than half of the surplus population of the British Isles—over 2,000,000 out of a total of 4,000,000—was lost to the Empire, and a vast amount of United Kingdom capital and trade was diverted from British, to foreign—and now even enemy—countries. Can a political system, which pursues a policy that inevitably results in so reckless a dissipation of its most vital sources of strength, ever hope to accomplish the mission that Dr. Parkin assigns to it, when confronted with nations which, like Germany, found directly upon their economic strength a capacity for destroying their industrial rivals by the agency of war? By just how narrow an interval of time and circumstance the British Empire has avoided such destruction we know now. If, knowing this, we run the same risks again, should we not prove ourselves not merely "incapable of empire," but faithless to those very British traditions and ideals by the maintenance of which the British Empire can perform most truly "its duty to the world"?

W. Basil Worsfold.

GENERAL BOTHA.

On the whole Mr. Harold Spender's account of General Botha is disappointing.* He has missed the dramatic touch that should be inseparable from any narrative of so interesting a career. He has failed in his character-study; for, if it be permissible to say so, Mr. Spender has dwelt too much upon sentiment to the exclusion of the sterner stuff which brought General Botha to the fore. Behind the innate reserve of the South African statesman, lightened as it is by the essentially human and humane attributes that have endeared General Botha to his friends and to most of his enemies, and upon which Mr. Spender dwells, there is the grip of steel, the solid and perhaps stolid strength of a great purpose not easily foiled, and not swayed by sentiment or sentimentalism. That phase of General Botha's character is not brought into sufficient relief in Mr. Spender's narrative.

It is of course extremely difficult to write of General Botha, certainly during his lifetime, with sufficient detachment to do justice to a great theme. Preconceived notions and opinions, hasty judgments founded upon insufficient knowledge of South African conditions, a host of ill-considered prejudices, have to be thrown overboard and jettisoned in a sea of forgetfulness. Much that might have been said must be suppressed. Many pitfalls—political, racial, and economic—have to be avoided. The whole truth, even as it strikes an unbiased observer, cannot be recorded. The "truth" as it appears to a biased onlooker, whatever his political or mental standpoint, must be rigorously avoided. For General Botha's services to South Africa and to the British Empire are undoubted. He has worked consistently on the side of peace and conciliation ever since he became convinced that such was the best course for his Fatherland. He has fought a long and stern fight on behalf of high ideals. Above all, since he took up office, he has been true to the greater cause as well as to the lesser, and his statement that "should the unhappy day ever dawn when the common Fatherland is attacked, Dutch and English Afrikanders will be found defending the Fatherland to the very last" has been fulfilled—and more than fulfilled—to the letter, and beyond. In these respects Mr. Spender has done full justice to General Botha. And it must be stated in justice to the author that he has on the whole

* *General Botha, the Career and the Man.* By Harold Spender. 8vo. Pp. 348. Portrait and map. London: Constable & Co. 1916. 26 oz. 7*s*. 6*d*.

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preserved a nice balance of judgment—there are occasional lapses—and has endeavoured throughout to suppress his individual opinions and preconceptions.

But a careful perusal of this volume, interesting as it is, leaves the impression that it would have been much better had the author been more fully acquainted with the intricacies of South African politics. In other words, had Mr. Spender been thrust into the vortex, not from the standpoint of a London newspaper office, but actually on the spot, and had he been able to retain his own unbiased opinions, which is of course improbable, he would have been in a better position to appreciate and appraise the difficulties with which all parties in South Africa were and are confronted. Mr. Spender does less than justice to Lord Milner and his administration, as might perhaps have been expected. Here it would have been better had he attacked the Milner system root and branch instead of trying to be impartial—which he evidently does—because impartiality that fails to appreciate the sterling administrative work that was accomplished, or to understand the difficulties and dangers with which the High Commissioner was surrounded, is worse than outright condemnation. In some small matters Mr. Spender is inaccurate. In others he fails to understand the significance of past events. For instance, in dealing with the Hertzog-Botha controversy he thinks that the "incidental cause of strife arose from the proposal to enlarge the contribution of South Africa towards the Imperial Navy;" and completely overlooks the long struggle over education and its political results.

THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER.

It has been given to few statesmen to win sudden and almost universal popularity. The British people not infrequently makes serious mistakes in its estimates of public men, and posterity has an unpleasant habit of reversing contemporary judgments. Yet there are occasions when, with a peculiar and perhaps inherent appreciation of the qualities that command respect and admiration, the British public diagnoses correctly the qualifications of a statesman for national approval, and judges with unerring instinct those attributes of genius and honesty of purpose which place a man above the criticisms of party. Such we believe is the case with respect to Mr. Hughes, "the strong man of Australia," and, it may be added, one of the few clear-sighted statesmen in the British Empire. Born with the fire of genius and sped on his way by the torch of enthusiasm, Mr. Hughes, in spite of disabilities that long ago would have daunted any less ardent spirit, rose to eminence in his adopted country and became the leader not only of a party but also, in many respects, of a united nation. Yet it may safely be said that until a few weeks ago the Australian Prime Minister was practically unknown in this country. The name of Hughes aroused no response in the minds of the average Englishman, coldly critical of men and circumstances which he did not understand, unable to appreciate the fact that a statesman may be the leader of a party and yet interpret correctly the Imperial aspirations of the great majority of his countrymen, and unwilling to acknowledge that true wisdom is not seldom to be found in those who have been onlookers rather than partners in the work of governing the Empire as a whole.

It may well be asked what special quality there is in Mr. Hughes to command such ready and universal recognition? Eloquence alone—and the Australian Prime Minister is a born orator—would not have aroused so ready a response. The quality that in the first place rivets public attention upon Mr. Hughes is his fearless disregard of official and party shackles, and his contempt for worn-out and exploded shibboleths. No man has more resolutely set himself to overcome inertia in high places, and in so doing to voice the convictions of an ever-increasing number of Britons in all parts of the Empire. In the second place, the Australian Prime Minister is gifted with the spark of

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genius. His public utterances vibrate with the fires of enthusiasm. One instinctively feels that honest and sound convictions are the forces that compel the flow of eloquent and telling phrases, of stirring and patriotic messages, of relentless criticism and sound logic. His vision is keen. His spiritual insight is unspoilt by considerations of party. His mission is creative and not destructive. His policy embodies the ardent aspirations of millions of his countrymen.

In two books recently issued the life story of Mr. Hughes is unfolded. The first of these by Mr. Douglas Sladen,* in addition to the interesting biographical details inseparable from so varied a career, contains a selection from Mr. Hughes' public speeches. The second by Mr. Stanhope Sprigg † is mainly biographical. Both help one to visualise the forceful and indeed aggressive personality of "this man who has been called the Jack Cade and Robespierre of Australian politics, and who, from a party standpoint, is hated worse than the devil himself by the vested interests of his adopted country, but is nevertheless recognised as the one man big enough to grapple with the problems and difficulties of the war." A perusal of these two books leads to an inevitable comparison between Mr. Hughes and the one other British statesman who has emerged successfully from the fiery furnace of public criticism in connection with the conduct of the war. Both alike are men of genius. Both have endeared themselves to a not too appreciative public. And both are capable of exercising pressure where it is most needed.

DIARY OF THE WAR—(*continued*).

May 23. French forced to evacuate Douaumont and Cumières; Russians occupy Sirdisht (Persia); British force occupies El Fasher (capital of Darfur, Soudan); Sultan's forces completely routed.

„ 25. British advance in East Africa continues, Nyasaland-German East African frontier crossed; Neu Langenberg occupied.

„ 26. German-Bulgarian force invades Greece; no resistance offered.

„ 27. French regain lost ground near Cumières.

„ 29. Heavy enemy bombardment on British front; Bulgarians bombard French advanced lines on the Vardar (Greece). Italians evacuate Asiago.

„ 31. Great naval battle off coast of Jutland; heavy losses in ships and men on both sides; British lose 3 battle cruisers, 3 light cruisers and 8 destroyers; Germans driven into port with losses estimated at not less than 2 battleships, 2 battle cruisers, 4 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, 1 submarine. [Germans on June 4 admit 1 battleship, 1 battle cruiser, 4 other cruisers, 5 destroyers.] Australian and New Zealand troops raid Turkish camp at Bir Salmana.

June 1. Austrian advance into Italy continues. Turks take the offensive against the Russians in the Caucasus.

„ 2. British lines heavily attacked and pierced near Ypres. Slight German advance near Verdun; Vaux Fort threatened.

„ 3. Canadian counter attacks near Ypres; much lost ground regained. Allied troops occupy Government Bureaux at Salonika, and proclaim state of siege throughout the territory occupied by them. Austrian advance in the Monte Cengio region.

* *From Boundary Rider to Prime Minister: Hughes of Australia.* By Douglas Sladen. Post 8vo. Pp. 216. London: Hutchinson & Co. 1916. 8 oz. 1*s*.

† *W. M. Hughes, the Strong Man of Australia.* By W. Stanhope Sprigg. Post 8vo. Pp. 96. London: C. Arthur Pearson. 1916. 6 oz. 1*s*.

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June 4. Great Russian offensive begins on a front extending from the Pripet River to the Rumanian frontier; large captures of prisoners and guns. Canadians compelled to fall back near Ypres; heavy casualties.

„ 5. British cruiser *Hampshire* sunk off the Orkneys; Lord Kitchener and Staff drowned.

„ 6. Battle of Ypres extending; heavy fighting on front of some 3 miles. Russians occupy Lutsk. Bulgarian forces concentrating on Greek frontier. Allies place restrictions, amounting to a pacific blockade, on Greek shipping.

„ 7. French compelled to evacuate Vaux Fort. Sharp encounter between French and Bulgarian troops on Greek frontier; enemy driven back.

„ 8. Naval skirmish off Zeebrugge; enemy destroyers chased into port.

„ 9. British forces in East Africa occupy Mombo.

„ 11. Russian advance continues; Austrian line pierced in three places; large captures of prisoners.

„ 13. British force in East Africa occupies Wilhelmstal. Italian success in the Lagarina Valley; Austrian line captured. Russians sink German auxiliary cruiser and two torpedo-boats in the Baltic. Canadians recover lost positions at Ypres.

„ 14. Economic Conference of Allies opens in Paris.

„ 15. Germans launch fresh attacks against Verdun; repulsed with heavy losses. In East Africa, important station of Korogwe captured, also bridge over Pangani River; island of Ukerewe (Lake Victoria) occupied.

„ 16. British destroyer *Eden* sunk in the Channel. Russians gain possession of the Rostoki wood.

„ 17. Russians capture Czernovitz.

„ 19. As result of fortnight's fighting Russians take over 170,000 prisoners. Air raid on El Arish.

„ 21. News received of proclamation by the Grand Sheriff of Mecca of Arab independence of Turkey. Mecca, Jeddah and Taif captured; Medina besieged. Allied Powers present ultimatum to Greece, insisting upon demobilisation, formation of new Cabinet, dissolution of Chamber, new elections and dismissal of certain police officials.

ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

Monetary Gifts from the Colonies.—Of the many contributions in money and in kind which have been received by the Mother Country from nearly every Colony and Protectorate, the following take the shape of direct, but not in all cases annual, contributions towards the cost of the War: Ceylon, £1,000,000 in ten yearly instalments; Mauritius, two contributions of £10,000 each; Bermuda, £3,450 annually for fifteen years; Jamaica, £60,000 a year for forty years—to begin at the end of the War; Bahamas, £10,000; Dominica, £10,000; Turks and Caicos Islands, £1,000; Cayman Islands, £105; Nigeria, the charges for interest and a sinking fund of 1 per cent. on a share of the Imperial war debt amounting to £6,000,000; Gold Coast, £80,000 in eight annual instalments; Zanzibar, £10,000. These are, of course, only a small part of the generous contributions which have been made by the Colonies and Protectorates for purposes directly or indirectly connected with the War, and in accepting them the Home Government has carefully considered the ability of the colony in question to undertake the burden of a war contribution.

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New Relationship between the Imperial Institute and the Colonial Office.—The control of the Imperial Institute will, by the new Act which has recently passed through both Houses of Parliament, rest with the Colonial Office. By the establishment of an Executive Council, a board of management will be created which, subject to the control of the Colonial Office, will be responsible for the operations of the Institute. The relationship between the Colonial Office and the Institute will thus be analogous to that between the Colonial Office and a Crown Colony. Matters of important policy will have first to receive the sanction of the Colonial Office, but, subject to this, the Executive Council will possess a general executive authority. Some idea of the importance and variety of the work which the Institute is asked to perform may be gathered from a perusal of the last annual report. Particular success has been achieved by the Technical Information Bureau of the Institute, which forms a kind of agency between the producer in the distant colony and the manufacturer at home. The arrangements for starting this bureau were fortunately so far advanced on the outbreak of war that it was in full operation before the conflict was many weeks old, and was able at once to indicate markets for the many Indian and Colonial raw materials which, before the War, had gone to Germany.

Canada.

Government Aid for Shipbuilding.—Business men in Canada are seriously considering the advisability of forming a Mercantile Marine, to be constructed with the aid of Government bounties for a certain number of years. It was estimated before the War that Canada was paying $50,000,000 a year for freights to foreign shipowners, and the heavy war freights increased this expenditure to $200,000,000 last year. At present Canadian shipping carries only a small fraction of the lake tonnage, and less than one-tenth of the produce exported from the Dominion ports, while over four-fifths of the traffic passing through the canals originates in the United States. The Dominion has spent $150,000,000 in aids to navigation on the coasts and on inland waters which are open to all competitors, but up to now the Government has done practically nothing to encourage the shipbuilding industry. A few shipyards equipped for the building of steel vessels have been established on the Great Lakes, but there are none on the Atlantic seaboard, and although the building of wooden vessels has been an industry in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces since 1874, when these were replaced by iron vessels, the shipyards were not sufficiently advanced to cope with the new requirements. It is generally admitted that it takes from five to ten years to build up a sound manufacturing organization, which makes it necessary that any plan of Government assistance shall be guaranteed for a sufficiently long period. This assistance might take the form of a rebate of duties paid on materials used in the construction of the ship, or direct aid by way of bounty, or some combination of both methods. The plants now in operation have made it possible for the Dominion to send over three thousand of the heaviest class of forgings required for steamers up to 15,000 tons to the Clyde during the past year, thereby to a great extent replacing the forgings formerly supplied by Germany. The situation created by the War has made it advisable for the Government to deal with the question of shipbuilding on the same broad lines of public policy that have been adopted in regard to the great railway system of Canada.

Australia.

New South Wales and the War.—The finances of New South Wales formed the principal theme of an able and convincing address delivered by the Hon. B. R. Wise, Agent-General for New South Wales, before the Australasian Chamber of Commerce in London recently. Undoubtedly the history of the State from 1900 to 1915 shows a remarkable record of progress, development, and expansion. There has been an increase in population of 508,000; the area under crop has increased from 2,300,000 to 4,800,000

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acres; primary production has increased from £30,000,000 worth to £54,000,000 worth; the output of manufactures has increased from £9,000,000 to £23,900,000; imports have increased from £18,000,000 to £27,000,000; exports have increased from £19,000,000 to £28,000,000; bank deposits have doubled; Savings Bank deposits have increased from £12,000,000 to £35,000,000; and railway traffic has gone up from £3,000,000 to £7,600,000. These figures sufficiently indicate the wisdom of previous expenditure, which, as Mr. Wise points out, has been in the nature of a profitable investment. Although the public debt of New South Wales has increased (roughly speaking) from £65,000,000, when the Commonwealth was established in 1901, to about £129,000,000 to-day, it is only fair to remember that 82 per cent. of all that has been borrowed is productive; that is to say, returns an amount over and above the interest that is paid. The expenditure on railways represents the largest outlay, but they are essential to development, and are not, and ought not to be, run with a view to returning as large profits as possible. The first duty which the war and the needs of the Empire have put upon the inhabitants of the Dominions is that of developing their resources, increasing their trade, their primary industries, and their production of foodstuffs. Mr. Wise asserted that New South Wales represents one-half of the productive power of the Commonwealth and one-half of its wealth. In support of this statement he quoted various figures. Of the 1914–15 wheat yield in Australia, New South Wales contributed over 51 per cent. and in 1914 the State possessed over 41 per cent. of the livestock of the Commonwealth, and produced over 50 per cent. of the wool. In regard to mining, New South Wales produced over 94 per cent. of the silver and lead, and over 80 per cent. of the coal, and although not regarded as a manufacturing State, New South Wales produced over 40 per cent. of the total value of the output of all the factories in Australia.

New Zealand.

Terms of the Compulsion Bill.—The National Service Bill provides for the establishment of an Expeditionary Force Reserve, consisting of two divisions. The first division will comprise unmarried men, men married since the commencement of the war, widowers with no children, or men whose marriages have been judicially dissolved, or who have been separated from their wives and are childless. The second division, which may be subdivided into classes, consists of all other reservists. The Bill provides for enlistment by what is generally known as the commando system. The Dominion will be divided into districts, and each district will be given its quota periodically in proportion to the number of men of military age—i.e. between 20 and 46—within its boundaries. If the number required is forthcoming in any district without compulsion, the men will be accepted in the ordinary way. If the number is short, the balance required will be selected by ballot from the first division. Provision is also made, should it become necessary, for the abolition of the voluntary system, and the substitution of compulsion.

South Africa.

Land in the Transvaal.—The Report of the Committee of the Transvaal Land Owners Association for the year ended February 1916, shows that, as regards land settlement, there is again very little, if any, progress to report in the extension of the area under white occupation in the northern districts, but when practical measures are taken to remove existing disabilities it is anticipated that prospects in this direction will materially improve. So far as Crown lands are concerned, the only information available is for 1914, showing that Government farms allotted to white settlers during that year totalled 287,283 morgen. Land can readily be obtained, either by purchase or hire, at rates and on terms which compare favourably with those obtainable for land of similar prospects in any other part of the world. The Government owns enormous tracts of unoccupied land in the Northern Transvaal, which is available for white occupation on very easy terms. The reasons for so large a part of the country being

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unoccupied are, first and foremost, the physical impossibility of the existing small white population of the Union occupying the large area within its boundaries; (2) the lack of sufficient men with the necessary capital; (3) coloured competition, and the unfortunate results from popular sentiment among whites regarding manual labour; (4) the absence of adequate water supplies for irrigation and for stock and domestic purposes; (5) the absence of the organisation and co-operation necessary among farmers for pooling produce for sale and for the sake of obtaining better credit and the best rates for produce and stock, improving the class of stock, and insisting on the strengthening and strict enforcement of regulations dealing with stock and crop disease; (6) the want of railways and better roads, the need of telephones and other conveniences of civilisation, and the drawbacks inseparable from the isolated life the farmer of the back veld is compelled to face. No further action has been taken during the year in connection with the taxation of the land, nor have any steps been taken by Government to obtain a valuation of land in the rural areas.

Import and Export Returns.—The Customs and Excise Department has issued a statement showing the quantities and values of the principal articles of merchandise imported into the Union of South Africa during the twelve months ended December 31, 1915. The declared value for the year was £29,208,899, as compared with a value of £31,322,590 in 1914. There was a substantial increase in the value of chemicals imported, owing to the increased cost of cyanide of sodium which is largely used in the recovery of gold, and there was a slight increase in the importation of food and drink, which must be attributed to increases in prices. There was a decrease of £293,000 in the value of motor-cars imported during the year; but there was a substantial increase in the value of unmanufactured leather imported, doubtless due to the demand for boots, saddlery, and other leather goods required for the fitting out of the Expeditionary Force in South-West Africa. The total exports for the year were valued at £16,859,373, as against £39,933,612 in 1914, but the latter figure includes gold shipped up to the declaration of war. There were considerable increases in the export of wool, both in quantity and value, the export of scoured wool having almost doubled owing to the fact that much of the South African wool was formerly scoured in Germany.

LAND SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS FOR EX-SERVICE MEN IN OUR OVERSEAS DOMINIONS. II*

Since the first part of this report was written, in which reference was made to Sir Rider Haggard's tour and to the prospects for ex-service men in Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia the Empire Land Settlement Committee has received the following messages from Sir Rider. From Brisbane: "My work in Australia has been successful beyond all my expectations"; and from Auckland, New Zealand: "Excellent reception at Wellington; good results which impossible compress cable." Before this report appears, Sir Rider will be due at Vancouver, British Columbia, where he is to be met by the Secretary of the Canadian Military Hospitals Commission (Mr. E. H. Scammell), and by a member of the Government Economic and Development Commission, who will accompany Sir Rider on his journey through Canada. Information has also been received from Johannesburg, where a meeting by the Transvaal Land Association was held on May 8, at which attention was drawn to Sir Rider Haggard's mission and to the efforts being made in the Dominions to make provision for ex-service men after the War. The Chairman of

* This report, the first part of which appeared in our last issue, has been written by Mr. E. T. Scammell for the purposes of the Empire Land Settlement Committee (for Soldiers and Sailors) of the Royal Colonial Institute.

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the meeting pointed out that it was most important that South Africa should endeavour to secure numbers of these men, but the Association was naturally debarred from carrying out schemes which involved the giving away of their lands and the spending of large sums of money on land settlement, as such schemes could only be successfully promoted by the Government. The Government, it was stated, owns enormous tracts of unimproved lands in the Northern Transvaal, available for white occupation on easy terms. But arrangements would have to be made for the provision of capital, the adoption of irrigation schemes, the supply of transport facilities, and the establishment of some system of co-operation for the prospective settlers. It was felt, however, that immigration should be encouraged, and that, for this purpose, it was desirable the Government should be prepared to hold out inducements to ex-service men similar to those offered by other Colonies.

Canadian Government Proposals and Others.

Two Commissions, the Military Hospitals Commission and the Economic and Development Commission, have been appointed by the Dominion Government—the former for dealing with disabled and able-bodied men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force on their return, and the latter for dealing with the question of immigration among other important subjects. Both these Commissions are under the presidency of Senator the Hon. Sir J. A. Lougheed of Ottawa, and will, it is presumed, co-operate in any scheme applying to the immigration of British ex-Service men. Provincial Commissions and Local Committees have been formed in all the Canadian provinces, and the co-operation of the local authorities, municipal and military, and of many leading citizens, landowners, farmers, and large employers of labour, has been secured. A Conference, presided over by the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, was held at Ottawa in October last, at which all the Provinces were represented, when the subject was fully considered and the required preliminary arrangements were adopted.

Report of the Ontario Commission.

In proof of the interest which is being taken on the subject in Canada the report of the Ontario Commission, given in *The Times* of March 4, is worthy of note, as it is in complete accord with the views of the Empire Land Settlement Committee of the Institute, on which their advocacy of united action is founded. Under the head of "Provision for Soldiers," the report states:—

"It is the judgment of the Commission that, after the conclusion of peace, to all those who have fought the awful battle for human freedom and democratic principles this country will owe a lasting debt. It is the duty as well as the privilege of Canada to offer them a home and the opportunity of earning for themselves a comfortable living. The obligation to discharged British soldiers is especially pressing. If we wait until the end of the war, nothing satisfactory can be achieved. A great economic and social crisis may result. For this purpose and for the general purposes of inter-imperial migration and land settlement, the United Kingdom and the Dominions should be viewed as a single whole. It should be possible effectively to unite the Imperial and Dominion Governments in a policy which will keep the movement of population more and more within the Empire, check the drain of population to foreign countries, and so conserve British manhood for the development of British territory and the support and defence of British institutions against contingencies.

It is suggested that settlement on the land of time-expired soldiers will be much assisted by the pensions of which there is a prospect, but the Commission reminds the Government that in any plan of imperial co-operation the domestic interests of the United Kingdom must not be forgotten. It would not be fair or wise, the report contends, to depopulate the Mother Country, even in order to people the daughter

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States. The annual emigration from the United Kingdom to all countries amounted before the war to nearly 500,000 people. The number of farmers and agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom is not excessive, but it should be feasible, it is said, to utilise other elements in the population in the development of our natural resources. In the opinion of many who have studied the situation at first hand it will be found practicable to train dwellers in British cities, towns, and villages for successful careers on the land in Canada."

The Commission recommends:—

1. That an Imperial Migration Board be organised in London, representing the British Government, the Governments of the Dominions and such Provinces and States in the Dominions as desire to be represented on the Board—the cost to be borne jointly by all Governments concerned.

2. That the Board be responsible for the distribution of complete, impartial, and up-to-date information regarding opportunities in the Dominions, the demand for labour in the different pursuits, occupations, and industries, and the facilities and cost of transport.

3. That the co-operation of the Labour Exchanges in the United Kingdom, and of the Public Employment Bureaux and immigration authorities in the Dominions be secured with this in view.

4. That the Imperial Migration Board be given power to require returns and such other information as it thinks necessary from agencies and individuals in the United Kingdom and the Dominions dealing with immigrants.

5. That the Imperial Migration Board consider the whole question of inspection, and report the best system to be adopted in the interests of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and the emigrants themselves."

Report of the British Columbia Commission.

In presenting their report to the Provincial Government, the Commissioners recommend that the advantages of the scheme of land settlement which they propose should be available to "all returned soldiers," and should be open to any man who has served the Empire either under the Canadian flag, that of the Mother-land, or any of the other Overseas Dominions. Reference is made by the Commissioners to the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the British Board of Agriculture which, "with the exception of a clause relative to tenancy," coincides exactly, they consider, with the principles formulated by the Commissioners.

With regard to the provision of farm lands for the settlement of returned soldiers, the Commission recommends—(*a*) that a land grant be made, consisting of farms of such acreage as, in the opinion of a Board of Commissioners (to be appointed) may be best adapted to the different classes of farming; (*b*) that the farms be subdivisions of selected areas; (*c*) that each of such areas should constitute a co-operative settlement, sufficient acreage being reserved for a Demonstration Farm, Central Organisation Plant, roads, recreation grounds, &c.; (*d*) that the General Organisation should provide for a general store, creamery, blacksmith's shop, carpenter's shop, public hall, school, and a residence designed to provide temporary accommodation for soldier settlers; (*e*) that on each allotment certain improvements be made at the expense of the Provincial Government (not to exceed $500 per allotment), the said improvements to be confined to land-clearing, draining, and fencing; (*f*) that further assistance be given in the way of a long-term loan at a low rate of interest, for the erection of farm buildings, the purchase of machinery, stock, seed, fodder, household necessities, &c., or for further improvements in clearing, draining, and fencing. The amount of such loan (not to exceed $1,350 for any single allotment), with interest added, to be secured by a lien or mortgage upon the farm, including all chattels and improvements; (*g*) that arrangements be made for establishing such industries and occupations as, in the opinion of the Board, directly contribute to the need of the settlers; and (*h*) that full opportunities

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be provided for training and instruction in agricultural matters, and that a trained agricultural adviser be appointed for each settlement. Certain other provisions are suggested, which with those noted above, may enable the settler to become the owner of a "picked" farm with enough cleared land for an immediate start, and to possess all the transport and other advantages of a co-operative settlement.

The Commissioners think that British Columbia, owing to its climate and other advantages, will attract large numbers of settlers, who after the War will seek new homes in Canada.

Lord Shaughnessy's Proposal.

In the course of a recent interview Lord Shaughnessy, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as reported in the Canadian Press, pointed out that Canada will have to meet the problem of providing for many of her own men whose military service will have unfitted them for a return to sedentary occupations, and that the problem is further complicated by the fact that without doubt a very large number of men who will be mustered out from the British Army will want to emigrate to overseas dominions, and provision must be made properly to take care of them and colonise them in suitable employment. "As a matter of fact," said Lord Shaughnessy, "we have been giving this question the most careful consideration, and have just decided on a comprehensive plan of colonisation, which will be the largest of its kind in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The details of the colonisation plan are being worked out just now, and when I tell you that it involves the preparation of, perhaps, as many as a thousand farms in Western Canada for occupation in the spring of next year, you may realise the size of the undertaking. The Canadian Pacific Railway has decided to establish in Western Canada colonies which, for the moment, we are calling Returned Veterans' Colonies, where men who wish to go in for farming can obtain improved farms on terms which will in time enable them to become landowners, and create homes for themselves and their families. These colonies will be given distinctive names, probably with military associations, and will contain a sufficient number of families in each to ensure social, school, and church facilities, and in each case will include a central instructive farm, under a competent agriculturist, so that advice and instruction may be available for the colonists." Lord Shaughnessy pointed out that the experience which the Company had gained from its "Ready-made Farm" colonies would enable it to avoid mistakes which are usually inseparable from new undertakings. It is understood that the Natural Resources Department of the Company is now busily engaged in working out the details of the great project, and its magnitude may be gathered from some figures which that Department has recently made public. On the thousand farms 3,000 houses and barns will have to be built, and it is estimated that these cost about $1,750,000 for work and materials. There will have to be erected some 2,500 miles of wire fences, the cost of which, including wire, fence posts, and labour will be approximately $412,500. A thousand wells will have to be sunk, the estimated cost of which will be $300,000. The total area of land involved in this 1,000-farm scheme will be 200,000 acres, and the expense of cultivation, seeding, &c., preparatory to occupation by settlers will run into several millions of dollars. These figures are admittedly only approximate; they show, however, the scale on which the Company is preparing to tackle its share of the problem which Lord Shaughnessy alluded to, and the various items indicate that that Company, with its customary thoroughness, proposes that the settlers under its scheme shall find real homes prepared for them.

Other Canadian Proposals.

Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the Prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta) are also devising plans for dealing with the subject.

The New Brunswick Government favours the community plan of settlement, and has adopted a scheme for placing several hundred families on the land, at an estimated expenditure of a million and a half dollars or more. The Province, it is stated, owns thousands of acres of fertile lands along the line of the Grand Trunk

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Pacific, the Great Northern, and other lines of railways, which it is thought may be set apart for the purpose. The lands of THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES, consisting of about three hundred million acres, are held by the Federal Government, and are therefore subject to Federal immigration laws. But, as of this enormous area, only about 20,000,000 acres are under cultivation, there should be no difficulty in locating a large number of settlers on good land and under suitable conditions which may render the success of well-considered settlement schemes assured. To aid such a project, there is no doubt the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways, as well as the Canadian Pacific, will be willing to co-operate with the authorities, so as to ensure, to carefully selected naval and military settlers, proximity to the various lines and all the advantages of cheap and easy transport.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND OTHER COLONIES.

It has been suggested that there are other parts of the Empire (British East Africa particularly), besides the Dominions, where opportunities for land settlement may be provided. Should such arise, under conditions favourable to settlers of the class whose interests we have now specially in view, information will be given in subsequent issues of UNITED EMPIRE.

CONCLUSION.

In giving the foregoing particulars for the information of Fellows of the Institute and of others interested in after-the-War labour conditions, the Committee would express their satisfaction at the steps being taken by the Governments and people of the Dominions, to anticipate the return to civil life of their and our brave soldiers and sailors, and the hope that the object of the Institute in taking up this urgent question and in sending out Sir Rider Haggard on his important overseas mission may be fully realised, in the cordial, immediate, and practical co-operation of the Imperial and Dominion authorities, and the establishment of a comprehensive system of Empire land settlement which may be of permanent advantage to our defenders and of good to the Empire at large.

THE INSTITUTE'S EDUCATION COMMITTEE: A SCHEME FOR AFFORDING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES.

1. The object of the Scheme is to provide advice and assistance in the education of the children of those who have rendered service to the British Empire during the War, other than those resident in the British Isles for whom provision already exists.

2. The management is vested in the Education Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute.

3. Its functions are as follows:

I. To compile a list of suitable educational establishments, the authorities of which are willing to co-operate in one or more of the following ways:

(*a*) To educate one or more day pupils free of charge.

(*b*) To educate one or more day pupils at specially reduced rates.

(*c*) To give board, lodging and education to one or more pupils free of charge.

(*d*) To give board, lodging and education to one or more pupils at specially reduced rates.

(*e*) To include in either of the above (*c*) or (*d*) board and residence for the holidays.

(*f*) To help in such other ways as may from time to time be thought desirable.

The period for which these arrangements hold good shall be a matter of agreement between the authorities of the educational establishment and the parent or guardian.

II. To receive and consider applications for help and to supply a list of establishments considered by the Committee as most suitable, leaving the final selection to the personal responsibility of the parent (or guardian).

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III. To render such other friendly assistance as might secure special transit facilities for selected pupils.

4. The method proposed to be adopted includes the filling up of a form (*a*) by the parent or guardian, (*b*) by the school. The forms can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary. All information shall be strictly confidential to the Committee.

5. The authorities of a school may at any time withdraw their offer, and the Committee may remove a school from its list, in either case without any reason being assigned.

6. Neither the Royal Colonial Institute nor its Committee assume any liability of any kind whatever, financial or otherwise, to any of the contracting parties.

7. The whole of the proceedings will be strictly confidential and without prejudice, and the scheme shall give no authority to the schools or institutions to use or to refer to the name of the Royal Colonial Institute.

All communications or inquiries should be addressed to—The Honorary Secretary, Education Committee, Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.

HOUSE AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

At the fortnightly meeting of Fellows of the Institute and their friends, held in the smoking-room on Thursday, June 15, an interesting and valuable address was given by Mr. J. Carmichael Smith on "Economic Reconstruction." The Hon. J. G. Jenkins was in the chair. Among those who took part in the discussion were Mr. Alfred Dillon, Mr. J. Saxon Mills and Mr. A. Montefiore.

OVERSEAS PARLIAMENTARY VISIT.

On the occasion of the visit to the Mother Country of representatives of the Parliaments of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute has offered to those of the delegates who are not already Fellows the privileges of Honorary Fellowship of the Institute during their stay in England.

OBITUARY.

The news of the death of Dr. Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies and Bishop of Jamaica, has been received both in the Colonies and the Mother Country with great and sincere regret. A cable of condolence was sent on behalf of the Council to Mrs. Nuttall. Dr. Nuttall was born in Yorkshire seventy-four years ago. He went to Jamaica in 1862 as a Wesleyan minister and soon gained an enviable reputation as a forceful preacher. Four years later he severed his connection with the Wesleyan body and was ordained a deacon and priest of the Church of England. In the year 1880 he became Bishop of Jamaica, and on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee he was unanimously chosen as the first Archbishop of the West Indies. Singular force of character was the dominant feature of Dr. Nuttall's personality. He was thoroughly broad-minded, and possessed a remarkable capacity for organisation and management. There were few progressive measures which have engaged attention during recent years in Jamaica with which he was not identified, and his advice and guidance were always sought when the occasion demanded the activity of a commanding personality. On the occasion of the terrible earthquake of 1907 in Jamaica his untiring efforts resulted in saving a large number of the sufferers from destitution and want; in fact his personality shone like a star in the midst of gloom and darkness. Jamaica has lost a good and great man whom it will be difficult to replace, and whose life has been devoted to the welfare of the people not only of Jamaica but of the West Indies generally. His memory will exercise a profound influence on future generations.

Sir Charles Bruce has received a letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, conveying to him, at the request of the Governor of Mauritius, an expression of regret and sympathy on behalf of the Council of Government and people of Mauritius on the occasion of the death of Lady Bruce.

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NOTICES TO FELLOWS.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN ELECTED:

Resident Fellows (6):

Ewen Cattanach, John H. Humphreys, Laurence S. Layman, John J. May, James Reid, Arthur Tremayne.

Non-Resident Fellows (165):

AUSTRALIA.—*Sydney H. Appleyard (Sydney), Lewis J. Davies (Sydney), James P. Franki (Balmain), Robert W. Gillespie (Sydney), Edward W. Hulle (Sydney), Capt. Peter J. Murphy (Brisbane), Dr. Gregory L. O'Neill (Sydney), James Page, M.P. (Brisbane), Reginald M. Ritchie (Tasmania), Edward P. Simpson (Sydney), Edward Telford Simpson (Sydney), Alexander A. V. Soul (Brisbane), Michael H. Southwick, M.B., (Melbourne), H. E. The Hon. Sir Arthur L. Stanley, K.C.M.G. (Governor of Victoria), Henry R. Whittell (Sydney), Arthur J. Vause, M.B., C.M. (Sydney), Most Rev. John C. Wright (Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia).*

CANADA.—*Samuel Barraclough (Sutherland, Sask.), Frederick L. Hybart, Edwin G. Evans (New Brunswick), William M. Higgs, J.P., (Oak Bay, B.C.), Lionel Kentish-Rankin (Vancouver), Alfred R. Miller (Hamilton), Major Robert H. Palmer (Edmonton), Henry W. Petrie (Toronto), Rev. Sabeti B. Rohold (Toronto), Arthur Sullivan (Victoria, B.C.), Arthur Wyn-Williams.*

NEW ZEALAND.—*Charles E. Armstrong, J.P. (Gisborne), Melville Q. Gudgeon (Gisborne), Thomas Todd (Gisborne), William Carlyle-Wilson, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S. (Gisborne), William J. Treadwell (Wanganui),*

SOUTH AFRICA.—*Capt. V. E. Gray (Pretoria), Lewis McEwan (Blackhill, Transvaal), Joseph M. Parsonson (Kimberley), Vivian G. Fenner Solomon, J.P. (Seymour), Walter Poultney Halse (Cape Province), George S. Hill (Ficksburg), William Smyth (Pretoria), Frank E. B. Struben (Pretoria).*

BARBADOS.— *Dr. L. T. F. Archer, Major The Hon. Sir Frederick J. Clarke, K.C.M.G., H. Jason Jones, J. J. Law, G. P. Skeete.* **BERMUDA.**—*William M. Conyers, James R. Conyers, J.P., M.C.P., Joseph D. W. C. Darrell, Edmund C. Gosling, Eugene H. Gosling, Rupert C. H. Hallett, John P. Hand, Rev. Lancelot L. Havard, M.A., Arthur M. Purcell, George S. Patton, Allan F. Smith, John T. Trimingham, Edward H. Tucker, Stanley P. Wadson.* **BORNEO.** — *Noel B. Barbonean.* **BRITISH EAST AFRICA.** — *Frederick A. Bemiste (Mombasa), Morton A. F. Bocking (Mombasa), George B. Campbell (Nairobi), Vincent M. Cox, John Vincent Gray (Mombasa), Harry W. Hillcoat (Mombasa), Lieutenant Kenneth J. Manners, R.N.R. (Kisumu), Alfred H. E. R. Overman (Mombasa).* **CHANNEL ISLANDS.** — *Colonel J. Macartney, C.B. (Guernsey), Ernest L. Robinson (Guernsey).* **CEYLON.** — *Edward B. Bowen, William A. Coradine, Walter de la Hoyde, Alfred W. Seymour.* **FEDERATED MALAY STATES.** — *Thomas C. Hume (Taiping), Alexander Keir, M.A. (Matang), Roy L. Naish (Kamunting), Edward L. Huson (Perak), Charles H. Laing (Perak), William MacDonald (Perak).* **INDIA.** — *Cavalié Gow-Gregor (Bombay), Henry A. Rickwood (Bombay), Mg Ba Thin (Burma), Herbert T. Knowlton (Lahore).* **JAMAICA.** — *Samuel P. Hendrick, M.A., Arthur H. Vince.* **NIGERIA.** — *Arthur L. Berry (Lagos), Robert Shaw (Naraguta).* **RHODESIA.** — *Hugh Reeks (Figtree), Percy M. Thorne (Gatooma).* **ST. LUCIA.** — *Hon. George O'D. Walton, M.L.C., George Williams, J.P.* **STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.** — *Ernest W. Josselyn (Dindings), Harry Lupton (Province Wellesley), Capt. Jean Valon (Singapore).* **TRINIDAD.** — *Richard C. Bennett, M.B., Walter H. Bolton, Thomas Boyd, William Burslem, Charles C. Carmichael, Albert H. Cipriani, Percy I. Cox, Edgar N. Darwent, Harold S. de Pass, Hon. Carl de Verteuil, Edward A. G. Doyle, Ernest E. Fabien, Oliver V. Fitzwilliam, John R. Foster, James Gilbert, William Greig, William Hadden, Leonard W. Hobson, Herbert P. Ingram, K. N. A. Inniss, John E. Lickfold, Sydney Liddelow, John Macpherson, Alexander T. Mathison, James Miller, Arthur D. O'Connor, Lennox A. P. O'Reilly, J. Aldrie Perez, Robert S. Rowbottom, Ernest L. Sellier, James C. Shaw (Tobago), Henry F. Smith, John G. W. Stanhope Lovell, John W. Stephens, James A. R. Stollmeyer, Percival Taylor, Ernest A. Turpin, M.D.* **ARGENTINE.** — *Walter Eric Bach (Buenos Aires), Reginald H. Frost, Dudley V. Joyce, A.M.I.C.E. (Buenos Aires), Robert K. Mitchell (Buenos Aires), G. R. Garnett Clarke (Buenos Aires), Harold Mc.L. Martin (Buenos Aires), Lionel Mortlock (Buenos Aires), John K. Parkes (Buenos Aires), Robert G. Rae (Patagonia).* **BRAZIL.** — *Rev. Arthur W. Allen (Santos), Henry G. Beardall (Santos), Richard N. Davies (Santos), Arthur Lewis (Santos), Robert C. Lloyd (Santos), Laurence M. Robinson (Santos), Geoffrey G. Watson (Santos).* **CHILI.** — *Douglas R. Lethaby (Straits of Magellan).* **RUSSIA.** — *Henry C. Bett (Petrograd), Harold Hartley (Petrograd), Edward*

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Cabinet Changes.

THE Coalition Government is in danger of becoming known as the Government of Combinations and Permutations. Many changes have been rung in the Cabinet, but the number of Ministers remains the same, in spite of all suggestions for a smaller body. But the War Committee has now been rounded off with the inclusion of Lord Curzon, representing the air service, and from the course of the Irish negotiations it is to be inferred that this Inner Cabinet does arrive at some decisions and act upon them without reference to the main body. The reason for the latest shuffling of portfolios was provided by the tragic death of Lord Kitchener. Mr. Lloyd George takes charge of the War Office. The Government owed it to the nation and to our Allies to see that the late Secretary of State for War was succeeded by a man whose name stood at least for shrewdness, determination and driving power. Whether to make use of an existing member of the Ministry answering to this description or to risk the introduction of a second from outside was a point on which Mr. Asquith seems to have had no difficulty in making up his mind. Mr. Lloyd George was chosen in spite of the reorganisation rendered necessary, in order to avoid the presence of more than four Secretaries of State in the House of Commons. This obstacle was negotiated by the elevation to the Peerage of Sir Edward Grey. Lord Derby with popular approval was appointed Under-Secretary for War in the place of Mr. Tennant, who received the Secretaryship for Scotland. Mr. Montagu is the new Minister of Munitions, and Mr. McKinnon Wood combines the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster with the post, which he held formerly, of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. A further change was necessitated by the resignation of Lord Selborne, owing to his inability to see eye to eye with the Government on its Irish policy.

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Lord Crawford, who served his probation for office as Chief Unionist Whip, succeeded him as President of the Board of Agriculture.

The Allied Offensive.

EXPERIENCE in this war teaches us that judgment should not be passed on an offensive until it has come to an end. Nevertheless we may record with intense satisfaction the progress which the combined advance of the British and French forces, launched on July 1, has achieved so far. This offensive may lack the glamour of the German sledge-hammer blows against Verdun; but it has made a sharp, clean cut in the enemy's lines which is more likely to threaten a vital spot than all the bruises which our French Allies have had to endure. There can be no tendency at this stage of the war to underestimate Germany's powers. She has been careful to mass in front of the British line the bulk of the strength she can spare for the Western front, and nothing but the superb *élan* of the Allied troops, supported by the most thorough preparations, could have succeeded in winning through, as was done at one point, to the third line of the German defences, within the first fortnight. It must be entered to the credit of the Allies' Higher Command that by including a section of French troops south of the Somme in the joint advance they were able to strike the enemy where he was least expecting an attack, with the result that the French made more immediate headway than the British. Thus the tightening of the ring with which the Central Powers are surrounded has begun in the West under the best auspices. The progress in this quarter must be slow; it cannot compare with the sweeping movements that characterise the Russian offensive, but it will prove, we may hope, equally effective.

Canada's New Viceroy.

SERIOUS times are ahead for the British Empire as a whole, and for the Dominions individually. The parts played by the representatives of the Sovereign in the Dominions and by the representatives of the Dominion Governments in Great Britain will acquire enhanced importance in proportion to the significance attaching to the matters under discussion. In these circumstances Canada has good reason to be content with the selection of the Duke of Devonshire as her new Governor-General. The Duke of Connaught and his immediate predecessor, Earl Grey, have established a great record for the post, but Canadians will find in the head of the House of Cavendish a Viceroy

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whose qualifications fit him eminently for a period of office when vital Imperial problems have to be threshed out between the Dominion and the Mother Country. Already Canada realises that, while her first business for the present is the war, she must pay some attention to the time when the Imperial Government will not be paying her £200,000 a day for munitions. She has established a favourable trade balance of fifty millions sterling, and if she is to see that balance maintained and increased, questions of trade and immigration call for earnest and immediate consideration. The knowledge that the future of the Dominion is inevitably bound up with the Empire only serves to quicken the Imperial instinct, and must make Canada, the pioneer of constitutional union for the Empire, the more zealous for practical steps in this direction. Immigration is just one of those questions of supreme importance to the Empire which the Dominions will have to settle independently in their own interests in competition with every other part of the Empire, unless it can be dealt with betimes from an Imperial point of view.

Sir Rider Haggard's Return.

ALL supporters of the Institute's activities will give a hearty welcome to our Imperial Missioner, Sir Rider Haggard, who, by the time these lines are published, will have returned to England from his dramatically successful tour through the Dominions. His achievements, recorded from time to time in the pages of UNITED EMPIRE have been as remarkable as the speed with which he has covered the globe, since he sailed from these shores last February. Before leaving Australia, he was the recipient of a gratifying compliment from the assembled Premiers of the Commonwealth at Adelaide on the excellence of the work he had accomplished in all the States. In New Zealand the results of his visit were also very satisfactory, as we learn from one of his latest letters. Since then, after crossing the Pacific and visiting the chief centres of population in British Columbia, Sir Rider traversed the Prairie Provinces to Ottawa, where he was received with every evidence of cordiality by Sir Robert Borden and his Government. They had previously sent Mr. Scammell to meet him at Victoria and escort him on his journey. Sir Rider returns from his world-wide tour with a whole bagful of promises of land for the settlement of ex-service men from the United Kingdom. The Institute may be congratulated on its foresight in despatching so tactful and persuasive an advocate of their cause. It is now the turn of His Majesty's

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Government; and we feel sure that they will rise to the occasion, by creating the necessary machinery, in the shape of an Imperial Board, to deal with the whole question of land settlement, both at home and overseas, on broad and comprehensive lines.

Mesopotamia.

The statement once hazarded by Mr. Asquith, in regard to the Mesopotamian Expedition, that he did not think there had been in the whole course of the War a series of operations more carefully contrived, more brilliantly conducted, and having a better prospect of success, has proved an unfortunate boast. To-day no campaign, no episode in the War has given rise to such profound dissatisfaction and to such grave misgivings for the future. The reason is not far to seek. It was in the spring of 1915 that the decision to advance on Baghdad was taken. Kut was captured at the end of September, and the battle of Ctesiphon was fought on November 22. A day or two later all the previous illusions regarding the campaign must have been shattered, as far as the military authorities were concerned. The theory that General Nixon's force would have a "walk-over" into Baghdad was exploded by the knowledge of the strength of the enemy and of the altogether inadequate equipment of the British expedition. But from that date until recently only half-hearted and makeshift attempts appear, as far as the public can judge, to have been made to equip the Mesopotamian Expedition on a scale commensurate with the task before it. The result has been that in addition to the terrible conditions after the battle of Ctesiphon, when General Townshend had on his hands some four thousand wounded and only provision for five hundred, the force has been subjected over a number of months to much unnecessary suffering and privation. Even the expedition dispatched for the relief of Kut experienced conditions which were probably worse than those under which General Townshend had withdrawn his wounded from Ctesiphon.

A Brace of Commissions.

Under pressure of public opinion, and to meet the growing impatience of Parliament, the Government has appointed two Commissions to inquire into the Dardanelles operations and the Mesopotamian campaign. The personnel of both, as finally agreed upon during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons, appears to have given general satisfaction, and the chairmen selected, the Earl of Cromer and Lord

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George Hamilton, by their experience and ability, as well as by their detachment, command complete confidence. From the Imperial point of view a significant feature is the inclusion in the Dardanelles Commission of the Hon. Andrew Fisher and the Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, High Commissioners for Australia and New Zealand respectively. The main point at issue in regard to the Mesopotamian campaign between the British public and the Government is the question of getting things done. When the inadequacy of the equipment of the Mesopotamian force was revealed, common prudence would have suggested supervision of any attempts made by the authorities responsible for the original equipment to improve upon their first effort. The British Government, however, appears to have accepted official assurances from India, without subjecting them to severe scrutiny, and to have passed them on to Parliament with such additions as their own optimism prompted. Consequently there has been a repetition of the conditions existing a year ago, when, in the face of a demonstrable lack of shells at the front, the Prime Minister assured the nation that it was not true that the Army was in the least handicapped by a shortage of munitions. The public tolerated such a state of affairs a year ago, but under the stress of two years' war has now left the Government behind it.

The Scope of the Inquiry.

The terms of reference proposed by the Government for the Commissions were "to inquire into the conduct of operations of war in the Dardanelles and into the conduct of operations of war in Mesopotamia, including the supply of equipment to the troops, the provision for the sick and wounded, and the responsibility of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of the forces employed in that theatre of war." To these terms was added in committee a clause extending the scope of the inquiry to the origin and inception of the two campaigns. By the time these two Commissions begin their labours it is to be hoped that the mistakes in Mesopotamia will be as much a thing of the past as they are in the case of the Gallipoli enterprise. Responsibility for the military operations now rests with Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the new Secretary of State for War has been able to announce that already a very considerable improvement in conditions in Mesopotamia has taken place. No less reassuring, he was able to report that a large number of river craft was being constructed. Such

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a step would hardly be taken unless the Government intended to proceed with the campaign, in order to reverse the verdict of failure which so far can only be passed upon it. That is the prime necessity of the present time, for British prestige has been seriously impaired in the Middle East by the course of events. It is to be hoped that the Commission of Inquiry will not lose sight of the fact that its findings are intended to further this aim, as well as to allocate responsibility for past mistakes.

Ireland.

THE Irish "settlement" has been postponed. As the threatened millennium promised to leave both Ulstermen and Nationalists resentful and suspicious of each other, the All-for-Ireland League of Mr. O'Brien frankly hostile, and the Sinn Feiners openly prophesying their future ascendancy, the postponement, it is to be hoped, will prove to have been for the ultimate benefit of the country. After the leaders of the two main sections in Ireland had secured the reluctant assent of their followers to the settlement, a haze descended over the negotiations. Mr. Asquith made a statement on the subject in the House of Commons which professed to give information, but in fact only added to the fog of uncertainty; Lord Lansdowne was slightly more precise as to the immediate future of Ireland, but equally vague as to Home Rule; and Lord Selborne resigned. Still the Home Rule Amending Bill delayed its appearance. The haze was somewhat abruptly dissipated by Mr. Redmond in the House of Commons, when he bluntly put the question whether the Government intended to introduce into the draft Bill proposals at variance with the Lloyd George agreement. The basis of that agreement, he contended, was twofold: the Home Rule Act, declared inoperative until the end of the War, was to be brought provisionally into force at once by an Amending Bill which would exclude the six Ulster counties from its provisions; the Irish members at Westminster were to form the first Dublin Parliament, while retaining their numbers in the House of Commons undiminished. Mr. Asquith made it clear that the Government could not agree to the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers, after the next election, except for the purpose of any proposed alteration of the Home Rule Act or of the Amending Bill. Mr. Redmond's reply was that in those circumstances the Bill would be vigorously opposed by his party, and he failed to respond to Sir Edward Carson's appeal for a settlement, which would give Nationalist Ireland a

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chance of winning over Ulster by good government. Mr. Asquith was constrained to admit that he could not introduce any Bill about which the parties were not in substantial agreement, and there the whole question remains for the time being.

The Life of Parliament.

THE life of the present Parliament is to be again extended, apparently for an indefinite period. It is an amusing commentary on the fallibility of politicians that the Parliament Act, which limited the duration of the House of Commons to five years instead of the seven which have been its legal period for nearly two centuries, should have to be broken by its authors before it has come fully into operation. The reasons given for the avoidance of a general election do not appear too substantial, for a general election has been held in Australia since the outbreak of war without disastrous results, and there would be no reason to fear a disaster in Britain. But the Cabinet, which refuses to permit an election, has failed also to solve the problems of extending the life of Parliament and the registration of soldier-voters. After it had discussed the question itself for a year and then given it up, an attempt was made to refer the whole matter to a Committee of the House of Commons. The House, however, showed its opinion of the motion as moved by the Home Secretary in such an unmistakable manner that the Prime Minister was hurriedly recalled in order that he might withdraw the motion and give an undertaking that the Government would consider the question.

The East Africa Campaign.

STEADY progress continues to be reported from East Africa, where a number of British and Belgian columns are slowly converging on the Central Railway, driving the scattered German forces before them. During the past month Tanga has been occupied, and the whole of the Usambara Railway, of which it is the seaport terminus, is now in British hands. With the north-eastern corner of the colony in his possession, General Smuts will be at liberty to devote his attention to the southern drive. Already General Van Deventer has been able to move forward from Kondoa Irangi, where he had been held by the enemy for nearly three months, and has occupied Dodoma on the Central Railway. In the north-west, also, there has been a considerable advance. While the British were clearing the Karagwe region on the western shore of Lake Victoria, Belgians were making their way across Ruanda

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and were in time to bar the retreat of a German force falling back before the British. Their signal success in the engagement which took place disposes of the enemy in the area between the frontier and Lake Victoria. The combined movement directed against the centre of the German resistance is thus following a normal course.

The Russian Advance.

THE great Russian offensive, which preceded by a week or two the thrust of the Western Allies, has been an unchecked success. While local actions held the Germans along the whole line from the Baltic to Volhynia, the Austrian armies in the south were routed and disorganised. The beautiful little province of Bukowina, which has changed hands in this war as often as a valuable sugar-island in the eighteenth century, is again a Russian possession, and in Eastern Galicia the Russians have driven the Austrians—or rather the Hungarians, for these have had the bulk of the fighting—to the Carpathians. In Volhynia, the flat and marshy Russian province which borders Galicia, the contest has also been severe, and here too the Austrians have had to fall back several miles, in spite of the reinforcements which have been brought from the Italian front. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners have been taken, and an enormous number of guns and munitions of war. The whole military situation on this front, helped as it is by the Allies' pressure on the West, looks extremely hopeful.

The Parliamentary Visit.

A VISIT of representatives of the Dominion Parliaments to Great Britain as the guests jointly of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association and of his Majesty's Government was a happy inspiration. The delegates have been afforded the fullest opportunity of informing themselves upon war problems. They have made a tour of munition factories, they have visited France, and they have seen the Navy at its work. Conferences have been arranged to enable the Home and the Oversea members of the Empire Parliamentary Association to exchange views on various questions. There can be little doubt that the visitors will return to their respective Dominions eloquent missionaries of the influence of sea-power on the course of the War and of the necessity for combined action among all portions of the British Empire to resist the common enemy on land and to deal with any attempt on his part to revive pre-war conditions in regard to trade and industry.

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The Economic Conference—and After.

THE French Government has promptly accepted the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference, and immediately put into force those which are applicable to existing conditions. The British Government has appointed a Committee, which means delay and uncertainty, but which avoids a debate in Parliament or the necessity of the Cabinet making up its mind on the subject. It has this further incidental disadvantage, that it debars the manufacturers of this country from immediately making preparations for the economic struggle after the War. The Paris policy has been strongly criticised by Free Traders, who apparently think that German commercial aims after the War will be as harmless as they thought German armaments were before the War. It is evident that they desire to resume commercial relations with Germany after the War, and that they have no suspicion that the world has changed slightly during the last two years. We may commend to their attention and to that of the Government the virile utterance of Sir George Foster at the recent luncheon given by the Institute in his honour. "I am not," he said, "an apostle of the doctrine of hate. But I have a memory. I propose to keep it. I am not going to forget what the Germans have done in ignoring sacred pacts, in tearing up treaties, in outraging the humanities, in cruel and ghastly barbarity and in that worst of all—treachery to the sacred claims of friendship and hospitality under cover of which they wrought their infamies. These are things I do not propose to forget. The revelation that has been made of the German heart and the German purpose in these two years of war is my sufficient guarantee for demanding that, for this generation at least, German goods, German wares, German partnerships, German businesses and Germans themselves shall be excluded from the pale of the British Empire."

Production and Imports.

WHEN peace is restored exports must play for Great Britain the part of ammunition in war-time. The revenue derived from an export trade which in 1913 amounted to 500,000,000 sterling will in future be required to meet the charges on the national debt, and will leave no margin for public services. If the necessary money is to be available, it must come from increased production and trade expansion. The country's needs, however, in this respect will exceed the previous output by just as much as the Army's requirements in munitions in 1916 exceeded the pre-war figures. If the case for State encouragement and

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organisation is held to have been established in the one instance by the record of the Ministry of Munitions, a grave responsibility will be incurred if there is any hesitation in applying the same remedy in the other instance. Time, as it was in 1915, will again be an all-important factor, and however strong the belief in British capacity for meeting new situations may be, the Empire cannot take the risk of waiting until private effort evolves the required organisation. We are glad, therefore, to learn that the Institute's Trade and Industry Committee has urged the importance of the establishment, at least temporarily, of a Government department for the purpose of organising and stimulating production with a view to increasing export trade. The Committee's own activities in the direction of familiarising merchants and manufacturers with the advantages of co-ordination have served to emphasise the need for State organisation, which in addition to fostering production and trade on an adequate scale will become a valuable factor in Imperial Union.

The Australian Shipping Deal.

Mr. Hughes' last act before leaving London was a bold one—nothing less than the purchase of sufficient steamers to inaugurate an Australian Commonwealth transport shipping line. The shortage of freight has been a serious handicap to Australia, which has abundance of goods to send to Britain, but has been unable to ship; for reasons that are not stated the Imperial Government found itself unable to divert shipping to Australia as it has done to Canada and the United States. In these circumstances Mr. Hughes had either to own himself beaten or to purchase vessels on Commonwealth account; naturally he chose the latter, which in no way conflicts with his general policy or that of the Australian Labour Party. In the present highly profitable condition of shipping, a long price has had to be paid for the vessels, but the Commonwealth can well afford the outlay in order to sell its goods, and even as it is, shipping authorities are inclined to think that the venture may pay, while the development of Australia after the War will certainly ensure that the vessels do not remain idle. It was a courageous innovation, but one that will justify itself.

Expensive Rioting.

The moral pointed by the report of the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly on the riots in Johannesburg and other towns in South Africa in May 1915 will be variously interpreted according to the temperament of the reader. But when it is found that more than half of the property

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damaged (in value £381,883 out of £676,314) belonged exclusively to British or Allied subjects, while less than a quarter was purely German or Austrian, it has to be admitted on material grounds, quite apart from ethical considerations, that rioting is not a sound method of giving vent to popular feeling against the enemy. On the other hand, the report may also be held to supply a deterrent in other quarters. In Johannesburg the disorders began almost immediately after the appearance of a newspaper poster announcing that German shops had been sacked in England. But public excitement, it is stated, had originally been caused by "the view . . . that the policy of the Government with regard to the treatment of enemy subjects was too lenient, and that persons of enemy origin should not be allowed to carry on business." Then came the *Lusitania* outrage and the stories of atrocities committed by the enemy on both combatant and non-combatant British and Allied subjects. All the various links were doubtless required before the chain was complete, and perhaps the absence of any one would have prevented the disorders. It is a point for Governments and people to bear in mind.

An Interesting Movement.

A MOVEMENT is on foot for the establishment of an Artists' Rifles (O.T.C.) Branch of the Royal Colonial Institute. The scheme is one of no little importance in view of the fact that it will express the views, and give an outlet to the activities, of a very large body of men of the professional classes, who would assist in the future development of the Dominions and Colonies, either in their professional or business capacities. The Artists' Rifles Association has been formed for the purpose of bringing its members into closer touch with Imperial questions and more especially of finding employment in the various Dominions and Colonies for men with capital and others at the termination of the War. It is desirous of establishing a centre in London which can be used as a social meeting-place for its members, who are frequently passing through London, and under the proposed scheme accommodation will be provided in the recently acquired property of the Institute in Craven Street, where the work of the Artists' Rifles Regimental Association can be combined with that of an Artists' Rifles Branch of the Institute. A meeting was held on June 30 at Hare Hall Camp, when the Travelling Commissioner of the Institute (Mr. J. R. Boosé, C.M.G.) addressed the Battalion, numbering 2,200 men, on parade, and emphasised the advantages which were to be expected from bringing the Artists' Rifles Regi-

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mental Association into closer touch with the work of the Royal Colonial Institute. The suggestion received the hearty support of Colonel Shirley, who commands the Battalion, and already a considerable number of members of the Regiment have applied for Fellowship of the Institute.

TO THE ANZACS.

(Written in Australia.)

A cry from the West! A call from the West!
Is it for you and me?
The women of England are bowed in prayer—
Does England ask if her daughters care,
So far away in the over there,
In the mists of the Northern Sea?

Australia knows, and nobly cares;
The cry comes over the foam.
When the mother pleads, her children leap
To the side of all her race who weep,
With a love which those who have sown will reap
In the land that we all call "Home."

'Tis a loved, loved land, but a small, small land;
And many there be who roam.
But their hearts are one with those who stayed
Where the bones of the sires of us all are laid,
Where our fathers fought, and our mothers prayed,
In the land that we all call "Home."

And those who have lived in your midst knew well
Where *we* were, *you* would be,
Would stand to-day as your fathers stood,
Pouring your lives in a crimson flood,
At the cry of the kin, at the call of the blood,
In the mists of the Northern Sea!

W. A. Briscoe.

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE DOMINIONS: SOME LESSONS.

It is a proverbial impudence to teach your grandmother to suck eggs; but, given a grandmother who retains, with much of her youthful vigour, a desire to collect eggs, to whom shall she go, but to her grandson, "some little scrubbed boy," who is up to date in all the ways in which eggs must, and must not, be sucked?

Such a hale grandmother is Britain: her grandchildren are over the world; and she need not disdain at all to go to school with the third generation.

We deal here with the lessons she may learn from those healthy open-air grandchildren as to her educational systems. In one way they have little, in another much, to tell her. Nowhere, perhaps, do the barnacles of tradition so closely cluster as about our Public Schools. The old ships forge along, but often their stately dignity is outpaced by the clean keels of younger craft. One day must come a great dry-docking, or the Old Armada must fall for ever behind in the voyage over the "gran mare d'essere"—the infinite ocean of being.

Any stick will do to beat a dog with, and when the cry is once raised, as it is now raised in regard to our Public Schools, the veriest amateur will pick up his cane or cudgel. The daily press, like the rude folk of Lycaonia, stone what they have just deified. Paper battles rage: there are "famous victories"; but what good comes of it at last, why that, often enough, we cannot tell.

Not that the Public Schools and Universities—who are largely responsible for setting the tune—are deaf to the cry for reform. *Monumentum si requiris, circumspice*; behold their laboratories and workshops. But their prevailing spirit, their *genius loci*, is often yet lingering in the days of the feudal system. There are examinations: Headmasters want results; there is overcompetition, which means, instead of stimulus, nervousness and timidity. Numbers must not fall; the fees of the tutor or of the housemaster are sacred. Hence our schools live in a vicious circle. Granted that a classical training is of high value, is it good for boys to toil through pages of grammar full of "exceptions" foreign to the purity of Attic Greek or Augustan Latin? to amble through the deft trivialities of Ovid ("good for Latin verse") and never know the sombre splendours of Tacitus ("bad for Latin prose")? to spend years on Latin, and never find in it the golden gateway to all the Romance languages—to leave, in fact, the arid wilderness with never a Pisgah-sight of the Promised Land?

Well, it is said, instruction is not education; and the Public Schools have justified themselves before the world for ever by saving Country and Empire at the outbreak of war. Splendid youths poured in a golden flood of patriotism to quench the devastating fire that leapt too soon the thin barriers of Luxembourg and Belgium. True, only too true! And, thanks to our then military system, the best of them are gone. But will any kind of educational reform necessarily destroy these inherited qualities of our race? Is it only by go-as-you-please methods that you can foster them? There is something which is good and

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right in the hearts of our schools of which no reformers can rob us. But that does not mean that we are to set them on a pedestal, like some oaken Hindenburg, bidding the profane to keep aloof, save when the time comes for hammering in more golden nails. And if, as is indeed true, our Public Schools and Universities saved the Empire in those dark whirlwind days, others have done as nobly since. The Dominions needed neither cajolery nor advertisements, but sprang to the colours with as fine a spirit; and—to say nothing of their deeds in the field—what has been more admirable throughout the war than the way in which New Zealand and Australia accepted the débâcle of Gallipoli? Sent—we know not by whom—to achieve the hopeless, and yet all but achieving it; withdrawn by stress of Nature, rather than of the enemy, from that common cemetery of so many brave companions, they uttered, so far as we are aware, no recrimination, but took their splendid failure with the quiet dignity of a grown nation simply confident of herself and of her sons. Yet these peoples were not nursed in our Public Schools. They have learnt both that turbulent heroism and that silent dignity partly in schools shorn of much that we hold dear, and painfully fresh and traditionless, and partly in the free atmosphere of wide spaces, with stones for sermons, trickling creeks for books. What, then, have they to teach us?

At first we shall reply, perhaps overhastily, that we must abolish all "ancient" teaching and centralise upon mere utility. These overseas brothers have been trained largely in bread-and-butter subjects. Many have hardly seen a Greek or Latin book; history has often been foreign to them; their only effective modern languages are those of subject or neighbouring populations; Hindustani, Kaffir, Hausa, Swahili, French or Spanish.

Let us beware, however, of a too great readiness to jettison as unreal or "non-paying" the ancient history, or the ancient tongues, on which our forefathers grew and throve. As for Latin, apart from its obvious utility in medical, botanical, and other scientific work, or as a common language of all kinds of learning, especially in the case of smaller nationalities, whose own language does not carry far, there is its great value, already noted, as a porch to the garden of all the Romance languages and dialects. As for Greek, the most flexible and delicate of all known tongues—to put aside for the present its supreme poetic and dramatic achievements—is it not a kind of presumption of those who wish to think and reason well to do so apart from Plato and Aristotle; of those who wish to write well to dispense with Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon; of those who wish to speak well to ignore Demosthenes? To think well, write well, speak well, these three "lead men to sovereign power." Had our rulers fallen back a little more on their classical knowledge, Demosthenes might have taught them how to watch a stealthily encroaching neighbour; Athenian law had definite theories as to the half-naturalised alien; Virgil spoke wise words about Greeks; and Troy was worth a ten years' siege, not for some lovely imprisoned Helen, but because the rough and waterless interior of the Gallipoli Peninsula and the winds and currents of the Dardanelles were then what they are now; and since the trader would not risk his goods

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where we risked and lost precious lives, Troy reigned and grew rich upon the tolls of those who wanted to pass in safety from West to East.

But there are other reasons warning us against over-rashness. The classics, properly taught, bring a boy's mind into contact with almost every known subject. Charles Lamb's omniscient schoolmaster will occur to most minds, and the classical student acquires a great deal of highly valuable, if elementary, omniscience. What was the "sanguine flower inscribed with woe"? What were the climbing plants of Theocritus, the birds of Virgil and Aristophanes? What value for us have Plato's social, Thucydides'or Aristotle's political theories? Here are a few lesser questions which the classical scholar must face.

Yet another and far more cogent reason. The human mind is essentially reactionary: that is, it rises, almost bristles, in immediate antithesis to anything which is consciously and directly suggested from without. Hence a "passive impression" (the words are Bishop Butler's) or an "indirect suggestion" goes home to the mind both more readily and more permanently than the "active impression." The cheapjack crying his wares does not entice us: we feel that "he doth protest too much," and that there is "a catch somewhere." The tub-thumping orator wastes much of his energy and his words: the harder he thumps, the louder he shouts, the stronger this mysterious hidden counter-current. Yet we are at once limed with the hoarding poster of the same wares, with the leading article of the same political tinge.

From this it will be seen that the classical training is a kind of Montessori method; it does just give that indirect suggestion of a dozen sciences, which, if inculcated (hateful word!) directly, as items of the mere time-table, would not get home in the same way. Perhaps we shall learn to value more this round-about way; perhaps we shall get back to primitive (and wiser) ways, and find in the minstrel a better instructor than the lecturer, in the parable a better vehicle than the scientific text-book—discover, in fact, that as the grown Oriental is something of a child, the growing child is something of an Oriental.

We shall not, then (to return to our immediate subject), drop hastily a training which contains so much within it or conveys it in so subtle and irresistible a method. But we shall keep the classics only for those who are likely to get far enough to reap the advantages set out above, and we shall use them largely for their wide and comprehensive interests.

For the rest, science by all means; but with two cautions. The first is that our young chemists have, under our present fiscal system, not much security of a good income ahead: they will prosper more by sticking to the classics and becoming barristers. The protected industries of our Dominions give more assurance to the experimental chemist. The second this: that physics and chemistry have little that is moral and ethical about them. Of this, more later on; but in the meantime it may be said that, as good psychologists, if we increase science teaching, we must also increase ethical teaching, or we shall produce only starved and atrophied mentalities.

Apart from the modernising of the time-table, by the spreading of the net of science deeper and wider, by the increased and improved study of modern

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languages (Spanish and Russian to be, at least, obtainable on demand), and by the filtering of historical studies into civics, economics, and so on, in simple shape—apart from all this, the Dominions also call upon us to do more for technical and manual training. Among these manual crafts we include not merely carpentry and engineering (which can be had at our Public Schools, often as a kind of toy for the rich), but also farm and other out-of-door work. The schoolboy of our Dominions must needs be a handy man. In his holidays he is necessarily ready to turn to anything, from building dams and shanties or mending boats and sledges to riding boundaries or getting rid of rabbits. What comes to him in the natural way out of school we must, in some degree, import into our school training. The English schoolboy, as it is, seeks rather the ordinary conquests of the playing-fields, and dreams of winning further Waterloos by treading primrose paths towards athletic success. The vital quests, all the time, are character, usefulness to the State, success in everyday work. It is supposed that athletics, of themselves, develop the right stamp of character. The plain fact is that what might have been a good servant has proved a bad master ; and that sports, even in England, are something of a forced growth is shown by the painful anomaly called " compulsory games," and that much more painful and harmful anomaly, the compulsory looking-on at games. The slavery of the cricket net may become worse than the slavery of the class-room, and may perhaps make even less for real cricket than the class-room for real learning. We want more outdoor life, not more outdoor play ; and though, in this respect, the boy overseas has this great advantage, that he still lives in the age of romance, bringing his playbox to school, maybe, on a camel's hump, following lonely tracks or swimming flooded creeks, yet here too Nature is full of romance : you cannot tame it out of her ; and we must bring our boys into closer and more real battle with this Queen of Amazons.

Yet another, and perhaps a harder, lesson from our Dominions is to be learnt by the Public School boy himself. It is generally held that the boy of the Dominions is not over-amenable to discipline. In a sense that is true. But he has two great assets. He is not ashamed of owning that he is out to learn ; and he is man enough to realise that any capable master is, in the nature of things, " top dog." Hence, with an infinite capacity for practical jokes, " ragging," or even horseplay, he becomes, under proper guidance, an amenable creature. The spirit of the Dominions is in the direction of squeezing the educational orange, which at home we bite and throw aside. The present-day English Public School boy is of meaner stuff. Unless he be of special capacity, his main purpose in life is to " fool away " as much of his school-time as he can. He does this both pleasantly and efficiently, with little ill-will, save where a tactless master brings it down upon himself. Our general standard, therefore, is very low indeed ; and in the present " war of brains " our general lack of highly trained brains has gone some way towards neutralising the magnificent work of the amateur subalterns who stopped the gap in the dark early days. Certainly the boy of the Dominions has no false shame in wanting to get on, and the English boy would be the same were

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education once made a practical thing to him. As for discipline, the death of Lord Kitchener made it clear that what the British mind most desires and most misses is a firm, even, iron discipline. Boyish irresponsibility has been charming from the days of Theon, with his freakish little letter unearthed from an Egyptian rubbish-heap, through the days of Shakespeare, when "with shining morning face" the schoolboy "crept unwillingly to school," to our own time when (as a witty writer puts it), so far from being a "hungry sheep" which "looks up and is not fed," he is manifestly a sheep born without appetite. None the less, this lackadaisical attitude towards the day's agenda, this "cynical" demeanour, as Dr. Benson * puts it, towards the "specified curriculum," must account for the low average of attainment and the waste of many abilities, which a little pressure might bring out.

Once more; we at home are still in the bands of caste and social grades, and not least so in our Public Schools. A clever boy can move upward from the Board School to the highest University honours. But he must do so by backstairs, not by the *santa scala* of the greater schools. Mr. Stephen Leacock's "Jamie," whose breeches were home-spun by his mother, could not, for all his genius, take the maternal handiwork to Eton. What does not often happen here frequently does happen overseas. Not that the State School product is always desirable; not that the finished product is as good as ours; but time will tell, and Rhodes scholars from the ranks will yet shame us all.

Still another advantage lies overseas. In any school a fair number of the staff have seen some travel. At least they are in most cases "out from home." With us a man must

"stick to his desk and never go to sea"

(except, perhaps, with brother pedants to the Isles of Greece) if he wants to rise. It would be hard to point to many House- or any Headmasters who have personal knowledge of the Empire;† and though there are imperially-minded men here and there, they are a little leaven in a great lump.

And yet again; overseas they make the best of local and topical (not to say national) interests. Places or days round which some poor little bit of history clusters are honoured. Faithful in little, they even visit museums. Here we are cold. "Even the rich antiquities . . . of Eton and Windsor," writes Dr. Benson, "were never interpreted to us." *Credo, quia impossibile.*

How many boys know more of the history which clings about their school than the name and (doubtfully) the date of their founder? How many Headmasters will own the soft impeachment of having taken or sent half a dozen boys to see any portion of the Imperial Institute or the Newspaper Room of the Royal Colonial Institute? Alas! The Oxford and Cambridge Examiners do not specialise in local or Imperial history.

* *Nineteenth Century* for June.

† A short time before the outbreak of the War a small but influential committee organised by Mr. E. B. Sargant was arranging for the interchange of masters between Public Schools at home and overseas. Its initial successes were full of promise for the future, and it is to be hoped that its activities will be resumed when opportunity offers.—ED.

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Just one case, in conclusion, where the boot is on the other leg. In our schools religious training lingers yet. "The lack of, or the inferior quality of such training overseas," says a distinguished overseas Headmaster, "is a real canker in the heart of our Dominions." We are here on merely educational ground; but it may be asserted fearlessly that definite ethical, and that must here mean religious, training is psychologically as necessary to the growing mind and spirit as sugar is to the growing body. Where, then, it either is not, or is adulterated, there must be atrophy. Especially will this hold true if we increase scientific pursuits to the exclusion of the humane and the emotional values. To ethical teaching must be added music, much and beautiful: one of the greatest, because the subtlest, educating influences. With Hebraism, Hellenism: both of them clarified and purged in the light of the highest and best that we know. All boys should add to their religious knowledge an acquaintance, at least, through tales or translations, of the best of the Greek mind. Let them read "Télémaque," or write essays with reference to the Index of Jowett's "Plato": it will do nothing but good.

Here, then, are a few lessons and inspirations to us from overseas, and one at least from us thither. Readers may here expect an elaborate time-table wherein these many suggestions are palpably embodied. That we leave to Headmasters—"c'est leur métier"—only begging them to jettison the ridiculous method of teaching by "snippets," whereby the untrained mind of the small boy has to emulate the versatility of Praed's "Vicar," who

> "slipped from politics to puns,
> And passed from Mahomet to Moses."

Faults in the schools are obvious enough; they are here set forth by one who has spent a life in them, reverences them, loves their effete mediævalism, and believes that their finished product is "the noblest work of God."

Yet they need betterment, and can win it by requiring higher standards, by extended and careful encouragement of physical science, by scientific teaching of modern languages, by converting and controlling the athletic element, by bursting the barriers which hinder genuine merit, by increasing independence and lessening spoon-feeding, and not least by co-ordinating and organising their own labour so that a Public School may no longer resemble an aimless ant-heap, and no longer merit the charge that its proper motto should be "*Solvitur ambulando*," and that were it suddenly turned, by a genie's wand, into a man-of-war, it would be on the rocks in a week.

Let the Public Schools lead that great national regeneration which will deal a death-blow to "muddling through," and add the glory of scientific and skilled administration to their present glorious boast:

> "I too claim my 'place in the sun,' for the gift that I bring you is Men!" *

* Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 652.

E. Iliff Robson.

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SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EMPIRE PROBLEM.

By Sir LIONEL PHILLIPS, Bart.

It is in a spirit of humility that I have adopted the title of my address to-night. The problem of Empire is so vast, particularly holding in view the rather loose associations that have been allowed to grow up between its component parts, that within the limits of a Paper of this description one can only touch upon outstanding points. Even then it would be very unwise to be too dogmatic, because there is no momentous question upon which a variety of opinions cannot be held. With works at our disposal such as Mr. L. Curtis's "The Problem of the Commonwealth" and the great variety of magazine and newspaper articles upon different aspects of the various questions involved, notably from *The Times* and the *Morning Post*, and the very thoughtful contributions to be found in the pages of the *Round Table*, there is a considerable amount of literature to excite our ideas and stimulate our judgment.

Discussions in this and other institutions are also most valuable and stimulating, but directly anyone becomes at all definite in recommendations, thoughtful minds are able to offer other suggestions. As an example, I would take Mr. H. Wilson Fox's interesting letter to *The Times* of May 25, in which he points out what he describes as a "serious flaw" in Mr. Curtis's proposals, and contemplates others.

I have no intention of laying down definite lines of procedure, as it would be presumptuous on my part. All that I can hope to do at best is to glance over the vast field and hope that the points which strike my imagination may prove of interest to the audience.

In order to form some idea of the views which South Africa is likely to hold on the Imperial question, it is advisable to recall recent South African history, because otherwise we should not adequately appreciate the difficulties. We may, moreover, inadvertently do an injustice to that member of the British Family, if we assess her future attitude by the light of recent events and the sentiments of a section of her people. To deal with the question is, I am fully aware, to touch inflammable materials. In considering Imperial questions, however, the utmost candour, clearness, and honesty are needed, and I shall endeavour to observe those definitions without giving ground for offence to anyone.

The English in South Africa, of course, and the South Africans of British descent, are as keen and as loyal as any children of the Empire. The section of the Dutch population which acknowledges the leadership of Generals Botha and Smuts, if not equally enthusiastic about the Empire, is at least honourably desirous of doing its duty. No better evidence of this could be adduced than the German South-West Africa campaign, undertaken and triumphantly concluded by General

* *Paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held on Tuesday, June* 20, 1916, *the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., in the Chair.*

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Botha (in the face, be it remembered, of strong opposition on the part of some of his followers and active rebellion on the part of his opponents), and the German East Africa campaign, which General Smuts is now prosecuting with intelligent vigour and success. The more enlightened Dutch population regard the Peace of Vereeniging as having settled the question of the Flag. In their line of conduct they have shown an honourable appreciation of the significance of that instrument, and, moreover, I believe they now realise the solid advantage of being a portion of a great Empire, as against the disadvantage in these days of being a weak independent Power. But all the Dutch in South Africa unfortunately are not enlightened; indeed, a large portion of them are very much misguided in their views touching the consequences of the Boer War, the obligations imposed by the peace terms, and, above all, the extraordinary magnanimity with which responsible institutions were granted so shortly after the conflict.

That backward section of the population, to employ a homely phrase, "has no use for" either Botha and Company or the British Empire. It is probably not anxious to be under German domination either, but the prediction that Germany is going to win the war is circulated. This doctrine is preached by those who affirm that South Africa would then again fly an independent flag. Anyone acquainted with German methods may laugh at this fantastic estimate of what Germany would be likely to give the Boers, if she were victorious. That does not prevent a large, and I fear a growing, section of the Dutch population from believing the stories that are fostered and spread by their leaders. I use the words "fostered and spread by their leaders" advisedly, because, although I do not know of an instance in which either the late President of the Free State or his Lieutenant, General Hertzog, have given currency to this romantic and illusory suggestion, I do know that they must have been aware of its circulation, and they have never publicly contradicted it or openly tried to prevent the mischievous poison from doing its work among their adherents. They contend, for instance, that the rebellion was against the Government of General Botha and not against the British flag.

Such an explanation can only be accepted at the expense of their intelligence. Botha was fighting Great Britain's enemy, and therefore the added embarrassment of internal rebellion must obviously be treachery to the flag. What shall be said of men who, under such conditions, refuse to denounce the rebellion? That is the situation in which Mr. Steyn and General Hertzog find themselves. Specious phrases about "armed protests" and the like are no defence whatever. But although we must hold in view this attitude of mind on the part of a section of the Dutch, we must also not lay too much stress upon it. The success of Great Britain in the war will produce a great and immediate change in South Africa. Legends will be exposed by the event, and many Boers who have joined the Nationalists will no doubt return to their allegiance under General Botha. That alone would put a different complexion upon the political outlook in South Africa, and will unquestionably have a bearing upon the attitude of South African representatives at

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the Conference which must be summoned here to discuss Imperial questions. Apart, however, from the question of political sentiment, it is well to remember that no inconsiderable proportion of the Dutch population is unprogressive, leans to the patriarchal ideas of the old Republican days, and has a detestation of any interference on the part of the Government through experts and inspectors in the eradication of pests and the administration of Scab Acts. These men, who live upon the lonely veldt and hear but little news of the outer world, are not blessed with a high standard of education, and retain, in a great measure, the untutored ideas and prejudices of their forebears. If disaster comes upon their flocks they see in it the hand of Providence. They do not believe that the puny efforts of man avail against the inflictions of Nature in the shape of droughts, locusts, or diseases. They, therefore, cannot be expected to understand or to sympathise with an Imperial policy which they associate only with Jingoism. They do not appreciate that the welfare of South Africa and of themselves and their children can be linked with, for instance, any Imperial policy of defence or of trade relations. Assuming Great Britain to have emerged triumphantly from the struggle, a great many of these men will, I believe, resume their allegiance to General Botha and the party that thinks and acts with him, because the scales will fall from their eyes, and they will realise that they have misunderstood the situation. They cannot be expected, nevertheless, to have a whole-hearted sympathy with any steps that link South Africa in the general scheme of Imperial Union. They will at most be platonic in their acquiescence, with reservations at the back of their minds that South Africa would be better off without any arrangements or entanglements. There is another phase in connection with recent South African history which is of great importance, and of which a truer perspective will come with the advance of years. I refer to the work of Lord Milner. It is common knowledge that after the Boer War he took in hand the re-establishment of the country with firmness and intelligence. I wish time permitted me to refer at greater length to the truly wonderful work Lord Milner accomplished.* The reconstitution of the Civil Service, the establishment of schools, and the whole process of reconstruction are a monument to his industry and ability, and to his powers of selecting competent subordinates. Under his rule the revival of the impoverished country proceeded with astonishing rapidity and a new hope was born in South Africa. His energetic steps for the repatriation of the farming population, his efforts to attract settlers upon the land, his activity in the resuscitation of the mining industry, and the multifarious nature of his activities would need a volume to describe. He was alive, among other things, to the cry of the empty spaces for more white men. The potentialities are great and the presence of such a preponderating number of coloured and aboriginal inhabitants renders the call for white immigrants the more pressing. The State-aided settlement of the Huguenots

* The reader is referred to "The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner," by W. Basil Worsfold.

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in the seventeenth century, and the introduction of 5,000 British emigrants in 1820, whose descendants form the best and most stable elements in the country to-day, are the only important organised attempts made so far to people the country with Europeans. The numbers, however, are not proportionate to the needs of the sub-continent. But a point I wish to make in connection with emigration to South Africa is that the conditions there are entirely special. Owing to natural causes, want of water (although the rainfall in most parts is ample and the configuration of the country suitable for its storage), and other disabilities, the poor emigrant cannot, without aid, settle upon the land. But, nevertheless, holding in view the fertility of the soil, the healthy climate, and the large native population, the openings for agricultural and industrial enterprise are unrivalled in the Southern Hemisphere. It is essentially a country for the better-class white emigrant, owing to the presence of the black labourer.

Lord Milner endeavoured in his day, but without success, to secure the co-operation of leading Boers. The time, however, soon arrived when it was felt that some extension of the Crown Colony government in the Free State and Transvaal was called for, and the late Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, then Colonial Secretary, introduced an amended Constitution. Many people familiar with conditions in South Africa regret that that Constitution was not tried for a few years, as they believe that it would have been the means of consolidating Lord Milner's work before greater powers of self-government were conceded. It will be remembered, however, that about this time a change of Government in England was imminent, and it was welcomed by the Boers with a warmth that was scarcely shared by the British section of the population. The memory of 1881 was too deeply impressed upon their minds. That being the case, it was recognised that the Lyttelton Constitution, even if the Liberal Government could have been induced to give it a trial, would not have worked satisfactorily because the still important powers reserved to the Crown would have passed to a Party publicly pledged to an alteration of the policy of its predecessors. The effect was that not only the Boers, but a portion of the British population, joined in clamouring for responsible government, which they secured. Many of us thought that the gift of responsible government to the two belligerent Provinces was premature, especially as the new Constitution included manhood suffrage, in addition to which representative discrimination in favour of the country over the town constituencies helped to place the Dutch in power.

In many directions the new *régime* undid the work of Lord Milner, and shortly after the two new Governments were established acute questions arose upon railway and fiscal policy between them, the Cape and Natal. A conference was held, but failed to surmount the difficulties. Everyone agreed that a confederation or union of all the States was imperative.

Then followed the National Convention, at which ex-President Steyn played an important and statesmanlike part, and the Union of South Africa. All

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students of South African affairs know that the Convention debates were marked by the spirit of racial amity, so marked indeed that most people in South Africa thought the evil days of division upon racial lines had gone for ever. From the earliest days of responsible government in the Transvaal, General Botha consistently pleaded for the union of races and the obliteration of past dissensions. When it came to the formation of the first Union Ministry, however, General Botha did not find himself able to carry into practice the course of procedure he had so often advocated by the appointment of a Ministry composed in fairly equal proportions of men representing the two white races. I do not mention this matter in order to impugn the sincerity of General Botha, but in our consideration of South Africa in connection with Imperial matters it would not be right to lose sight of it. To-day General Botha remains in office because, at least for the period of the war, he enjoys the whole-hearted support of the Unionist Party. Without that support he would be unable to carry on the government. The Unionists naturally appreciate the Imperial spirit evinced by General Botha during the war, and their admiration for the part he has played is scarcely less intense than that of people in England itself. The present rather unnatural situation, however, cannot continue indefinitely. It is damaging to the Unionists to have to acquiesce in matters of domestic policy with which they do not agree, and not to push to a division such a question as that of the pay to the overseas South African Contingent, respecting which they feel so deeply, and other important points, but their patriotic feelings outweigh any other considerations at the present moment, even the interest of their Party. If we look at the other side of the picture, we must ask why General Botha does not frankly make a combination with the Unionists, because, although it is quite true that there are differences between them on matters of domestic policy, they are of minor importance compared with such questions as the union of the white races, Imperial relations, and the advancement of the country on broad and safe lines. In the course of my recent visit I was told that the fusion of the South African and Unionist Parties would result in further secessions from the former Party to the Nationalists. If that be true, one conclusion only emerges, *i.e.*, the majority of the Dutch do not wish to join with their fellow British South Africans but are wedded to the two-stream policy, or, in other words, the division of races which has caused so much suffering in the past.

I think it must be admitted that the insidious propaganda of General Botha's opponents since the outbreak of the present war is having a considerable effect, and the Nationalist Party has gained rather than lost strength. It is impossible to say how far a fusion to-day of the South African and Unionist Parties would strengthen the Nationalists. My own view is that a bold step of this description taken at the time of Union would have left General Botha in command of a working, perhaps an overwhelming, majority for many years to come. Whether in the face of the present titanic struggle, the uncertain outcome of which is

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sedulously disseminated among the Dutch, it would be wise for General Botha to take the plunge, may be open to very serious question, but when peace is restored it is to be hoped that he will see his way to adopt that course, otherwise it is to be feared that the Nationalists' leaders, who are opposed to General Botha and his policy, who are strongly against closer Imperial relations, and who do not favour the progressive development of the country, may in time secure the reins of government, with consequences of an unhealthy and possibly of a disruptive character. Some people hold the opinion that General Botha still expects to reunite his own people. He certainly cannot do that upon terms acceptable to that portion of the British population which now gives its support to the South African Party. The accomplishment of the task would involve a surrender to retrogressive elements, and, holding in view his attitude in speech and action during the course of a good many years now, there is solid ground for believing that he will not yield his principles even for so cherished an object. Conditions in South Africa on the whole, therefore, while not free from anxiety, are by no means such as to preclude in the course of a few years the most intimate and fraternal ties with the rest of the Empire. I have felt it right to make this analysis so that too much should not be expected in too great a hurry.

Mr. Lionel Curtis shows very clearly in his most valuable book the perilous course of any interference by the British Parliament in the internal affairs of the self-governing Dominions. He shows that where the Dominion Governments have taken a definite line in connection with their own affairs, they have prevailed, even in opposition to British ideas. One case may be cited which I think he does not quote, the Canadian adoption of preferential tariffs. When Canada first proposed to legislate in that direction, the British Government demurred, on the ground that certain foreign treaties would have to be denounced. At a later date a representative was sent to inform Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, that preferential tariffs in favour of British goods as against those of foreign origin had been passed, and he added, rather humorously, "The people of Canada are waiting to see the British Navy in Canadian ports compelling us to take foreign goods upon the same terms."

But when we turn to the question of Imperial organisation our thoughts must be directed to matters of even greater importance than those of trade, great as those are. Blood is thicker than water, and the ideal, of course, must be to draw the bonds of brotherhood closer between Great Britain and her Dominions and Dependencies. The war has demonstrated that in a moment of great emergency, and in a case where the justice of the cause appealed with irresistible force to every part of the Empire, a Commonwealth Parliament having legislative rights over the whole could hardly have produced more effective cohesion and co-operation. The untimely eruptions in South Africa and in Ireland hardly count against the immense enthusiasm and whole-hearted support spontaneously given. One of the most interesting and gratifying features is the manifestation of devotion

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to the Empire on the part of India and the coloured and native peoples who live under the ægis of the British Crown. But although this enthusiasm and spontaneity have been awakened on the present occasion, it does not follow that the same result might ensue upon other occasions in the future when the British Empire may be drawn into war. The time, therefore, seems ripe for the creation of Imperial machinery for assuring hereafter better organisation and greater certainty of combined action.

The ideal, of course, would be an Imperial Parliament exercising supreme power in Imperial affairs with local Parliaments dealing with local affairs, but I fear we must dismiss as visionary any project of setting up an Imperial Parliament of that description for some years at least. Familiarity with conditions in the Dominions points to fatal obstacles in the path at present. The first is the impossibility of inducing the Dominion Legislatures to endow selected representatives with powers of legislation binding upon the Dominion but passed by an Imperial Parliament in which they certainly would not have the major vote. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Legislatures as constituted would have the right to delegate such power, but, if they had, they would never venture to exercise it without the authority of the country first. The second point is that it would be extremely difficult in the Dominions to find sufficient representatives of requisite weight in the country and of leisure to undertake the duties.

The more one reads upon the subject the more one becomes staggered by the vastness of the proposition and the immense difficulties to be overcome. It would appear to be the counsel of perfection to contemplate the introduction of such radical and far-reaching changes, anyhow, in one Act. The all but sovereign powers enjoyed by the Dominion Parliaments to-day cannot be suddenly shorn of their highest functions. Moreover, if in a fit of white-heat enthusiasm for the Empire, which the victorious conclusion of this world-wide war may produce, hasty measures were framed and agreed to by all concerned, complications of a most serious character might arise in the course of their operation. The day would surely come for the practical effect to be demonstrated, when glaring cases of inconvenience, and possibly injustice, would be manifested in certain directions, and when the advantages and disadvantages would be regarded from a practical and perhaps even from a cold standpoint, the results of which might be the very reverse of those intended. Haste in a matter of this sort is much more likely to result in a family dispute and upheaval hereafter than well-considered advance by stages. Given the stage foundations are well laid, the ideal structure may be erected in time. Past experience of legislation at Westminster for oversea communities has not always been happy, and now, with their greater legislative powers, even the King in Council rarely over-rides their acts. Mr. Curtis quotes a case where the act of a Dominion in annexing territory was disallowed because it might have involved Great Britain in difficulties with foreign Powers, and there are, of course, other cases where measures have been vetoed. But as a rule, when a self-governing

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Dominion makes up its mind in favour of any given course of action it has not been thwarted by interference from home.

In this supremely important matter there appears to be every reason for proceeding cautiously. The work that is to be undertaken by the body which unquestionably must be created for the purpose should be clearly defined and its scope limited. For certain definite work in connection with foreign affairs and defence the representatives which the Dominions would have to find would be far less numerous than would be necessary for a legislative body, and, important as the work would be, its nature and scope could be defined in advance. Take, for instance, foreign affairs. The Dominions must obviously in the future be represented and able to express their views, but we have only to measure the respective responsibility of Great Britain as compared with her Dominions to perceive at once that she must have the dominant voice. It is generally admitted, however, that in view of the important part played by the Dominions in the prosecution of the war, they must in future be given greater consideration in the control of foreign affairs. But foreign affairs entail continuity of policy, and can only be presided over by one selected Minister. It is possible that that Minister, instead of reporting to and consulting with the Cabinet as hitherto, might conduct his business through the medium of a Foreign Affairs Council, on which the Cabinet would be represented by a given number of its members sitting with one representative each from the Dominions. For this purpose I am assuming their division into three groups: Canada (including Newfoundland), Australia (including New Zealand), and South Africa.

A workable scheme in this connection could surely be framed. The British Cabinet as a whole would be consulted by its representatives on the Foreign Affairs Council in grave matters, and would still, with his Majesty the King, exercise the final control—as they should. But the representatives of the Dominions would be in confidential communication with their Governments, and would be able to express their views. If one Dominion held opinions at variance with the rest, it would no doubt loyally defer to the views of the majority, but if all the representatives of the Dominions were united in their opinions, they would carry great weight with the representatives of Great Britain, who would in that case unquestionably consult the whole Cabinet, and time would be allowed for interchanges of views. It seems to me a workable plan, but I am fully conscious that in so delicate and difficult a case there may be fatal objections.

If Defence, another matter of vast importance, could be dealt with in some analogous fashion a big stride in the direction of consolidating the Empire would have been made. The expenditure to be met by Great Britain and the several Dominions would have to be agreed upon by representatives at a conference, and subsequently put into force by legislation through the several Parliaments. The Imperial Conference doubtless is the body which can take initial steps, but its deliberations would require the assistance of expert Committees dealing with

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special branches of the subject. Naval and military matters, for instance, would need investigation by experts to determine how far and what proportionate value could be put upon local forces, armaments, war stores, facilities for producing munitions (supplies of raw material, &c., &c.), and the question as to how far police forces, as distinguished from organised military forces and citizen soldiers, should be allowed to rank in connection with the general forces. A similar inquiry concerning Imperial Marine and an Aircraft Service would be necessary, and this would, of course, include an inventory of existing naval and aerial forces, facilities for ship, aeroplane, and airship building, men available for all branches of the Service, &c., &c. It would not be very difficult to calculate, if population alone could be taken as a basis, the respective share which Great Britain and each of the other Dominions should bear, or even perhaps how far the Dependencies and Protectorates could be expected to contribute. Unfortunately this delightful simplicity would not answer because of the diverse conditions in various parts of the Empire. In South Africa, for instance, we have an abnormally small white population living side by side with a large coloured and a still larger aboriginal population. It does not seem to me reasonable, for the purpose of arriving at the relative share of the burden, to adopt any system of calculation under which a given number of subject races are supposed to be equal to a given number of white men. The fairest basis that I can think of would be to assess the obligations of each of the self-governing countries on the basis of their annual Budgets. This system would at least have the merit of making for economy in expenditure, because the higher the Budget the greater the relative contribution for Defence purposes. But here again we are met with a very complex question—namely, how far interest and redemption of National Debt are to be taken into consideration. Whatever solution of the problem may ultimately be found, it is quite obvious that considerable time would be needed for its consummation. Not only is a preliminary understanding necessary, but the consent of the various Legislatures will have to be secured and embodied in Acts of Parliament. Under some such arrangement, however, it would be possible to have a Defence Council upon which all parties would be represented. The extent to which this Council would administer and control the Forces would have to be settled by the Acts, and such Acts would not be susceptible of alteration at the will of any Parliamentary majority which at a given time happened to be in office, but would have to form part of all the Constitutions. No matter how wisely the foundations might be laid or the measures framed, it is quite obvious that time would show defects in the superstructure, and it would be necessary to fix the basis of representation and provide for its increase. It would also be necessary to have machinery by which it would be possible from time to time to modify the arrangements. Once established, there would be a great disinclination to touch any measure of this description, and the procedure for doing so would have to be very carefully designed, and should not be put into operation either too easily or too

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frequently. The suggested basis would entrench as little as possible upon the legislative powers of the various parties, and, given that the division of the burden be justly made, it would go a very long way, if not in the direction of complete Imperial Union, at least in making every member of the Empire proud of his share in the whole. A comparison of the respective responsibilities of Great Britain and the Dominions used a little later in connection with trade will show that the share to be shouldered by the Dominions would not be by any means oppressive.

Before turning to trade relations one may lay down a dictum: The greater the volume of trade the more vital its defence.

One may also admit that, in spite of all past opinions, the trade conditions of pre-war days must be changed. Everyone realises that whether tariffs are sound or unsound economically, and whether we describe them as protective or established as revenue-earners, they must come. Universal free trade would be ideal, but Great Britain alone cannot live as the dumping-ground of a Protectionist world And as we must defend ourselves, let us see to it that the interests of the component parts of the Empire come first in our arrangements. Then we may in time become self-contained, given that we remain supreme at sea and become supreme in the air, or at least invent ways of annihilating aircraft that may in the future be a menace to our sea-girt advantages.

Better organised trade relations are only second in importance to those of defence, and it would certainly appear to be within the scope of human ingenuity to frame agreements of an advantageous character. Mr. Curtis's historical survey should convince anyone that good results can only attend a policy approved of by Great Britain and the several Dominions individually. Giving due weight to the cohesive forces that hold any family together in time of stress, when the fortunes of the whole family are assailed, we are bound to confess that in normal times nothing is more likely to cause disruption than for one part of the family to believe the other part is treating it unfairly or is getting the best of it. It therefore behoves us to be very circumspect where questions of material interest are involved. Interference with the rights of Great Britain or with the Dominions respectively to frame their own fiscal policy would, I fear, be disastrous. A policy suitable to one Dominion or to Great Britain may not be suitable to another. So much depends upon the nature of the raw products, the main industries, and chief means of livelihood. They must all be left to do what they think best for themselves. But, although this is true in general terms, any thoughtful person is bound to admit that the trend of financial affairs in recent times has not been in the direction of attaining the best results for Great Britain and the vast Empire of which she is the centre. Free Trade and freedom of action have not prevented the very dangerous rivalry that threatened the commercial position of this country. The war has brought home to many the danger of German rivalry, to deal with one country only. Our eyes have been opened as to what State aid, Protection in various forms, organisation of industry, and the harnessing of science can do.

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Most people realise that this country was behind the times, was living upon wealth accumulated in previous days, and was sliding back in the race. The establishment of German monopolies in dyes, certain chemicals, processes for treating metals, &c., &c., were ignored. National interests were sacrificed, perhaps unconsciously, at the altar of cheapness. This has got to be changed if, after the war, commercial enterprise on the part of our enemies is not going to achieve in effect what arbitrament of war failed in doing.

The point for practical men to consider is the direction in which practical steps can be taken to give effect to these aspirations. The Economic Conference in Paris will no doubt furnish valuable information, but before any definite steps can be taken it is surely imperative to hold a conference at which every part of the British Empire is represented, because the first essential is to have an understanding within the British family. In order that we may get some perspective of the size and relative importance of the respective interests we must have recourse to a few figures.

The white population of the United Kingdom is 46,407,037. The white population of the rest of the British Empire is 16,540,073. The non-white races in the British Empire comprise 376,074,220, of which 315,020,401 are in British India and the Feudatory States of that country. The balance of 61,053,819 is scattered through the Dominions and a great variety of territories. If we exclude the 15,322,931 whites and 5,050,584 native and coloured people for the government of whom the self-governing Dominions are responsible, we find that Great Britain is directly answerable for the government of 418,647,815 souls. Therefore of the white population in the Empire, the British Isles contain five-sevenths, and are charged with the government of something like 98 per cent. of the total population of non-white races in the Empire. In spite of the growth of the Dominions, and the vitality of their inhabitants, the figures just given show the enormous preponderance of weight and responsibility of this country.

We must now glance at trade figures. They are taken from the Board of Trade Returns for the year ended 31st December, 1913:—

	£
Imports, 1913, from *British Possessions* and Protectorates (including self-governing Dominions £102,167,377) ...	191,515,895
of which (including self-governing Dominions £78,716,463) ... were retained in United Kingdom.	135,355,788
Imports, 1913, from *Foreign Countries*	577,218,844
of which ... ... were retained in United Kingdom.	523,890,284
Exports, 1913, to *British Possessions* and Protectorates (including self-governing Dominions £101,967,519)	208,922,183
Exports, 1913, to Foreign Countries	425,898,143

(There were also £86,370 re-exports in excess of Consigned Imports, which may or may not be included in the export figures given above.)

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These figures tell the same tale, but in a modified and more satisfactory degree. It is obviously in the interests of Great Britain to foster the growth of trade and industry under its own flag. Reciprocity with the Dominions is one means to that end. The field for the growth of their populations and trade is limitless. But we must not ignore the fact that the volume of Britain's foreign trade is likely for many years to come to be the greater bulwark in the prosperity of her population. The first point, therefore, is for an Imperial Conference to come to an agreement in regard to Imperial trade relations. For me to attempt within the limits of this Paper even to state the complexities that have to be faced would be folly. At that Imperial Conference, as a second consideration, the question of the treatment of the products of our Allies and the basis upon which dealings with enemy countries are going to be permitted or checked might be considered. The task is in any case stupendous. An essential factor from which no one charged with the immense responsibility of making the arrangements can run away is the stern one that the livelihood of the people is involved. Heated arguments among theorists in debate are of no great moment. The practical adoption of a particular line of policy, the effect of which is going to be demonstrated by the prosperity or adversity of the people concerned, is quite a different matter, and the conditions after the war, we must bear in mind, will be complicated by a financial situation unknown hitherto in the history of the world. Is there any economist bold enough to predict the effect of blowing into the air thousands of millions of accumulated savings, or how the burden of debt which will be laid upon the shoulders of the belligerent countries is to be met? A mere contemplation of the effects of the upheaval must cause us to hold our breath. The British Empire has one great advantage. Rather over 61 per cent. of the world's gold output is produced within her boundaries. But a sum of money like £60,000,000 sterling, which was her portion of the production during 1915, sinks into insignificance beside the figures of expenditure which the war is making us accustomed to.

I have heard the fear expressed that London may no longer retain the position she has so long enjoyed as the financial centre of the world, that the depletion of her resources may render it difficult for her to do the immense exchange business that has been so profitable in the past. These fears appear to be unjustified. The world has become accustomed during the last century to do its business mainly upon the credit and honour of the people dealt with, and London enjoys such an enviable reputation for straight dealing that those who have traded with her in the past are not likely to lose their faith. In addition to that, her geographical position is greatly in her favour. But the retention of London as the world's great clearing-house is not the only goal. We must make strenuous efforts to recover those branches of trade in which we were predominant that have been captured by foreign rivals—Germany in particular. In order to succeed we must emulate continental enterprise and thoroughness. Want of forethought and organisation rendered this

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country at the outbreak of war contemptibly inferior to our enemies in the production of aircraft and munitions—excluding the requirements of the Navy. But that glorious arm of the Service has always been professional, and in consequence alive and efficient. That there should have been no *plan* to meet the emergency, no study as to which factories could be most readily adapted to supply our needs—in fact, no prevision—is characteristic of British carelessness and improvidence. No doubt the refusal to look ahead arises from long-established success and self-confidence, the past record of "muddling through" without ultimate disaster. It has been too close a shave on this occasion, and, moreover, the spread of knowledge, quick transmission of news and quick locomotion render a change of methods and habits essential.

The past practice of refusing orders that are not within the range of "stock output" must be altered. Customers will go where they can secure their requirements, and not what the manufacturer insists on supplying as what they *ought* to want.

England has looked on supinely and indifferently while Germany has built up great engineering, electrical, and chemical works. How has she done it? By the application of science to industry and commerce, by enterprise, by energy, by hard work and State aid. The Government and the producers have worked together, and the success has been phenomenal. Of what avail elaborate agreements between Great Britain and the Dominions, Imperial Councils, Scientific and Preferential Tariffs, Trade Conventions with Allies, &c., unless our products are as good, as cheap, and as suitable to consumers as those of our opponents? In Trade, as in Nature, the fittest survive.

Protective walls can achieve much. They cover the development period, but in the long run fail against superior skill and industry. Supposing we exclude the products of certain countries by prohibitive walls, and supposing they are better than our own, can the restriction endure? Will they not in time creep in by side doors and their presence be winked at? Or, given the flame of patriotism so intense and tenacious that it effectively bars the wares of certain origin, what of other markets? It is a vain conceit to imagine that any country can hold markets and expand its output unless its products can vie in quality, price, appearance, and utility with those of competitors. How should we set to work? An urgent call is more and better practical education. In Germany the young professor is poorly paid, and usually has no intention of remaining a tutor. But he takes a post in a university or technical high school because it is from those institutions that the industrial establishments draw their technical staffs. Here is something "Made in Germany" that we should imitate.

Another item of serious importance to be studied is that of extravagance and waste. It is beyond the scope of my address, and, anyhow, my knowledge is insufficient to deal with it. But I am told there is a ruthless waste of by-products, and that our management of the land is primitive and uneconomical. We are

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shockingly behind Canada and the United States in research institutions, agricultural colleges, and experimental farms. The study of fertilisers is not common, and the thousands of miles of hedgerows do strike a mere observer as excessive and improvident. Old-fashioned conservatism in methods and appliances, as well as in nature of output, is a common charge against John Bull in all spheres of productive activity. But if captains of industry need waking up, Government and Labour organisations are in the same state.

I cannot here profitably touch the great and far-reaching subject of the relations between capital and labour, much as our Imperial greatness must rest upon the discovery of a just and amicable solution. One of the serious dangers to Britain lies in distrust and hostility between employers and employed, to the detriment of both. There are, of course, faults on both sides. Labour refuses its best thought and effort because it charges Capital with greed in the division of the profits. If economists could only settle upon a scientific basis the relative title of capital, risk, supervision, and enterprise on the one side, and skilled and unskilled labour on the other to the gains from their combined effort, the millennium would have come. That question, as far as we can see, must still be the subject of arrangement between those concerned, and we may hope that frankness on both sides, fairness of mind, and arbitration where agreement by common consent fails, may do much to avert strike warfare, so injurious to all. Suspicion and mistrust are probably as potent in labour troubles as the actual matters at issue. But my object in referring to this momentous and thorny subject is not to probe into its complexities or offer any suggestions for its adjustment. From the standpoint of Empire, and the welfare particularly of the people of Great Britain—rich and poor—a return to pre-war conditions of perpetual industrial unrest must spell disaster. Consumption of savings, which have enabled us to face the storm, and heavy debts are bound to make the stress of life very severe. Recovery and rehabilitation are alone to be achieved by a greater earnestness and thoroughness in our work. False appeals by politicians to popular passions and prejudices, to catch votes, must be eschewed. Many of them are at the Front. Will they on their return lightheartedly pursue the old game? A factor of immense weight in educating opinion on the right lines may be the home-coming of that great army of young men, fresh from scenes of horror and hardship, steeped in a new patriotism, hating shams, and schooled in the realities of existence.

Labour leaders with the real welfare of their followers at heart will be more than ever needed. The revolt of bodies of men against the decision of their own elected leaders in several recent cases, and in favour of unofficial leaders who have sprung into prominence through the violence of their counsel and the uncontrolled fervour of their oratory, is evidence of the urgent need for organised labour to stiffen its rules. To disregard your own laws is anarchical. The irresponsible demagogue, the professional strife-raiser must be suppressed. The intelligence of these war-worn soldiers will be sharpened, and they will not so easily fall a prey to the

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agitator and syndicalist. They may perceive in their machinations the tactics of the cobbler in *Julius Cæsar*, leading the mob about the streets to wear out their boots and make more work for himself!

The soul of the Empire has risen to meet the aggressors in the field of battle. May it not similarly rise to combat and conquer the difficulties and dangers that peace will bring in its train? When we reflect upon the spectacle of Powers governing more than half of the human race locked in a life-and-death struggle, and contemplate the torrents of blood poured out by the flower of manhood, we must, indeed, hold the moral qualities of humanity in low esteem if we do not believe that through the struggle it will be regenerated, and face existence from a saner and higher level than before. There are a few elementary principles that we must assimilate and follow:—

1. The more labour each one of us performs, the more labour there will be for all to perform. This is the negation of the false doctrine known as the lump of labour.

2. The more we try to ameliorate the conditions of the poor by the gift of things for which they have not worked, the more assuredly are we fixing upon them the shackles of indigency. Human beings are governed by the same natural laws as plants and animals, and there is no escape from the perpetual struggle for existence.

3. The highest duty of a Government is the safety of the State. In that is comprised not only adequate numbers of men, but of implements of destruction for its defence. It involves discipline of the citizens and, if need be, their forced obedience to the laws. Its sphere is also the mental, moral, and physical welfare of the people. It is not concerned with their ease and comfort. They sound, I confess, like copybook maxims, but in these days of pain and anxiety we are more inclined to ponder upon their meaning than in halcyon days of peace and plenty.

There is a thoughtful article entitled "Economic Reconstruction" in the June number of the *Round Table*. It contains a great many figures and quotations from acknowledged authorities. It analyses the earnings of the nation, and shows how unequally they are distributed. But the writer wisely refrains from prescribing remedies. The fact is, there is not, and never will be, any remedy but one—*work*. The more efficient the workman, and the greater the output, the greater the accumulation of capital and *the higher the wages*. That is why the squandering of resources in war injures not only capitalists but the working classes. It is a case of supply and demand. Plentiful capital, *cheap* capital, high wages. Scarce capital, *dear* capital, *low* wages.

If we are to maintain and extend our Imperial greatness, which in other words means the opportunity for every citizen to secure *by his own effort* a greater measure of ease and comfort than he has enjoyed hitherto, we must rid ourselves of uneconomic and pauperising practices. Every man must be encouraged to give his best thought and effort to his job. Let him organise as efficiently as possible to secure and defend his quota of the profit. But any restriction of

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effort or output robs him of the power to obtain higher wages—ceases to create the wherewithal!

Charity is another matter. It is the common duty of civilised beings to help the infirm, to see that the disabled in war are properly cared for. Spartan methods do not conform to modern standards, and it strengthens ourselves to make sacrifices. If we are circumspect in our charity, recipients will not be degraded. But doles in any form to the able-bodied sap their virility and in time so impoverish a nation that it succumbs. Gibbon demonstrates that.

Latter-day legislation, not based upon high ethical principles and true sentiment, or even real in its sympathy with the less fortunate section of the people, tends to humour the lazy and the effete. Sickly sentimentality, acting in popular but destructive directions, must be curbed. Democracy will be on its trial after peace is restored as it has never been before. May it rise to its imperial duty! And so I conclude, but with a final word of regret that we have not with us to-day the master mind of Joseph Chamberlain. He grasped the trend of events and saw the need for tariffs and reciprocity with the Dominions. And he loved and was beloved of the people. In such days as these he would have torn to shreds the tricks of the wire-puller and the wiles of the place-seeker; he would unflinchingly have preached the truth to the multitude, and he would have been heeded. Where shall we find such a man? Among leaders waiting to be led? Among the elder statesmen who during the reign of the last Government and since the coalition have not shown high qualities of courage and resolution? I fear not. But perhaps among those younger men who are passing through the fiery furnace abroad there may arise a giant to guide the multitude through the crags and pitfalls to a pinnacle whence they can see the straight path. Then the Empire will be safe, and its proud citizens, linked in bonds of imperishable brotherhood, will lead the world of freedom in faith, in honour, and in happiness.

Before the reading of the Paper:—

THE CHAIRMAN (The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.) said: I should like to say what a delight it is to me to meet so many of my old South African friends here, with some of whom I have spent many anxious hours, many strenuous hours, and many happy hours, and from all of whom I have received the greatest kindness. I will content myself now with introducing to you Sir Lionel Phillips—a man who has worked greatly, has dared greatly, and has suffered greatly for South Africa, and in your name and on your behalf I offer him a very cordial welcome.

After the reading of the Paper the following discussion took place:—

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure, before opening the discussion, the first thing you would have me do is to thank Sir Lionel Phillips very sincerely indeed for his admirable lecture. He has carried us into many fields, into which I have not the time, even if I had the ability, to follow him. But there is one point in his address upon which I will touch briefly. At one period he carried us beyond the mere ignorant present, and raised a vision of things Imperial as they might be. He spoke as follows:—"The ideal, of course, would be an Imperial Parliament exercising supreme power in Imperial affairs with local Parliaments dealing with local affairs, but I feel we must dismiss as visionary any project of setting up an Imperial Parliament of that description for some years at least." Now, I am sure you will forgive me if I am somewhat more auda-

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cious, and venture to hope that that scheme is not as visionary as he would have us believe. I suppose you are very like myself and find in these days that it is very hard to get away from the contemplation of current events, and to put down the daily paper and try to trace even in outline on the canvas of one's own imagination the effect that this War is likely to have on the relations between the Mother Country and the great Dominions. Well, I venture sometimes so to do, and I find it difficult to believe that we are not on the eve of great constitutional changes. Just think for a moment what were the circumstances in which the last Imperial Conference was held, and the circumstances in which the next Conference is likely to meet to discuss the affairs of the Empire. On the last occasion an undertaking was given by the British Government that the great Overseas Dominions were entitled to consultation in international matters "so far as time and opportunity and the subject matter would permit." With that, perforce, the Dominions then had to be content, but I am certain they will be content with such an assurance no more. In all the latest phases of diplomatic action which led up to the outbreak of war in August, 1914, the great self-governing Dominions had no responsibility whatever for the momentous decisions upon which hung the great issues of peace and war, although, remember, they were supposed at that time to enjoy the rights of full self-government and to possess a local autonomy absolutely unfettered. I venture to say they will insist upon a share of such responsibility in the future, and that they will refuse to be inarticulate when the discussions of matters affecting their national life and death are in the balance. We have already been told by the Prime Ministers, both of Canada and Australia, that those two great Dominions claim the right to share in Imperial defence and in the maintenance of the Empire, and if there is to be a union for defence, there must be a union for the conduct of foreign affairs. Responsibility cannot be to two or more Governments. It can be to one Parliament only. So I venture to think the course of the war will bring us to great constitutional changes, and I venture to predict South Africa will insist upon being included. I am certain, for example, that South Africa would insist upon raising her voice when the future of German South-West Africa and East Africa came to be decided. Indeed, to me the thought of a great Imperial Parliament from which South Africa was excluded is absolutely inconceivable. But at the same time, though I have been for some years a stranger to South Africa and to South African politics, I venture to express the opinion, that there is a considerable section of the South African community to whom the idea of closer attraction to the orbit of Imperialism will be very far from acceptable. In this matter I speak just as any other man in the street, but if you come to analyse what passed at the recent elections, you will find that the votes registered show that General Botha's once united Dutch party has dwindled to half. Comparing the votes registered for the South African party and for the Nationalist party, the difference is very small. Therefore it is obvious that the Government of General Botha to-day is in a very precarious and difficult position, and in fact, as the lecturer told us, owes its continued existence to the Unionist Party. I take it that to the Nationalist Party the Imperial idea is by no means welcome. I do not know how it is, but I believe that in England most of us are under the impression that since self-government was given to South Africa, the South African ship of state has moved over very smooth water on a halcyon sea. I believe that really is the general impression in this country, and yet if you come to examine the history of the past decade you will find that the political storms which have swept over South Africa have been very constant and very fierce. That these crises have been overcome and that the difficulties have been got over is due very largely to the genius of Louis Botha as well as to the ability of his stout henchman, General Smuts, who in all the gravest cases of crisis and difficulty had the loyal support of the Unionist Party. But let us give General Botha his full due. From the first he stood, as head of the South African party, for racial unity, for loyalty to his oath of allegiance, for faithfulness to the trust committed to his care. But he has had a difficult time. First in the Transvaal Parliament, and then in the Union Parliament, he was met with a

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revolt on the part of his old comrades in arms against the progressive ideals of the the day, and for a reversion to the old Kruger ideals of Dutch supremacy, and in these he had to meet the hostility of the Dutch Reformed Church. He was confronted with two great strikes, one on the railways and one in the mines, which were overcome, though General Smuts has told us they were little short of "revolutions," and the fact that they were overcome is due very largely to the staunch help given by the Unionist Party. He had to face a drought greater than any known for the last fifty years, and was finally confronted with the horrors of rebellion and war. Again, in these two latter, he was helped enormously by the support of the Unionist Party. But he has conquered all these vicissitudes—triumphed over them all—not only because he is an adroit Parliamentarian and an able administrator, but because also he has proved himself an Imperial statesman. But if my visions are in any way true, if these great constitutional changes are really coming into effect, then I venture to think that with the spirit of the Nationalist Party as it is to-day, the difficulties by which General Botha is going to be confronted are greater than any he has met before. Yet I am an optimist, and I believe he will overcome them by the same qualities of which he has shown himself possessed in the past, but above all by the help and generous and loyal support which is being accorded to him to-day by the Unionist Party in South Africa.

Mr. H. WILSON FOX: As you all know, Sir Lionel Phillips speaks to us as one of the makers of modern South Africa. He is a politician, a great organiser of industry, a financier and, what counts more than anything else in South Africa, a man—one who has proved his worth on many occasions and in many capacities. I venture with great diffidence to differ from any of his considered views; but, like the chairman, I am an incurable optimist. I hope that Sir Lionel Phillips' views as to the limits of future action in regard to the matters which we are now considering are possibly too modest, and I am rather afraid that the Government, as represented by the Colonial Office, has also been too modest. I have always heard in official circles the view—"No, we must never make any offer to the Colonies. If we say anything to them, we shall hurt their pride; we must not give them the impression we wish to interfere with their internal affairs." Well, this War is a very crucial ordeal to pass through. This country, and the Empire generally, are undergoing a great surgical operation, one effect of which will be to clear the minds of a great many people and make them open to ideas they have previously not been able to entertain. So far from thinking that the Dominions will resent an offer at this time from the Imperial Government—any well-thought-out considered offer which bears in mind the great part they have played in the War—I am sure that the Dominions would welcome it. It is the duty of the Government to think out the solution of these Imperial questions, and, even if it is only tentative, to put it on the table for the Dominions to consider. And, while I agree with Sir Lionel Phillips that it is not necessary at the present time to crystallise any aspect of the matter, I think we should remember, as regards trade interests, that the door is no longer bolted and barred, and that, while it is deplorable that a certain section of the political community in South Africa is retrograde in tendency, and suspicious of any new phases of political education, we should bear in mind that uneducated people, as well as other people, can be swayed by increased education and by bringing home to them their material interests. If, after the War, there is an Imperial preference on wine, tobacco, meat and other products, I think that a man who lives in the most backward districts of South Africa will think twice before he wishes to leave the Empire; and I am convinced that the effect of these measures will, in time, be to make the sons of such men—if not the men themselves—whole-hearted citizens of the Empire. I hope also that we shall indicate by our trade policy that we look upon our Allies in a wholly different light from those who, to say the least, have stood aside in this crisis of our fortunes, and left us to what might possibly have been an evil fate. Whether it will be wise to differentiate between enemy and neutral nations is a matter for discussion; but at any rate both ought to be placed outside the ring, in the first place, of Empire, and secondly, of the Allied

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group. When that has been done, it will not be difficult to create some constitutional machinery which will unite us much more closely than at present, because you must remember that we shall not be asking the Dominion Parliaments to consent to any reduction of autonomy which we are not prepared to accept ourselves. An Imperial Parliament, if constituted, will deal with certain Imperial matters on behalf of all concerned, and, as Sir Lionel Phillips and also the Chairman suggested, it is very unlikely that on any great occasion affecting the fate of the whole Empire, an Imperial Government would disregard the united voices of the great Dominions and possessions of the Empire. As this question of Imperial Union is the most important of all the matters we have to consider, I confine my remarks to this topic and thank Sir Lionel Phillips for his most interesting and suggestive address.

Mr. A. H. SYTNER drew attention to the part played by the Royal Colonial Institute in urging the cause of Imperial Federation. Well-considered papers on the subject of a truly Imperial Parliament had been read at various times. He instanced Mr. Richard Jebb in particular in connection with this movement.

DIARY OF THE WAR—(*continued*).

June 22. Germans capture British trenches near Givenchy; French recover ground between Fumin and Chenois Woods

,, 23. German advance at Verdun; several positions captured.

,, 24. Russian success in the Bukovina; Kimpolung and Kuty captured. German defeat in East Africa.

,, 25. Great Italian advance; Asiago, Priafora, and Cengio Mountains retaken.

,, 26. British activity on Western front; German lines penetrated in ten places. French gain ground near Thiaumont. Italians re-occupy Arsiero and Posina.

,, 28. Russians defeat Austrians east of Kolomea; great number of prisoners taken.

,, 29. Roger Casement found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death.

,, 30. Russians capture Kolomea.

July 1. Beginning of combined British and French offensive on Western front; fierce fighting on the Somme; British capture German trenches on seven-mile front, also Montauban, Mametz, and Fricourt; over 8,000 prisoners taken by French and British.

,, 3. Allied advance continues; British capture La Boisselle; French within four miles of Peronne. Successful Russian attacks at two points against Hindenburg's forces; heavy fighting in Lutsk salient.

,, 5. Further progress between the Ancre and the Somme; all gains consolidated. Struggle for Verdun continues. Russians cut main railway-line from Hungary to the Austrian centre.

,, 7. Second stage of British advance; more enemy positions carried; desperate struggle for Contalmaison. Russian successes in Lutsk salient. British force in East Africa reaches the coast; Tanga occupied.

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July 8. French take Hardecourt; British enter Trônes Wood; many prisoners and much war material captured.

„ 9. German submarine *Deutschland*, carrying mails and cargo, arrives in America.

„ 10. British capture Contalmaison for the second time.

„ 11. Sir Douglas Haig reports completed capture of German first system of defence on front of 14,000 yards. Enemy regains some ground in Mametz and Trônes Woods. German stand on the Stokhod; Russian advance checked. German submarine bombards Durham coast.

„ 14. Allied advance in West continues; German second line of defence attacked on front of four miles; all British gains held; Trônes Wood and two villages captured.

„ 15. Russians occupy Baiburt, on Erzerum—Trebizond road. In East Africa, British force captures Mwanza (principal German port on Lake Victoria-Nyanza).

„ 16. British advance almost to the crest of Albert plateau; third system of German defences attacked.

„ 17. More British successes in France; Ovillers captured. Russian victory in Lutsk district; enemy retreating.

„ 18. Heavy German counter-attacks on Western front; enemy gain some ground. Bombs dropped on Reval (Russian port).

„ 19. British regain most of the lost ground.

„ 20. British Government consents to the appointment of Commissioners to inquire into the Dardanelles operations and the Mesopotamian campaign.

„ 21. Further Russian success on the Rivers Liga and Styr.

„ 22. British continue their attacks along the whole front from Pozières to Guillemont. Resignation of M. Sazonoff. The Russian Prime Minister, M. Sturmer, becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs.

INDIAN TITLE IN CANADA.

FOLLOWING the precedent set by Sir Charles Lucas with his address on "The Merchant Adventurers of England," delivered in the Library of the Institute on February 15, the Council arranged for another lecture, intended for historical students, to be given by Mr. T. B. Browning, M.A., on the subject of "Indian Title in Canada." This took place on June 27, Sir Charles Lucas occupying the chair, and a good audience assembled to hear Mr. Browning. He dealt with his theme in a very interesting manner, showing a complete grasp of its details, and after analysing in a masterly fashion the various methods of acquiring title recognised by International Law, gave a lucid account of the position in Canada occupied by the native Indian races, both in past and present times. The address was illustrated by a series of rare and valuable maps, some of which were handed round to explain particular points while the lecturer was speaking. After the Chairman had moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Browning, a short discussion ensued. Tea was previously served in the Reception Room.

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ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

CANADA.

Annual Trade Returns.—The trade of the Dominion for the fiscal year reached the enormous total of £284,800,000. This is an increase of £69,200,000 over the record total of the previous year. Heavy increases are shown in nearly all lines of exports, the total value of exports of domestic products being £148,200,000 compared with £81,800,000 in the previous year. Imports of dutiable goods amounted to £57,800,000 and of free goods to £43,600,000 against £55,800,000 and £35,000,000 in the previous year.

Prosperity of the Bank of Montreal.—The half-yearly report of the Bank of Montreal for the six months ended April 29 last shows remarkable expansion, there being an increase of over £20,000,000 in the assets. Both demand and notice deposits denote unusual strength, and the liquid position of the latter must be accepted as one of Canada's safeguards under the present exceptional conditions. The increase in deposits not bearing interest amounts to £14,000,000. While this would indicate some special funds, it is also evidence that the Bank is in a position to take care of the large additional business that will be carried out in the country, and the fact that the leading banking institutions of the country are in such a flourishing state at the present time is of the utmost importance to the welfare of the Dominion. The Royal Mint at Ottawa is to be extended, and in order to meet the demand for more gold additional facilities are to be provided.

Grand Trunk Pacific Finance.—The Dominion Government Bill for lending $8,000,000 to the Grand Trunk Pacific Company has been passed. This loan is an obligation of the above company, and no liability in connection with it attaches to the Grand Trunk Railway Company. The actual liability of the Grand Trunk under its guarantees amounts to about £815,000 per annum, and since the Canadian Government is advancing £1,600,000 there will be more than enough to meet the Government's guarantee and the Grand Trunk's liabilities for another year at least, as well as the further funds needed for equipment, etc. The Government has appointed a Commission to report on the general railway situation, and it is estimated that the loan will enable the Grand Trunk Pacific Company to meet all its obligations until the Government policy is determined. This policy may result in the nationalisation of the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, but it is hardly likely that the Government will attempt to buy up the Canadian Pacific or the Grand Trunk Railway.

Railway Construction in New Brunswick.—The contract for the construction of the St. John Valley Railway from Gagetown to Westfield has been awarded to the Nova Scotia Construction Company of Sydney, Nova Scotia. The contract provides that the road shall be completed and in safe condition for traffic by February 1, 1917, and the work fully performed by August 1, 1917. This section of railway is to be employed in bringing transcontinental railway freight to St. John, the C.P.R. track being used temporarily between Westfield and the city. Until the East St. John terminals are completed, export freight will be shipped from West St. John.

Daylight Saving in New Brunswick.—St. John is the first city in maritime Canada to adopt daylight saving, as it was the pioneer both in the case of the commission form of civic government and the town planning system. The City Council enacted a by-law putting the Daylight Saving law into operation in St. John from midnight April 30 until midnight September 30. It is understood that the Provincial Legislature has been asked to pass an Act making the scheme effective throughout the Province.

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Medicinal Herbs in British Columbia.—At the present time, when the cultivation of medicinal herbs is promising to become an important industry in Great Britain it is interesting to find that the subject is also receiving attention in British Columbia. Tests are being made at Langford, where about fifty varieties of herbs have been planted. Careful records are being kept by the growers, who hope to have valuable information tabulated by the end of the season. Care, knowledge, and experience are needed to make the industry a success, but the growers are sanguine that the climate, soil, and other conditions in the districts round about Victoria are suited to the requirements of the enterprise.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Pit Props for Great Britain.—One unfortunate result of the lack of shipping facilities from Newfoundland is that large quantities of pit props now ready for export will unquestionably not be got out of the country at all this year. It is estimated that about fifty steamers will be required to carry cargoes of pit props cut during the past winter to meet the needs of the British collieries. Special attention has been given to the requirements of those collieries which provide coal for the British Navy, and these concerns have had agents in Newfoundland for more than a year, seeing that every possible opportunity was taken to secure for them whatever pit wood could be obtained. In the expectation that sufficient tonnage would be available, very large quantities of material have been cut, and it is believed that 200,000 cords, valued at about $750,000 will be available for shipment; and but for the difficulty of securing vessels for the transport of timber across the Atlantic, the industry would have developed to an even greater extent this year. Official estimates predicted that of the 200,000 cords cut, probably not more than 50,000 would be sent forward up to June 30, thus leaving about three times that quantity to be shipped between July and December. In view of the problem which confronts the Colony in another direction, namely, that of bringing in sufficient food-stuffs and other necessaries for local requirements, it is more than likely that the Government will commandeer all the large sealing steamers which might otherwise have been employed in the pit-prop trade during the summer and autumn.

A Gas Helmet.—The honour of inventing a new gas helmet, now extensively used in the British Army, belongs to Dr. Cluny Macpherson, of Newfoundland, who is a member of the Royal Colonial Institute. At a recent meeting of the Newfoundland Patriotic Association the Governor read a letter from Sir Bartle C. Frere, in which the following passages occurred: "I have only this moment learnt that the delightful friend I have made here, Cluny Macpherson, of Newfoundland, is known to Your Excellency, and I must make bold to write one line to say—what you already probably know quite well—i.e. what admirable work he has done and is still doing for the Army, or rather for the Armies; for he has woke them all up to his views with the combating of German gas attacks, and has invented gas helmets and machines wherewith to counteract this latest product of Kultur. I hear, too, highest praise of all the Newfoundland troops, whom you have sent to assist us in this war, and only yesterday met a man who was expatiating on their military virtues, their sturdiness, and their modesty.

"I could not resist writing to tell you about Macpherson's fine work here (Egypt) and in France. He is a man in a thousand."

Revival of the Export of Herrings to France.—Newfoundland is now reversing her fishery policy for the first time in thirty years. In 1886 she put in force what was known as "The Bait Act," a law which prohibited the selling of bait to the French fishermen, whose headquarters were at St. Pierre. This drastic step was taken because the French provided a bounty for their fishermen for cod taken on the Grand Banks,

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which was equivalent to more than half the value of the fish itself, the result being that the French fish merchants were able to undersell the Newfoundlanders in every market in Europe. The measure, at the outset, was refused sanction by the British Government, because of a fear that it would hamper diplomatic relations with France, but at the assemblage of Premiers of the self-governing colonies in London on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1897, Newfoundland's stand was endorsed by the spokesmen of the other dependencies, and the "Bait Act" was allowed to become operative. Thenceforward the catch of cod increased and prices advanced proportionately, until to-day the Newfoundland cod-fishers are at the height of their prosperity. With the advent of war France had to withdraw all her fishermen of military age to serve in her navy, and the ultimate result was a shortage of fish in France. When it became a question of endeavouring to secure supplies of herrings for use in France and among the French soldiers and sailors, representations were made to the Government of Newfoundland concerning the relaxing of the "Bait Act," at any rate for the term of the war. The Newfoundland Government has assented to this proposal, and during the next few months thousands of barrels of herrings will be taken from the south coast waters to St. Pierre, and sold there under guarantees that the fish will not be used for bait, but for food purposes.

Australia.

Queensland's Varied Resources.—The larger output of sugar recorded for last season was due to the superior quality of the cane in most districts. The returns published by the Government statistician show that the yield amounted to 143,427 tons, which is considerably higher than the estimate, and, regarding the crop as a whole, represents an average production of 1 ton of sugar from about 8 tons of cane. This is a better yield than has been recorded for any previous year. The State is claiming increasing recognition as a fruit-growing country. Pine-apples flourish in all the coastal districts, and a considerable business is now being done in preserving this fruit, while over 350,000 dozen pine-apples were exported to the other States of the Commonwealth last year. Oranges ripen earlier in Queensland than in the southern States, and consequently find a ready market. Grapes do well in the southern parts of the State, and although the quantity of wine at present produced is small, there is ample opportunity for expansion in this direction. Efforts have recently been made in various parts of central Queensland to popularise the growing of cotton, not entirely from the commercial standpoint, but partly on account of the demands which have arisen as a result of the war. Latterly, the prices have not been such as to encourage any very extensive planting of cotton, but this is not likely to be more than a temporary obstacle, and seeing that both soil and climate have been proved to be specially suited to the plant, farmers should find in cotton an extremely useful addition to the crops ordinarily grown. The past season has demonstrated in a remarkable manner the drought-resisting capabilities of the plant, and it has also been found useful for fodder in certain areas.

Control of Wireless Telegraphy.—It is stated that wireless telegraphy throughout the Commonwealth will in future be under the control of the Navy, for which purpose a new branch of the Australian Navy has been formed under the title of the Royal Australian Navy Radio-Services. The staff will wear uniform, and it is understood that an Engineer for radio-telegraphy for the Commonwealth will duly be appointed. Meantime the services of Mr. Balsillie—until lately Commonwealth wireless expert—have been retained for a period of six months.

Serious Losses Among Live Stock.—A very large number of cattle and sheep were lost during the last year, owing to the terrible drought experienced in many parts of Australia. Round about Oodnadatta only two inches of rain fell for the year, and in

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Queensland on the Cooper, the Diamantina, the Paroo, and the Georgina it was the worst season ever known. In western Queensland many stations lost 75 per cent. of their cattle, while losses among sheep were over 25 per cent. On Innamincka and adjoining stations 23,000 to 24,000 head were lost, and in districts 300 miles north of Adelaide the losses were very heavy. The great cattle owner, Mr. Sydney Kidman, is reported to have lost 60,000 head of cattle. The endeavour to keep stock alive by travelling to feed proved more costly than successful; only about 70 head survived out of the first thousand, this being a typical instance. The railways in Queensland saved a number of sheep by conveying them to New South Wales, but the cattle country is too far out to be assisted in this way. It is obvious that these losses must seriously affect the price of meat both in the Commonwealth and the Imperial markets.

New Zealand.

Population Figures.—The population of the Dominion on December 31 last (exclusive of Maoris and Islanders) was 1,102,825. There was an increase of 17,916 by excess of births over deaths, and a decrease of 11,085 by excess of emigration over immigration. The members of the Expeditionary Forces are included in the immigration figures. The total population, including Maoris 49,844, and Islanders 12,598, was 1,165,267.

Imports of Egyptian Phosphates.—One effect of the war that threatened to be very serious for New Zealand farmers was the curtailment of fertiliser shipments to the Dominion, and the consequent marked advance in prices for these essential stimulants to agricultural production. Other sources of supply have, however, been opened up, and New Zealand has now received its first consignment of basic phosphate from Egypt. The Government is assisting generously in the matter of freights and in fixing values, and farmers will receive a really high-class fertiliser at prices considerably below those ruling for similar materials.

South Africa.

The Reenen Irrigation Scheme.—The Reenen Scheme forms one of three important irrigation schemes for diverting water from the Gamtoos River and placing under irrigation large tracts of fertile land in the Humansdorp District, Cape Province, which have lain hitherto uncultivated. It is now open, having taken three years to complete, at a total cost of £25,800. The number of morgen irrigable under the scheme is approximately 15,000 (slightly more than 30,000 acres), and the value of fallow land is thereby increased from £5 to £75 per morgen.

Trading with the Enemy.—A Bill has been introduced into the Union House of Assembly providing for the imposition of penalties for trading with the enemy, for the better control of property and other assets of enemies and persons of enemy nationality in the Union, for restrictions relating to trading by persons in the Union of enemy nationality or by enemy associations, and for other purposes connected with assets, property, duties, and rights of such persons. An "enemy" is defined in the Bill to mean "a person who is an enemy or is treated as an enemy under any proclamation relating to trading with the enemy." The Bill is described in the Press as drastic, and it is believed that its provisions will prove effective in checking operations on behalf of enemy subjects which are still being conducted in the Union, and which it is desirable should be terminated with the least possible delay.

Cape Natives' Loyalty.—The Transkeian General Council has decided, on the suggestion of the Treasurer, to postpone for one year consideration of all new roads and works not absolutely necessary, with a view to investing the reduction in the estimates thus effected, amounting to £5,000, in British War Loans, in order to mark

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the natives' sympathy with the Empire in the present struggle. The Transkeian General Council, which comprises representatives of the Government and of the natives, is the chief administrative body of the Transkeian native territories in the Cape Province.

Egypt.

New Coinage.—The Egyptian Government has decided to issue new coinage, and has just approved the designs. The coins will have on the front the monogram of Sultan Hussein I. with the Hegira date of his accession underneath, and on the reverse the designation "Egyptian Sultanate," with the date of the year in which the coins are struck and the value underneath.

The inscription will be in Arabic, with the addition of the minting date and the value in European characters as well. The size and denomination of the coins will be as at present, except that the nickel ones will have a hole in the centre. Hitherto no European inscription has appeared, nor has there ever been any mention of the name of the ruler of the country on Egyptian coins, which have always borne the monogram of the reigning Sultan of Turkey in accordance with a regulation of the firman of investiture.

India.

Imported Sugar.—Although it is impossible at present to predict exactly what effect the 10 per cent. duty on imported sugar will have on the supplies usually sent from Java and Mauritius, it seems certain that a considerable decrease is likely to occur. Stocks in India just now are unusually large. In the Calcutta Port Commissioners' warehouses on March 7 last there were 30,941 tons, as compared with 18,909 tons on March 9, 1915, while in Bombay the figures were 43,000 tons, as compared with 10,000 tons. Some idea of the extent to which Java has secured the Indian market may be formed from the fact that in the ten months ending January 31 of this year, the consignment of sugar received amounted to 369,244 tons as against 275,306 tons in the similar period of the preceding year. The stoppage of beet sugar from Europe, owing to the war, has stimulated imports from the Further East. China and Japan have shipped to India 10,643 tons and 8,794 tons respectively in ten months, whereas their trade before was trifling.

Straits Settlements.

Trade Recovery in Malaya.—Statistics to hand from the Straits Settlements reveal a remarkable recovery of trade during the past year. Considering the large increases in the price of rubber and tin, the two principal products of the Malay Peninsula, a recovery might reasonably have been expected, but it is most satisfactory to note that not only have the figures for 1914 been eclipsed, but there is actually a substantial increase when comparison is made with 1913. Whereas there was a shrinkage of £14,417,310 in 1914, owing largely to the war influence in the latter half of the year, there is actually an increase in 1915 of £2,670,968 over the figures of 1913, and of £17,088,278 over 1914. The increase in imports amounted to £6,358,404, and in exports to £10,729,874. The value of tin exported was £10,694,344, of Para rubber £10,606,599, and of copra £1,410,181.

West Indies.

Third Bahamas Contingent.—The third contingent from Bahamas, eighty-nine strong, left Nassau for Jamaica on May 10. This completes the promised unit of 200 men, together with part of the required reinforcements for the first three months of the year. They are a physically fine body of men, and the greatest credit is due to Mr. R. H. C.

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Crawford, Commandant of Police and Chairman of the Recruiting Committee, for his unceasing energy and power of organisation. Before leaving, the men were entertained at a garden party in the grounds of Government House, where they were addressed in stirring terms by the Governor, Sir William Allardyce.

Profits Derived from Postage Stamps in the Cayman Islands.—In the latest report on the Cayman Islands, the Commissioner once again alludes to the important contributions of stamp collectors to the finances of this Dependency of Jamaica. During the past six years the Post Office Department has been the main stay of the Islands, and has been responsible for nearly one half of the total revenue. In 1914–15 the Post Office revenue amounted to £1,355, the total revenue being £3,343. The most appreciable item in its revenue is the sale of postage stamps to dealers and collectors. The stamps sold in this way represent sheer profit, as the Post Office Department is not called upon to perform any postal service in respect of such stamps. The current report does not state how much of the revenue £1,355 is from the sale of stamps to collectors, but the insignificance of the other side of the postal revenue may be judged from earlier reports, which show that out of a postal revenue of £2,192 in 1907–8 £2,141 was from the sale of stamps.

Cyprus.

Salt as a Valuable Product—The British annexation of Cyprus has directed attention to the resources of that island, and the Imperial Institute has been investigating the commercial possibilities of Cyprus salt. Salt has, for a long time, been extracted for local use in Cyprus. It is obtained from two salt lakes, and is a government monopoly. There is no regular market outside the island at present for the crude salt, though a certain quantity was exported to Turkey and Bulgaria before the War. The result of the examination of Cyprus salt at the Imperial Institute was very satisfactory, and it is considered that when refined it should, at a suitable price, find a ready market in the salt-importing countries along the Mediterranean, and possibly also in India and East Africa.

REVIEWS.

"IMPERIAL UNITY AND THE DOMINIONS."

"The loss of life and the expenditure of money incurred by the self-governing Dominions in the prosecution of a war in whose conception they had and could have no responsibility have brought into prominence the question of the possibility of so revising the relations of the several parts of the Empire as to prevent a recurrence of the anomaly." With these words Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, the foremost living authority on the constitutional relations between the various portions of the British Empire, commences a volume which is of the greatest value to every student of the Imperial problem.* Dr. Keith's authority in these matters is unquestioned. His knowledge of constitutional law is probably unrivalled. His intimate and first-hand acquaintance with the point of view adopted by the Imperial authorities in their official intercourse with the Dominions and Crown Colonies has been acquired in the Colonial Office itself. In the same school he has obtained his knowledge, not always so profound or satisfactory, of the national outlook and opinion of the Oversea Dominions.

It is certainly an ungracious, and perhaps also an ungenerous, task to criticise the opinions that have been formed and the conclusions that have been arrived at by so

* *Imperial Unity and the Dominions.* By Arthur Berriedale Keith. 8vo. pp. 626. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. 12*s.* 6*d.*

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eminent a student of Imperial relations. One naturally feels great diffidence in venturing to differ from a writer so steeped in constitutional practice, and one remembers the old proverb that fools rush in where angels fear to tread. Dr. Keith so evidently realises the formidable difficulties that stand across the path of constitutional reform within the British Empire that it is difficult for those with a less intimate knowledge of the constitutional evolution of the Dominions and of their relations with the Mother Country to venture far in opposition to his views. But a careful perusal of his masterly analysis of recent developments in Imperial relations and his critical estimate of the present position leads one to the opinion that Dr. Keith overestimates the difficulties and minimises the points of agreement. He seems to fail to see the forest owing to an over-meticulous study of the leaves. In other words, Dr. Keith is apt to misunderstand the Colonial point of view from paying too close attention to the rules and regulations that circumscribe the conduct of inter-Imperial affairs. Legal subtleties cloud the horizon of practical realities.

As a careful, systematic, and complete statement of the actual relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country Dr. Keith's volume is of the utmost importance. In six hundred closely printed pages there is no constitutional or departmental development of recent years that is not fully dealt with, both from the point of view of "the limitations of the autonomy of the Dominions" and the "possibilities of union." The first portion, elucidating as it does complex constitutional problems from the safe standpoint of a close and intimate acquaintance with every detail of inter-Imperial relations, gives Dr. Keith ample scope for the display of his peculiar and minute knowledge of this subject. This portion necessarily covers a great variety of topics dealing with the Governor, the Legislature, the Judicial power, and the amendment of the Constitution; and in it are discussed problems connected with the four vital Imperial questions of the treatment of native races, foreign relations and commercial treaties, military and naval defence, and the legislative subordination of the Dominion Parliaments. Here Dr. Keith's information is comprehensive and complete.

It is, however, when the author applies the lessons he has derived from his study of these questions that there are grounds for criticism and reserve. If, as Dr. Keith so evidently believes, there is little present possibility of a true union between the component parts of the Empire, owing to the various stages of constitutional development and the differences of national outlook between Canada and Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, then it follows that recent happenings can have comparatively little bearing upon the immediate, though not ultimate, development of the Empire. We prefer to think that the impressive world-events that are moulding anew the destinies of Europe will not be without an almost immediate effect upon inter-Imperial relations, and that changes may be wrought upon the anvil of war that will sweep aside the mass of constitutional lumber which has loomed so large in the inner sancta of governmental departments.

In all great and far-reaching revolutions precedent and custom, although twining their tentacles over the machine of government, have been overcome and made to fit into the scheme of a new order, based, it is true, upon the old, but transcending and re-forming that which apparently appeared incapable of rapid change. "I yield to no one," states Dr. Keith, "in admiration of the splendid and legitimate ideal of bringing about a true union of the Empire, but I have as little faith in the possibility of its consummation at an early date as I have in the fruition of schemes of the permanent pacification of Europe or the effective control of foreign diplomacy by democracy. To such a result there seems to me to be an insuperable obstacle in the spirit of the self-governing Dominions, whether it be called the proud self-consciousness of national destiny or a narrow and short-sighted parochialism, or, as is more just, it is deemed a blend of both." We venture to think that in this respect Dr. Keith misjudges the spirit of the Dominions and fails to appreciate the growing, and it may well be in the near future overmastering, desire for the closest union with the Mother Country for at least two fundamental purposes—defence and foreign policy. We agree with the author in his view

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that "the question of fiscal relations is no longer the point of most concern in the connexion between the United Kingdom and the Dominions, the centre of gravity of these relations having shifted from trade to foreign policy"; because such commercial relations must be intimately connected with the fact that "every consideration must be given to the wishes of Russia, of Japan, of France and Italy, and of other countries in order to strengthen the economic bond among the Allies of the War." But this only means that in the long run commercial matters are being lifted bodily out of the inter-Imperial groove into the less easy domain of foreign relations and that the Empire has advanced almost at a bound, by the pressure of external events, to a position of solidarity and strength which necessitates the complete overhauling of its constitutional machinery and the creation of a more efficient system of governance if future trouble is to be avoided. Dr. Keith seems to misunderstand the attitude of the Dominions in this matter. "It is of course," he states, "a question whether the time has yet come when the Dominion Governments, all or some, desire thus to keep in touch with foreign affairs"; and he apparently thinks that Canada alone is really concerned at having no voice in the control of foreign policy. He founds this view on the expressed opinions of Colonial statesmen, not it is true in times remote from the present but nevertheless divided from it by the striking interlude of the present war—an interlude which must change, and has indeed already done so, every preconceived notion not founded upon a too cramping or rigid adherence to former constitutional practice. It is in our opinion almost grotesque to conceive that we shall emerge from a world-upheaval like the present—shackled with past formulae, bound by previous actions and opinions, and unable to brush aside the constitutional undergrowth of a century of slow development.

In two respects, however, Dr. Keith enters weighty and well-considered pleas for caution. He finds the position of India and the Crown Colonies, and the question both of the governance of native races and the admission of educated Asiatics into the Dominions, to be extremely unsatisfactory in view of the ultimate coherence of the Empire. "The position of India," he states, "with regard to the self-governing Dominions is indeed one of the greatest difficulty and complication, nor can any solution immediately be expected. It is difficult for India to appreciate the position of the self-governing Dominions: it is true that in practice the self-governing Dominion of the Union of South Africa treats British Indians worse than any foreign possession, and that they were before the European War less harassed in German possessions in Africa than in Natal, to the prosperity of which they have contributed so greatly. Nor is it unnatural that, when an Indian cannot set foot in Australia without being exposed to insolence from petty officials, it should be asked why Australians should be entitled to compete in the Indian Civil Service examination, and be appointed to posts in India." This is to our mind the crux of the whole situation. Constitutional niceties, as such, must give way before the logic of events. But until Colonial opinion is ripe for a reconsideration of this question any attempt at a real union is foredoomed to failure.

Yet the signs of the time are propitious. If we examine the present position of the British Empire, especially with regard to the possible development of administrative responsibility in the governance of native races, we cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that it is precisely in those Dominions which seem the most backward in this respect that the most striking developments are foreshadowed. Responsibility necessarily begets trust and trust involves compromise. The parochialism which Dr. Keith deplores is being overborne by the greater questions involved in the treatment of subordinate races. In the South Pacific one sees the evolution of two great self-governing communities with their appanages of island-colonies. Australia at present administers Papua, and temporarily at least, though possibly permanently, some of the former German colonies in the Pacific; whilst New Zealand administers certain outlying islands and is temporarily responsible for German Samoa. This means administrative responsibility and necessarily involves a change in the national outlook with regard to native

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races. Similarly in South Africa, which now administers the late German South-West, there is a growing movement towards that larger Union which is the dream of those responsible for the destinies of the Sub-Continent. The position of Rhodesia and the native territories is indeed a stumbling-block in the way of the immediate realisation of this ideal, but the new and greater responsibility once realised there is no reason why in that Dominion also there should not be a changed outlook. The tendency at least is towards the gathering of outlying territories within the orbit of the great self-governing communities, and in this tendency is the most hopeful sign of the settlement of difficulties connected with India and Asiatic immigration generally. Such added responsibilities must inevitably hasten the growth of true union within the Empire. This new movement, too little heeded and insufficiently studied, means a quicker consummation of the Imperial dream than Dr. Keith supposes or than we can perhaps expect from the past slow and measured development of inter-Imperial relations.

PELOPS.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A BOOK by a South African native, written in forceful yet temperate language, setting forth the grievances of his countrymen under the administration of the Union Government, should at once command the attention of those who realise the importance of this subject. "Native Life in South Africa," by Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje,* the editor of one of the native papers of South Africa, is a book which should appeal specially to those who are aware of the restrictions that have been imposed upon the South African native since the formation of the Union. Without expressing any opinion upon the justness of the claims put forward by Mr. Plaatje, it may at least be stated that the constitutional position of the native within the territories of the Union has not been benefited by the federation of South Africa. Since the Colonial Office, which prior to that event was able to exercise a very real and lively pressure upon the South African Governments, has accepted the views of the framers of the Union Act with regard to the status of the native inhabitants of South Africa, and has practically surrendered its own powers of intervention, there remains little to be said on this subject from the point of view of the Mother Country. The position at best is a difficult one. At the worst it is fraught with great danger to the future of South Africa.

In writing this book Mr. Plaatje has evidently had in view an appeal to that larger public which both in South Africa and the Mother Country is able occasionally to influence the course of political action. Unfortunately in South Africa the natives are at present without the constitutional means of expressing their opinions. They also are unable to bring political pressure to bear upon the Government by which they are ruled. The former omission from the Union Constitution may possibly at some time become a danger to the State. The latter may be either a blessing or an evil. The results of the native franchise in Cape Colony were not such as to commend it to lovers of constitutional right, yet that was probably more the fault of the European politician than of the native voter. It is indeed an extraordinary anomaly that natives of South Africa within the Union have fewer rights than those outside, since the Basutos, who remain under Imperial control, can appeal, and have successfully done so, upon matters which directly affect their interests.

The position is a complicated and delicate one, rendered doubly so by the action of the Imperial Government itself, but it must sooner or later be faced—either in the light of Imperial or purely South African interests. In the meantime any book setting forth the native point of view should be studied with careful attention. Mr. Plaatje

* *Native Life in South Africa before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion.* By Sol. T. Plaatje. Post 8vo. Portraits. Pp. 352. London: P. S. King & Son. 1916. 16 oz. 3*s*. 6*d*.

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has marshalled his facts with considerable skill. He sets forth the case of his countrymen with energy and moderation. His conclusions seem to be warranted by the information at his disposal, and the facts he adduces seem to bear but one interpretation. And, lastly, in the existing circumstances he is fully justified in appealing to the court of public opinion even should the case he presents be a bad one.

CANADIAN SUPER-NATIONALISM.*

M. Bourassa, like Don Quixote, again turns to his windmills. On the whole, if the talented Director of "Le Devoir" were not so thoroughly in earnest, it would be difficult to take his writings seriously. As a pronounced pacifist he believes that Canada should keep out of all European wars. Canada's interests, he states, are in America; and though Great Britain is to-day her "best ally in Europe" M. Bourassa looks to the future, and apparently—for it is not quite certain what he really wants—sees in the United States the most suitable partner for the Dominion duet. We must confess that we like M. Bourassa's writings. They are interesting from the psychological point of view. They appeal to the imagination. They show a grasp of detail and of constitutional practice. They reveal the troubles of a mind occupied with the future of Canada to the exclusion, so it would seem from our own point of view, of the larger questions of the future, not of the British Empire, but of the world itself. But they reveal the hesitations, the uncertainties, the mind-questionings of one who in the rush of contemporary events does not quite realise where he stands, and who fears that Canada has been dragged into a sea of troubles with which she has no concern. Has Canada, indeed, no concern with these world-events? Is it her destiny to follow in the footsteps of her larger, but not greater, neighbour—to hold the balance whilst others fight, not only for their own safety but for the ultimate salvation of her people from a menacing danger? The answer of the vast majority of Canadians is a direct refutation of M. Bourassa's theories.

The present book is largely upon the lines of one reviewed in these columns a few months ago. Two quotations will suffice to demonstrate M. Bourassa's theories. Whilst Great Britain is at present Canada's best ally, it is probable that "the imperialistic folly will sooner or later bring about a violent rupture of the political ties" between the two nations. "Of all possible combinations," continues M. Bourassa, "the only one which offers us any chance of a counterpoise to the power of the United States will be the alliance of Great Britain, Germany, and France. However extraordinary, monstrous, if one will, this idea may appear at the moment, it is not impossible nor indeed improbable." But, he asks, "why not look nearer, upon the continent upon which we live?" "A defensive understanding with the United States," he continues, "would certainly impose upon us large outlay for the protection of our maritime frontiers—but it would cost us less, much less, than the Britannic tie has cost us up to the present, infinitely less than the Imperial association will cost us in the future. And it will have the advantage of protecting us more effectively against the United States than the "protection" of Great Britain or the combination of the countries of the Empire." That in a nutshell is M. Bourassa's philosophy. It has an ugly look even from the purely Canadian point of view. From the point of view of the Empire as a whole it is fatal.

* *Hier, aujourd'hui, demain: problèmes nationaux.* Par Henri Bourassa. 8vo. Pp. 181. Montreal, "Le Devoir." 1916. 12 oz.

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BOOK NOTICES.

(By the LIBRARIAN, R.C.I.)

Colonial Office List for 1916: *comprising historical and statistical information respecting the Colonial Dependencies of Great Britain.* Compiled by Sir William H. Mercer, A. E. Collins, and J. R. W. Robinson. 8vo. Maps. Pp. ix–732. London: Waterlow & Sons. 1916. 42 oz.—15*s.*

Each year the Colonial Office List increases in size and dignity. The present edition, which is the fifty-fifth issue, although it contains no new feature, has been thoroughly revised and brought to date. No other publication relating to the British Empire contains such a mass of accurate information, and no other is so well and efficiently edited. One word of criticism only can be found. The title-page, in view of recent developments in Imperial thought, as well as in constitutional practice, would be improved if a certain time-honoured expression were omitted, or at least modified.

"*German*" *East Africa and its Resources.* First series ("South Africa" Handbooks, No. 84). 12mo. Pp. 28. London: "South Africa." 1916. 6*d.*

There is only one book in English dealing specially with German East Africa, although two or three volumes have recently been published which contain sections upon this territory. Any information upon this topic that is made accessible to the British public is therefore to be welcomed. This pamphlet is both opportune and valuable. It gives in a concise and handy form some of the main facts relating to the colony, and will be followed by other pamphlets on the same subject. It is to be hoped, however, that some English writer will make use of the mass of material in German, French, and Italian, relating to German East Africa, and write an authoritative account of the country.

The Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony, 1916. 8vo. Pp. lxxv–876. London: Wireless Press. 1916. 68 oz.—3*s.* 6*d*

The "Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy" is one of those publications whose interest increases from year to year. Not only does it cover in a thorough and efficient manner a subject of great interest but it contains information that is to be found in no other publication. At the present time, when wireless is playing so important a part in the history of the world, especially in connection with the War, it is essential that a work of this nature should be contained in every well-equipped library. A special article by Mr. H. J. B. Ward, entitled "Wireless Waves in the World's War," is worth careful attention.

Dennett, R. E.—*My Yoruba Alphabet.* 8vo. Pp. 45. London: Macmillan & Co. 1916.—4 oz.—1*s.* 6*d.*

In this publication Mr. Dennett, the author of "At the Back of the Black Man's Mind," enunciates a theory which, if it will stand the test of careful and independent investigation, is of profound significance. Briefly expressed in the author's words, it is as follows: "All the works of the Great Creator of the universe . . . conform without exception to one definite, universal order, and the spirit, or inner consciousness of man moves in conformity with the universal order so long as that consciousness works in obedience to the dictates of its Great Author. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that, being the expression of the inner consciousness of man, the primitive construction of all languages complies with this great over-ruling principle." With this fundamental idea in view, Mr. Dennett analyses the Yoruba language and applies its alphabet to the great Universal Order which comprises seven great elemental factors standing for Authority, Morality, Potentiality, Volition, Vitalisation, Reciprocity, Capacity, and, arising out of these, Effectivity. The author, by a process of reasoning which cannot be discussed in these pages, shows how the primitive ideas of the Yoruba, enshrined in the sounds of the language, correspond to this order, and that these in turn correspond with the order in Genesis and with the order of ideas in the Lord's Prayer. Only a deep knowledge of primitive languages entitles the expression of an opinion as to whether this process of reasoning can be successfully applied to other languages.

Rayner, W. S. and **O'Shaughnessy, W. W.**—*How Botha and Smuts conquered German South-West Africa.* Pp. 299. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1916. 16 oz.—2*s.*

This book, issued by the *African World* on behalf of the Red Cross and other funds, contains the most authoritative account yet issued of the operations in South-West Africa. The authors were Reuter's Special War Correspondents with the South African forces and remained in the field throughout. Their narrative, therefore, is of exceptional interest. It is divided into three parts dealing respectively with the southern campaign, the northern campaign, and with various matters connected with the country, its peoples, and its administration. A number of illustrations and portraits add to its interest.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Hughes on the Status of the Dominions.—For the first time I find myself unable to agree entirely with a public utterance of Mr. Hughes. In his last speech (June 23) he is reported to have said: "It would hardly be denied that if Britain had a right to compel (i.e. by the declaration of war) the Dominions to incur such a tremendous burden of debt as this War would impose upon all of them, it had for all practical purposes the power to compel them to impose heavy taxation upon themselves; and if one nation has a right to tax another, it was perfectly clear that the sovereignty, or quasi-sovereignty, of the latter disappears."

This is a good answer to the contention put forward by Sir Charles Lucas in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*: viz., that because Canada and Australia can "fall apart," if they like, and because, in this sense, "the real power over their destinies rests with them, not with the United Kinghom," therefore they enjoy under the existing regime a political status which makes them in fact, though not on paper, the constitutional equals of the United Kingdom. To argue thus is to confuse a question of causation with one of constitutional rights. In terms of the existing (unwritten) constitution of the British Empire, the governments (and electorates) of the Dominions are—in fact, as well as on paper—subordinate to the government (and electorate) of the United Kingdom; and this latter is the one sovereign state of the Empire, and its electorate is the ultimate repository of this sovereign power.

On the main issue Mr. Hughes is, of course, absolutely right. But surely, to be logical, he should have gone farther in the chain of causation. If it comes to a question of first causes, it is Germany, and not the United Kingdom, which is responsible for the heavy additional taxation to which Mr. Hughes refers. The fact was stated by me in a letter to *The Times*, published more than eight years ago, when first the issue was raised in an unmistakable form by the acceleration of the German naval ship-building programme in 1907. What I then wrote has so special an application to the circumstances of to-day, that I would ask your permission to reproduce it.

"Unless the two-Power standard for the British Navy is to be abandoned, the new German naval programme will impose an additional annual expenditure of, say, from three to five millions upon the people of the United Kingdom. This increase in the Navy Estimates . . . brings the Home British within measurable distance of . . . a time . . . when the man-power and the revenue-producing power of the people of the United Kingdom alone would be insufficient to provide for the defence of the Empire upon a scale commensurate with the expanding resources of her more rapidly progressing rivals. . . . To the advocate of Imperial consolidation, the sudden determination of Germany to double or treble the fighting strength of her fleets within the next few years is not merely the realisation of a contingency long foreseen, but an opportunity for putting into effect the remedy with which that contingency has been associated ever since it first took shape in his mind.

"This remedy is to unite the man-power and the revenue-producing power of the oversea and Home British for all purposes in which the effective maintenance of their common interests would otherwise seem to be impossible. . . . It is obvious, however, that the oversea British could not be expected to assume any direct financial responsibility for the defence of the Empire as a whole, unless they were offered a share in its administration—a voice in determining its industrial and other relations with foreign powers. The proper answer, therefore, to the German naval programme is to invite representatives of the oversea British to confer with the Government of the United Kingdom. The precise methods by which a genuine Imperial revenue could be raised—whether by a tax (or taxes) or a duty (or duties) leviable throughout the Empire, or by contributions (in money or ships) raised in the several States by methods respectively convenient to

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each—would be a matter for these representatives to determine. But assuming that no doors are banged or barred, can it be supposed that the "younger nations" who five years ago contributed men's lives, where the common interests of the Empire required the sacrifice, would hesitate to-day to contribute revenue, if and when revenue is needed, for that preparation for war which is the best guarantee for peace?" (January 8, 1908.)

If only the door had not been barred against preferential trading at the unhappy Conference of 1907! But unless I misunderstand the meaning of recent utterances of the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George, and other Ministers, it is now the settled policy of His Majesty's Government that such a meeting of representatives of the Dominions and the United Kingdom shall be held at the first suitable opportunity to consider how, after the War, "the fabric of the Empire can be refashioned." With peace, then, will come the day for organic administrative union, and we may hope that at long last the Dominions will secure a political status equal to that of the United Kingdom.

W. Basil Worsfold.

Romden Place,
Smarden, Kent.
July 1916.

Trade after the War.—There is much loose talk in South Africa, as elsewhere, regarding "trade after the War," some people even advocating the "strangulation" of German trade after the War.

Fortunately our Premier, General Botha, has adopted the sane attitude that our present duty is to hammer the Germans (or rather Germany) in South Africa and rest satisfied with the definite assurance of the British Government that, in the fiscal arrangements which are bound to form a factor in the peace for which we are now fighting, the Dominions will be consulted. The issues are so great that they will take the wisest heads in the Empire to deal with them.

To quote from Lord Crewe's recent speech in the House of Lords: "Germany had combined commercial expansion with political intrigue, with an audacity and success which had no parallel in modern times."

From such a state of affairs we must be delivered, and it must no longer be possible for Germany to obtain a controlling interest in our great industries, mines, manufactures, and shipping. The absurdity of German subsidised steamers carrying the British mails to Mombasa, and other British ports, must be an impossibility in future.

It is useless, however, to talk of "strangling" German trade, when it consists of honest barter. After peace has been established, such is bound to exist for the benefit of the world at large.

No doubt we will have to take more than one leaf out of the German book. How many years is it since Lord Rosebery told England to go to Charlottenburg and learn of the Germans the art of applying science to manufactures? This has been done to some extent, I believe, by the University of Sheffield; but how much more remains to be done in that direction!

Another and greater leaf is "*Free Trade within the Empire.*" This, with fostering of home industries, has also been the policy of the United States of America, who, according to Lord Crewe, will probably be a greater rival in trade than Germany, after the War.

Only two or three years ago, when we were busy discussing Tariff Reform, a member of the House of Commons advocated Free Trade within the British Empire. Mr. Asquith said that it would be an ideal solution, but the fiscal policies of the Dominions and Colonies were such as to prevent its adoption.

The cry throughout the Empire for closer union should materialise in many ways;

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and I trust that UNITED EMPIRE will accept the idea and familiarise the peoples of the Dominions, Commonwealths, Colonies, and Indies with that idea—Free Trade within the British Empire—from which standpoint we could grant our Allies the most advantageous terms. These would, of course, be of a reciprocal nature and tend towards a long-enduring peace.

I am,

One of the oldest members of the Colonial Institute,

JOHN E. BROWN.

Glen Avon,
Somerset East, Cape Province.
May 28, 1916.

Gold Coast Cocoa.—In the "Round the Empire" notes in the April number of UNITED EMPIRE, you state that the cocoa industry of the Gold Coast was founded in 1879 by a native of Accra who brought some cocoa plants and pods from Fernando Po, made a small plantation, and four years later sold the cocoa pods in the neighbouring villages; and you add that the first shipment of Gold Coast cocoa, consisting of 80 lb., was made in 1891.

I regret to have to dispel the idea that the introduction of cocoa into the Gold Coast was due to a native. From 1884 to 1888 I was frequently in Akwapim. I was much interested in all economic products, I took some trouble to inquire into the coffee pests, and, had there been any cocoa in the district, it would certainly have come to my knowledge; but there was none. It was at the end of 1886 or early in 1887 (just after the cable had been laid to Accra) that my father, the late Sir William Brandford Griffith, who was then Governor, introduced cocoa into the Gold Coast. He procured some pods through the cable superintendent at San Thomé, planted some of the seedlings at Aburi, which was then the Government sanatorium, and distributed the rest amongst natives in the Akwapim hills.

This was the beginning of cocoa-planting on the Gold Coast, and I well remember seeing and handling the original pods from which the huge cocoa industry has sprung.

But this was not, I believe, the first cultivation of cocoa in West Africa. The late Captain J. P. L. Davies, a well-known native of Lagos, had a farm in 1882, just beyond the British frontier behind Lagos, where he planted coffee and, I am told, cocoa, which he used for home consumption.

Yours truly,

W. BRANDFORD GRIFFITH.

2 Essex Court, Temple.
June 19, 1916.

[The statement that the Gold Coast cocoa industry was founded in 1879 by a native of Accra, who brought plants and pods from Fernando Po, is made in the Annual Report on the Colony for 1902, p. 23 (C.O. Reports, Annual, No. 397, Cd. 1768–2). In *Le Cacaoyer*, by Aug. Chevalier, 1908, it is stated: "In 1879 the first cocoa plants . . . were raised at Mampong by a native of Accra who had worked as a labourer in Cameroon (or in Fernando Po) . . . who brought a fruit with him."]

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XIV.—IMPERIAL STUDIES LECTURES.

The attention of the Council of the Institute was directed in 1915 to the work being done by the Imperial Studies Committee appointed about three years ago by the University of London, of which Lord Milner is chairman. This committee was formed with the view of co-ordinating and focussing such parts of the teaching of the University as bear directly or indirectly upon the study of the Empire and cognate problems. But this Imperial Studies movement is designed to be carried much farther afield into the various University centres of the United Kingdom, and, when circumstances permit, overseas, and the Council recognising the importance of the effort, and the promise of fruitful results in the future, has associated the Institute with it by formulating a scheme of academic lectures, with Dr. A. P. Newton, the Secretary of the Imperial Studies Committee, as organiser. A panel of lecturers of high repute was formed last year and courses of lectures dealing with Imperial subjects in a scientific spirit were delivered not only in London, but also at numerous University centres in the provinces, viz., Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol, Exeter, and Glasgow. This new departure on the part of the Council has met with most encouraging success, and further developments will take place during the next autumn and winter. A list of the lecturers now composing the panel is appended, and all communications on the subject should be addressed to Dr. A. P. Newton, King's College, Strand, London, W.C.

PANEL OF LECTURERS IN IMPERIAL STUDIES OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

Political Sciences.

Prof. W. G. S. Adams, M.A. Fellow of All Souls College and Gladstone Professor of Political Theory and Institutions in the University of Oxford.

John Bailey, M.A. New College, Oxford.

F. Vaughan Cornish, D.Sc. University of Manchester.

R. Coupland, M.A. Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford and late Fellow of Trinity College.

Prof. H. E. Egerton, M.A. Fellow of All Souls College and Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford.

H. A. L. Fisher, M.A., LL.M., LL.D., F.B.A. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield and Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Prof. E. C. K. Gonner, M.A. Professor of Economics in the University of Liverpool.

W. H. Hadow, M.A., D.Mus. Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and late Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford.

Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. Professor of Mediæval History in the University of London.

* Alex. Hill, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. Principal of University College, Southampton, late Master of Downing College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

Prof. A. B. Keith, M.A., D.Litt., D.C.L. Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Edinburgh and late Junior Assistant Secretary to the Imperial Conference.

* These gentlemen are at present engaged on war service.

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Prof. Richard Lodge, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D. Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Edinburgh, late Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Sidney Low, M.A. Fellow of King's College, London, and Lecturer in Imperial and Colonial History, University of London, King's College.

Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Chairman of Council of the Royal Colonial Institute and late Head of the Dominions Department in the Colonial Office.

H. J. Mackinder, M.A., M.P. Reader in Geography in the University of London and late Director of the London School of Economics.

J. Saxon Mills, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Prof. J. H. Morgan, M.A. Professor of Constitutional Law, University of London, University College.

Prof. Ramsay Muir, M.A. Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester.

Prof. A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Professor of English History in the University of London.

* Prof. R. S. Rait, M.A. Professor of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow and late Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford.

Prof. Sir Walter Raleigh, M.A. Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford and Honorary Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Hon. W. Pember Reeves, Ph.D. Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science and late High Commissioner for New Zealand.

Prof. A. J. Sargent, M.A. Professor of Commerce in the University of London.

A. L. Smith, M.A. Master of Balliol College, Oxford.

* H. W. V. Temperley, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

* Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., C.B. Late H.M. High Commissioner in the Pacific.

Prof. Kenneth Vickers, M.A. Professor of History in the University of Durham.

Sir Herbert Warren, K.C.V.O., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., D.C.L. President of Magdalen College and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, late Vice-Chancellor of the University.

* Prof. C. K. Webster, M.A. Professor of Modern History in the University of Liverpool and late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

* A. F. Basil Williams, M.A. New College, Oxford. Late Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department.

Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G. Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Colonial Secretary of the Orange River Colony.

W. Basil Worsfold, M.A. University College, Oxford.

A. E. Zimmern, M.A. Late Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford.

Organiser:

Arthur Percival Newton, M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc. Lecturer on Colonial History, University of London, University and King's Colleges.

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THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE.

The following are extracts from the Quarterly Report on the work of the Trade and Industry Committee :—

"Pursuant to its policy of endeavouring to stimulate and assist British commercial and industrial interests with special regard to their Imperial aspect as elements and factors of Imperial Union, the Committee has during the past quarter dealt with a very wide variety of matters relating to trade and has particularly turned its attention to the encouragement of industry and the production of the raw materials of industry within the Empire. Under present conditions, when industries are largely restricted to the production of munitions of war, it has not been possible to deal with many very important matters, but when peace is restored the information now being collected and the Associations being formed should enable the Committee to enlarge considerably its sphere of usefulness.

"The Committee has received many inquiries from Overseas regarding goods that, prior to the war, were supplied by Germany; but, although there are a large number of cases of German goods having been replaced through the instrumentality of the Committee, manufacturers are not at present encouraged to produce goods owing to the absence of facilities for their export after they are manufactured. At the last meeting of the Trade and Industry Committee the Chairman (Mr. Ben. H. Morgan) and Mr. Lockhart were, therefore, requested to place before Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith of the Board of Trade (in continuation of a correspondence with his Department) the views of the Committee in regard to the Government taking some special steps to facilitate export trade.

"The Empire-wide organisation of the Institute has enabled the Committee to secure important reports on Overseas markets."

The establishment of new industries in various parts of the Empire is a matter to which the Committee gives special attention, and its assistance is constantly asked for.

After giving a few examples of the inquiries addressed to the Committee, both in regard to new industries and general trade matters from all parts of the British Empire, the report concludes :—

"Much of the information received by the Committee should be invaluable to British manufacturers and traders, and it is desirable that its existence at the Institute should be made as widely known as possible in order that it may be consulted by British firms. It has not been considered expedient to publish the information in full, as it, no doubt, would get into the hands of enemy firms and competitive neutrals."

THE HOUSE AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

At the customary "third Thursday" meeting, held on July 20 in the Smoking-Room of the Institute, Sir William Grey-Wilson, K.C.M.G., addressed those present in eloquent terms, on the subject of the commemoration throughout the Empire of the Second Anniversary of the Declaration of War. He outlined the aims of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations and its work in stimulating the spirit of Empire Unity. Mr. E. T. Scammell, Mr. A. Montefiore, the Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Captain F. Southwell Piper, and Mr. A. J. Newbold took part in the discussion. The Chairman, Mr. Coleman P. Hyman, in conveying to Sir William Grey-Wilson the cordial thanks of the meeting, referred to his distinguished and lengthy official career, and pointed out that he had been a Fellow of the Institute for a period of thirty-five years.

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ROLL OF HONOUR (*Eleventh List*).

(Fellows and Associates of the R.C.I. serving with H.M. Forces. Additions to this list will be gratefully received by the Secretary.)

Aspinall, Algernon E., A.B., R.N.A.S., Anti-Aircraft Corps; Barnett, L. E., M.B., Major, N.Z.M.C.; Beckett, H. J. R., University of London O.T.C.; Booth, B. B., 2nd Lieutenant, 3/7th Northumberland Fusiliers; Burnand, G. C., 2nd Lieutenant, R.F.C.; Burney, G. A., Captain, R.F.C.; Clinch, H. D., Lieutenant, 3/1 Montgomery Yeomanry; Cosgrave, A. K., Captain, R.A.M.C.; De Haviland, T. L., Major, U.D.F., att. General Staff South African Military Command; Dill, T. M., Major, R.G.A., Bermuda Contingent; Dillon, J. F. Kenny, Lieutenant, 14th (R.) Battalion Royal Fusiliers; Doyle, K. D., Lieutenant, R.N.V.R.; Eccles, L. W. G., 2nd Lieutenant, Coldstream Guards; England, C. A., 2nd Lieutenant, King's Liverpool Regiment; Ewing, John, 2nd Lieutenant, 9th K.O.S.B.; Falconer, H. A., 2nd Lieutenant, R.F.A.; Garbutt, A. W., 2nd Lieutenant, R.F.A.; Gordon, Robert, Major, Intelligence Officer, N. Rhodesia, att. Staff, B.E.A.; Gribbell, L. T., 3rd Battalion Devon Regiment (deceased); Gulliver-Cradwick, L., Lieutenant, 1st Essex Regiment; Hall, G. Rome, M.D., Captain, W.A.M.S., Cameroons Expeditionary Force; Harris, Edward, Captain, Canterbury (N.Z.) Mounted Rifles; Henderson, J. Grant, Lieutenant, 129th Overseas Battalion, C.E.F.; Heurtley, E. W., 2nd Lieutenant, R.F.A.; Hill, R. Broadhurst, Captain, 1st The Queen's; Hudson, W., Captain, R.E., Egyptian Expeditionary Force; Hulme, H. D., Colonel, 62nd Battalion, C.E.F.; Jardine, A. E., Captain, 9th South African Infantry; Katon, A., Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, S.A.M.R.; McAvity, J. L., Lieut.-Colonel, O/C 26th New Brunswick Battalion, C.E.F.; Mackendrick, W. G., Captain R.E., H.Q., Canadian Corps; Marshall, L. R. P., M.D., Lieutenant, R.A.M.C.; Milner, Vivian, Anglo-French Red Cross; Mullins, Claude, Artists' Rifles; Munro, J. 1/3rd Gordon Highlanders; Murdoch, J. A., Australian Red Cross Commissioner, Egypt; Murphy, W. H., Lieut.-Colonel, 2/18th London Irish Rifles; Orchard, L. B., Lieutenant, 2/4th Leicester Regiment; Parker, P. H., 2nd Lieutenant, 2/1 East Riding Yeomanry; Pooley, H. T., R.N.A.S.; Rae, W. J., Lieutenant, 28th Battalion, A.I.F.; Rae, W., D.S.O., Major, 3rd Infantry Battalion, 1st Canadian Division; Robinson, F. O., Lieutenant, 5th Australian Battalion; Saunders, J. H., M.B., M.R.C.S., Captain, R.A.M.C.; Schlanbusch, O., Lieutenant, R.N.R.; Simons, C. G., R.F.C.; Smyth, W., Lieutenant, 2/1 Suffolk Yeomanry; Sproule, M. F., Lieutenant, 10th Artillery Brigade; Stewart, W. T., Lieutenant, R.G.A.; Talbot, J. H., 30th Royal Fusiliers; Tayler, C. H., Lieutenant, R.F.C.; Tayler, T., Lieutenant, R.N.R.; Turner, J. L., R.E.; Ulrich, F. F. A., M.B., M.R.C.S., Captain, N.Z.M.C.; Walmsley, T. H., 3/9th Highland Light Infantry; Walters, J. H., Lieutenant, R.N.V.R.; Watkins, O. F., D.S.O., Major, East Africa Transport Corps; White, H. D., Artists' Rifles; Wilder, Frank, 2nd Lieutenant, Q Battery R.H.A. (killed in action); Williams, D. Price, Lieutenant, R.N.V.R.; Willis, John, 2nd Battalion Royal Fusiliers (deceased); Willson, Beckles, Major, H.Q. Staff, C.E.F.

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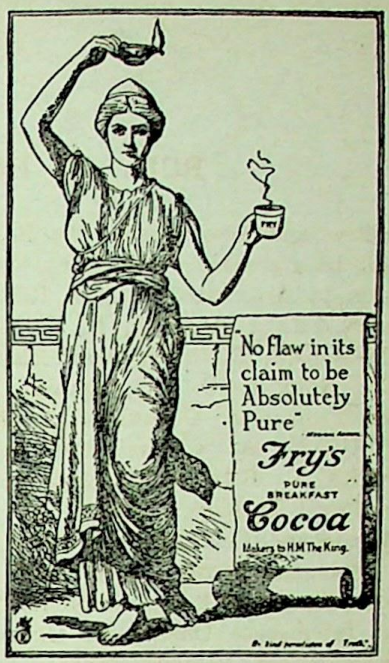
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CERTIFICATE OF CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION.

Name in full }

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a British Subject, being desirous of admission into the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, We, the undersigned, recommend him as eligible for Membership.

Dated this day of , 191 .

.....F.R.C.I. } *from personal knowledge*

.....F.R.C.I.

Proposed 191 .

Elected 191 .

The Description and Residence of Candidates must be clearly stated.

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NOTICES TO FELLOWS.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN ELECTED:

Resident Fellows (12):

Arthur Allsebrook, William L. Bunce, Alfred C. Carter, Colonel Robert W. Edis, C.B., V.D., Frank Fitzjohn, Archibald Halcs, John Healey, Hubert J. Ingleton, E. B. Mitchell, E. Maitland Moor, Francis Shipton, John L. Tiddy.

Non-Resident Fellows (71):

AUSTRALIA.—*Frank Goode (Adelaide), Guy Carleton Richardson (Grenfell), David H. Roddick (Melbourne).*

CANADA.—*Alec J. Alexandor (Montreal), Richard B. Angus (Montreal). Norman H. Bacon (Montreal), William M. Birks (Montreal), Gerald W. Birks (Montreal). William A. Black (Montreal), B. Hal Brown (Montreal), George A. Campbell (Montreal), Arthur G. Campion (Montreal), Hon. Mr. Justice Robert A. E. Greenshields (Montreal). George Hadrill (Montreal), Thomas Hall (Montreal), Joseph H. Hanson (Montreal), James J. Harpell, B.A. (Montreal), Casper A. Harris (Montreal). Robert Howard (Montreal), James E. Jones (Toronto), Fred J. G. Knowlton, B.C.L. (St. John, N.B.), Brig.-General Alfred E. Labelle (Montreal), William S. Leslie (Montreal), Douglas L. McGibbon (Montreal), Joseph R. Martin (Montreal), George A. Morris (Montreal), James B. Perry (Toronto), Charles L. Shainwald (Montreal), George J. Sheppard (Montreal), Sir Thomas Tait (Montreal), John Turnbull (Montreal), Alfred Walford (Montreal), Thomas Williamson (Montreal), F. Howard Wilson (Montreal).*

NEW ZEALAND.—*Howard C. Dawson, J.P. (Gisborne), James Hardy (Napier), Robert E. McDougall (Christchurch), Frederick C. Rowley, J.P. (Gisborne), John S. Sinclair (Dunedin), Wilfrid O. H. Smith (Gisborne).*

BAHAMAS.—*Hon. James P. Sands, M.E.C.* **FEDERATED MALAY STATES.**—*William J. B. Ashby (Perak), John B. M. Buckworth (Perak). Archibald A. Campbell (Perak), Raja Chulan (Taiping), Francis U. Corbett (Perak), William Dell (Perak), Herbert J. Gillespie (Perak), Basil G. H. Johnson (Perak). William Meade (Perak), Arthur C. M. Tuke (Perak).* **GOLD COAST.**—*Harry R. Bilticliffe (Accra).* **JAMAICA.**—*Lionel J. G. Hawthorn.* **MAURITIUS.**—*Henry J. Jourdain (Port Louis).* **NEWFOUNDLAND.**—*James A. Clift, K.C. (St. Johns).* **NIGERIA.**—*Frederick Hawkes (Naraguta).* **STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.** — *David Main (Singapore).* **ARGENTINE.** — *George Moulon-Barrett (Sante Fé), Harry O. Chalkley (Buenos Aires), John Coulter (Colonia Dora), John M. Eddy (Temperley), Edward Finn (Buenos Aires), Frank Goodall (Buenos Aires), John Wright (Buenos Aires).* **BELGIAN CONGO.**—*Reuben Glasstone (Elisabethville).* **RUSSIA.**—*Harold E. Collins (Baku), John C. Montgomerie (Maikop).* **SIAM.**—*Harold H. Cook (Bangkok).* **SUMATRA.**—*Arthur L. Mathewson.* **UNITED STATES.**—*T. Caspar Gilchrist, M.D. (Baltimore).* **URUGUAY.**—*Reginald Booth (Conchillas).*

Affiliated Member.—*Arthur W. Stedman (Boston, U.S.A.).*

Associates (6):

Miss Kathleen Burke, Henry Bayliss, Arthur Neville Chamberlain (Lord Mayor of Birmingham), Mrs. J. M. Eddy (Argentine), Mrs. D. H. Roddick, Mrs. W. H. Watson (Rhodesia).

Bristol Branch Associates (14):

S. Barkly, G. L. Eves, Miss F. A. Gifford, A. S. Gulston, Rev. D. Burford Hooke, T. E. Jeffreys, R W Jennings, Miss M J Laing, C. H. Lewis, Miss M. A. Lawrence, Mrs. T. L. Perkins, Rev. Boyton Smith, Mrs. P. A. Stevens, Miss C. O. Todd.

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OBITUARY.

The following deaths of Fellows and Associates are noted with regret :

KILLED IN ACTION.—Capt. G. A. Burney, James W. Lewis, Lieut-Colonel C. W. D. Lynch, D.S.O., Capt. G. O. Roos, Lieut.-Colonel A. St. Hill Gibbons.

DIED OF WOUNDS.—Capt. Stanley L. Jones, Major T. A. Glenny, Capt. Herbert E. Clifford.

T. J. Alldridge, I.S.O., C. Caniff James, C.M.G., John Nairn, W. Ralph Rutter, Harold A. Fry, Sir William Wallace, K.C.M.G., Alfred H. Duggan, W. S. Dickie, Albert J. S. Cahill, David Kerr, F. W. Frankland.

USE OF THE NAME OF THE INSTITUTE.

In consequence of breaches of Rule 17 having been reported to the Council from time to time, it is considered advisable to call the attention of Fellows to the terms of the rule in question :—

17. "The name of the Institute shall not be used as an address on any circular, letter, report, correspondence, or document of a business character intended for publication, or any prospectus of a public company, nor shall the Institute be used as a standing address for business purposes."

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS AND NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER.

Inland Telegrams : "Recital Westrand London." Cables : "Recital London." Telegrams for any individual Fellow should be addressed c/o "Recital London."

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ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES.

ARRIVALS.

Australia.—*Colin H. Campbell.* **Argentine.**—*R. Cameron, W. Lamond, L. H. Yeoman.* **Bermuda.**—*S. P. Wadson.* **British East Africa.**—*H. L. Petherick.* **British Guiana.**—*Sir W. Egerton, K.C.M.G.* **British Honduras.**—*J. E. Plummer.* **Burma.**—*R. Van Sickle.* **Ceylon.**—*James Duncan.* **Guatemala.**—*Edmond Eyre.* **India.**—*J. E. Aspinwall.* **New Zealand.**—*W. M. Kirkcaldy, Bernard Tripp.* **Siam.**—*T. R. Weir.* **South Africa.**—*Sir Thomas R. Price, K.C.M.G., J. C. Rimer, R. H. Struben, Dr. A. H. Watkins.* **Trinidad.**—*R. S. Aucher Warner.* **Uganda.**—*A. E. Booty.* **West Africa.**—*D. R. A. Bettington, W. W. Bishop, R. H. Bunting, A. S. Fraser, N. G. Frere, H. B. Haddon-Smith, C. H. Harper, H. C. Hodgson, Hon. E. O. Johnson, I.S.O., F. W. Leat, A. G. Moreton, Dr. A. C. Parsons, Dr. C. H. D. Ralph, R. J. B. Ross, W. White, C. L. Weller. Sir Edward J. Cameron, K.C.M.G., R. W. H. Wilkinson, G. R. Scovell, C. J. Reindorf, L. W. S. Long, F. Unwin.*

DEPARTURES.

Australia.—*H. F. de Little, H. G. Harper, S. Mayer, Hon. J. T. Ryan.* **Canada.**—*J. B. Kay, J. Monypeny.* **Fiji.**—*G. G. Alexander.* **Rhodesia.**—*A. E. Hasler.* **South Africa.**—*C. J. Fernbank, C. Friedlander, H. Sieradzki.* **West Africa.**—*R. E. Dennett, F. C. Fuller, E. E. Holloway, A. L. C. Laborde, Ivor Lewis, R. H. Long, W. Murray, D. R. M. May, E. J. Speed.*

BADGE FOR FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES.

It has been decided, in response to the desire of Fellows in various parts of the Empire, that badges of Fellowship and Associateship of the Institute shall be issued to those who may desire to show their connection with the work in which the Institute is engaged. The Badge will consist of a miniature jewel representing the crest of the Institute in gold and enamel for Fellows, and silver and enamel for Associates, and can be attached to the dress or watch-chain. The Badge will be supplied to Fellows and Associates, at a cost of 3*s.* each, or in the form of a brooch for Associates, at a cost of 4*s.* each, upon application being made to the Secretary of the Institute.

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UNITED EMPIRE

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE JOURNAL

VOL. VII OCTOBER 1916 No. 10

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE arrival of autumn is a spur to more frequent stock-taking of the military position, in view of the fact that, although winter does not put an end to fighting, it is liable to introduce a close season for decisive operations. We shall probably do well to be content with Mr. Bonar Law's cautious analysis of the situation: "I think the War is going on well". Any more optimistic judgment is apt to conjure up hopes that the end may be in sight. From the military point of view alone, there is no reason why the struggle should not continue for very many months to come. What the economic effect of the prolongation would be on the Central Powers is a matter of surmise, and cannot be accurately determined; but it is certain that the strain will increase as the cordon is drawn tighter and the Germans are pressed back into their own country. If there be any truth in the report that von Falkenhayn's removal from the post of Chief of the General Staff was due to his advocacy of a withdrawal to a narrow front within Germany, it may be that economic considerations as well as *amour propre* caused his advice to be rejected. Germany's capacity for self-support would be seriously curtailed, if she abandoned her hold on Belgium and the part of France still in her hands, and if she were cut off from Bulgaria and Turkey. The tacit admission of defeat might also make adjacent neutral countries less anxious to curry favour with her in the matter of supplies, even if it did not cause Holland to abandon her neutrality. Apart, then, from the economic factor, the Allies have to realise that although there can be no doubt as to the ultimate issue of the War, its duration remains as before a matter of uncertainty. In these circumstances there can be no slackening of the war-machine on the part of the British people. Past efforts carry with them no exemption from further sacrifice.

Autumn and the War.

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The Central European Block.

CERTAINLY the War has gone well in the last few weeks, and the belief that progress need not always be as slow as it has been hitherto has received some direct encouragement. But the number of the enemy's defensive lines which will have to be pierced before he is driven back on to his own soil is not known; their strength in comparison with the lines already captured has yet to be discovered. Between each advance, moreover, there must be a period of preparation, and it is not difficult to see that—other things being as they are at present—a long time will be required by the Allies for covering the ground which separates them from their goal. The hopes formed of an early elimination of Bulgaria and Turkey from the War have yet to justify themselves. It is hardly possible that the Allied Armies should not stand committed to a vigorous offensive in the Balkans. The accumulation of troops in the Salonika zone, the Rumanian declaration of war, the Russian advance in the Dobrudja can have had only one object; but a variety of causes may interpose further delays. If it is possible to dislodge Bulgaria and Turkey from the Central Alliance within the next eight or ten weeks, the prospects of the campaign when it comes to be resumed with fresh vigour next spring against Germany and Austria-Hungary alone will be as favourable as could be desired. But unless the situation changes very rapidly, there is a strong chance of winter overtaking the Allies with the Central European Block still intact.

War, Science, and Industry.

PROBABLY nothing in the recent news from the front has seized the public imagination more than the report of the new type of armoured car, which made its sensational début on September 15 and 16. The idea of beating the enemy at a game—war devices—which he has made peculiarly his own appeals strongly to the nation; but there is another reason why it should welcome these new engines of war. They make their appearance at a time when the country is waking up to an appreciation of its failure in the past to encourage the application of science and inventions to everyday life. It has been impossible for those who are in any way connected with the conduct of the War or its manifold industrial ramifications not to be struck by this national shortcoming. Hence the efforts now being made to preach the application of science to the trade and industry on which the future of Great Britain depends. The appointment of a Privy Council Committee

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for Scientific and Industrial Research is a significant step, and the Committee's first annual report is an eminently practical document. It lays stress on the necessity of convincing the manufacturing world that scientific research is a paying proposition. "We recognise fully that unless the generality of British firms can be induced to alter their present attitude, we shall have failed profoundly in one of our appointed tasks." But before there can be an adequate development of industrial science in Great Britain, the process of enlightenment regarding its advantages has to permeate many sections of the people. The War as a whole has stirred men's minds in this respect; but much has yet to be done to bring home to the popular intelligence an appreciation of the wide responsibilities involved in preparing for peace conditions. Not only manufacturers, but labour interests and educational authorities as well have to be persuaded of the part each has to play in removing an anomaly which is a menace to the welfare of the Empire.

"Tanks."

THE so-called "Tanks", however, are only a picturesque embodiment—if such a term may be applied to a *monstrum horrendum informe ingens*—of a process which has been in progress now for many months. Great Britain has been challenged by Germany to a war of scientific inventions and mechanical contrivances. Thanks to their long and careful preparations, the Germans secured the opening gambit in each case, but the advantages they have derived have invariably proved short-lived. To-day their guns are outclassed in range, power, and quantity; the gas they use does not stand comparison in its deadly effect and in the methods of its distribution with that which they are called upon to face; they have lost the mastery of the air as far as aeroplanes are concerned, and even the Zeppelin knows that the days of its unchallenged frightfulness are over. In the "Tanks"—a combination of the ancient *testudo* and battering-ram—the British have introduced an original move of their own, which promises to be no less effective than the many countermoves they have previously been called upon to make while acting on the defensive. Is it too much to hope that the successes achieved in the military sphere will in due time be repeated in the industrial and commercial world, where hitherto we have failed to appreciate the nature of the challenge thrown out by Germany in her attempted monopoly of scientific organisation?

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Empire Reconstruction.

At a luncheon given by the West India Club in honour of Sir Edward Morris, Premier of Newfoundland, Mr. Bonar Law recently made a notable contribution to the question of reconstruction after the War. It required, he pointed out, and it does require, great good will and good sense on the part both of the Dominions and of the authorities at home to enable an arrangement to work by which one set of men should contribute lives and treasure and have no voice as to the way in which those lives and that treasure are expended. Such a state of affairs could not continue; there must be a change. The Secretary of State for the Colonies went on to express the opinion that it was chiefly on the men of the Dominions and of the Colonies that will rest the task of trying to find some method by which in the future the unity which has characterised us in the War will be found to be as durable when peace comes. This may be so, and it may be equally true, as Mr. Bonar Law stated, that "the people of this country are ready to accept any system of closer union which the Dominions desire to see adopted". But the Government must realise that unofficial systems have no chance of acceptance, and that it is only when an Imperial Conference has been formally summoned that the Dominions will have an opportunity of saying what system they desire to see adopted. In the same way in regard to the other problem connected with Empire reconstruction—emigration—the first desideratum is concerted action. Mr. Bonar Law declared: "The Government, whatever it is, will be much to blame if two things are not made certain—that, whatever emigration does take place shall be within the British Empire and shall not lessen the strength of the Empire as a whole, and that, whatever emigration there is to be shall take place under the best conditions for the men who have fought our battles". Unfortunately neither of these conditions is likely to be fulfilled, unless the present Government approaches the subject in a businesslike manner without undue delay. We sincerely hope that they will.

The Russo-Rumanian Front.

The Russian armies have continued their slow but steady advance in Galicia, and while the Austrians are reduced to impotence in Volhynia, our Allies surround Halicz, the ancient capital of Galicia, and seem likely to take Lemberg before the winter finally sets in. At the same time the entry of Rumania into the War has been signalised by the immediate invasion of the rich Hungarian province of Transylvania.

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This province was apparently left almost undefended by the Austro-Hungarian Staff, whether from lack of men or from sheer folly is uncertain—but what is certain is that its weakness led to disastrous results from the Hungarian standpoint. The Rumanian armies have penetrated some fifty miles into the interior, capturing at least two important towns and numerous villages without serious loss; troops, including German battalions, have been hurried against them, but these have only achieved partial success at two points. A third of the province has already fallen into Rumanian hands, and the wave of patriotic enthusiasm passing over Hungary, now that her own soil has been violated, comes too late. The population of Transylvania is mainly Rumanian, only the aristocracy being Magyar, and it is as clearly recognised in Budapest as in Bucharest that Rumania is determined to annex the province. It is not surprising that an agitation has arisen against the Hungarian Government in the interior of that monarchy, on account of its folly in leaving the frontiers undefended; but it would be a mistake to imagine that this feeling will in any way weaken Hungarian resistance. Rather is it calculated to stir the country to fresh efforts, inasmuch as now for the first time Hungary feels that her own soil is at stake.

The Impotence of Greece.

MEANTIME the action of Rumania has brought into sharper contrast the sheer impotence of Greece. It was expected in some quarters that Rumania's declaration of war would immediately lighten the Bulgarian pressure on Greece, but this view reckoned without von Mackensen. A Bulgarian force, stiffened, it is said, by an admixture of Germans, invaded the Rumanian Dobrudja, where it occupied Silistria and other centres; but at the same time the Bulgarians pressed on to Kavalla, one of the ports which Greece won in the Balkan war, and seized other Greek territory by agreement with the alleged Greek Government. The Zaimis Cabinet resigned. A new Cabinet was formed with difficulty, but its composition has not encouraged the Allied Governments to recognise it. In the meantime M. Venizelos has left Athens to place himself, together with Admiral Coundouriotis, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, and General Danglis, an ex-Minister of War, at the head of the National Safety Movement which has its headquarters at Salonika. Crete is once more in the hands of insurgents, and most of the islands have declared in favour of the Salonika movement. But King Constantine, pledged, it is supposed, to Germany, refuses to associate

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himself with the national will, even after the kidnapping of a Greek Army Corps by the German-Bulgarian forces and their internment in Germany. It is long since Europe has seen a spectacle provocative of such combined tears and laughter as the tragi-comedy of Greece.

On the Western Front.

In the Eastern theatre politics and war jostle each other indiscriminately, in the West there is nothing but war. Here the British and French have continued what is now for all time memorable as the Great Push, advancing from time to time a thousand yards or a mile over a considerable front; in each case it has been evident that the Allies have the initiative, and that they can take ground which the Germans cannot recover; moreover, a considerable number of Germans have given themselves up voluntarily as prisoners. The Allies have now captured the third line of German defences, but there is unfortunately no doubt that since their first advance at the beginning of July, the enemy have constructed further lines of defences at the rear, and the capture of these further trenches must necessarily take time. The defence on the whole is stronger than the offensive in modern warfare, but that does not mean that the defence cannot be broken down by superior artillery, as has been proved by the fate of Thiepval and Combles, which are now in the hands of the Allies.

East Africa.

The East African campaign draws steadily towards a successful conclusion under General Smuts. With the fall of Dar-es-Salaam and the driving of the Germans from the railway line into the interior, German East Africa becomes an historical rather than a geographical question, and the German Colonial Empire a thing of the past. It is perhaps worth remembering, now that this most protracted and difficult of the colonial campaigns is practically over, that British pioneers explored much of this great territory before there was any thought of German colonies. Livingstone made one of his wonderful journeys through the country when it was still to all intents an unknown land, and in consequence of his report, the first evangelists of the Universities' Mission settled there in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Thus there is a certain appropriateness in seeing the British flag once more waving in that region. It is to be hoped that further details of this brilliant campaign will be issued as soon as possible by the Colonial Office. The reports which have appeared in the newspapers from time to time have been extremely

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bald and incomplete, and official reticence has not in this case been made good by those admirable private narratives which have illumined for us other colonial campaigns, notably that in the Cameroon.

Great Britain and Arabia.

CURRENT events in the Arab world have a particular interest for Britons. Whatever may have been the advantages which the Turkish Government hoped to derive from a declaration of war against the Entente Powers, the one thing that they will not have anticipated as a result of their action was to see their domination over the Arabs brought to a sudden end. There is good reason to suppose that the dreams of the Committee of Union and Progress included the tightening of the Turkish hold on the Arabs, until in due course they should become satisfactorily "Turkified". The movement in favour of Turkish nationality aimed at establishing the greatness of the Ottoman Empire on a purely Turkish basis, altogether independent of Islam. The Arabs stood in the way of this programme, both on account of the prominent and semi-independent position they occupy in the Empire, and owing to their close relationship to Islam. Hence the decision to denationalise them and the steps which ultimately led to the revolt of the Grand Shereef of Mecca. If the Warden of the Holy Cities is successful in throwing off his allegiance to the Sultan, a new State may arise in Asia which will have special claims on the sympathy of Great Britain. For a whole century the British Government has had direct relations with Arab chiefs on the Persian Gulf. German designs in that region led to the strengthening of those relationships, but it has required a war with Turkey to enable Great Britain to recover complete freedom of action in dealing with the tribes of Eastern Arabia.

South Africa's Education Problem.

THE exigencies of the War have prevented the controversy over the question of higher education in South Africa from being followed with as close attention in Great Britain as would have been the case at any other time. Between the merits of a single National University and several smaller universities for the sub-continent, opinion was bound to be divided. In this country we have come to recognise the advantages of local universities, and at first sight it would seem that the provision of three for South Africa entailed a satisfactory and possibly even generous recognition of the Union's educational needs. It is only when the details of the plan are

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examined, and it is found that the claims of Stellenbosch have been allowed to override those of the Witwatersrand, that there will be a tendency to challenge the wisdom and justice of the scheme actually introduced. In face of the accomplished fact, however, the only course to be adopted is to note what the Government has done and to pass to the order of the day. That for the Witwatersrand is to remove the anomaly of being the only European community of its size in the British Overseas Dominions that is without a local University. The subject is engaging the attention of a sub-committee of the Witwatersrand Council of Education, which has done such yeoman service in the twenty-one years of its existence. By the establishment of Arts Courses and a School of Medicine it is hoped that Johannesburg will gradually evolve out of its School of Mines and Technology a University of its own. Under the present condition of things it knows that it cannot reckon upon Government support. It has also failed to benefit directly by the bequests made to South African education by the late Mr. Alfred Beit and Sir Julius Wernher. But there are other kings besides Agamemnon, and Johannesburg may yet be the recipient of equally generous benefactions.

German Penetration.

Attention has recently been directed to Travancore, which forms the subject of an interesting article in this issue, by the sudden realisation of the commercial world that the monazite industry of that province had been entirely captured by Germany. The story affords an excellent illustration of the way in which, before the War, key industries passed without let or hindrance into alien hands. The deposits were discovered by Schomberg, a German prospector, a few years ago, and it was only after his discovery that the Indian Geological Society sent one of their men to investigate and report. It is true that the Travancore sand was examined by officers of the Geological Survey in 1882, but the monazite was identified as zircon ! In the last issue of the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Professor Dunstan states that long before Schomburg's discovery he had suggested to the Government of India a special search for thorium minerals on account of the great importance of the matter to the British gas-mantle industry. The Government of India replied that the Geological Survey were alive to the importance of the subject, but that no special search was necessary. As a matter of fact, the most valuable deposits of monazite are in Travancore, and before the War these deposits, and therefore the gas-

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mantle industry, were virtually under German control. The Germans only allowed a limited quantity to be sold to the gas-mantle manufactures in the United Kingdom, and they charged about £36 a ton for the sand which only costs about £4 per ton to obtain. As the only other important deposits of monazite are in Brazil and also under German control, the English gas-mantle manufacturers were mostly dependent on thorium nitrate made in Germany. This monopoly has now fortunately been broken. When the lease for the working of the monazite deposits was granted by the Travancore Government to the London Cosmopolitan Tin Mining Company they made it a condition that the concession could be transferred only to a British company. Soon after the War it transpired that the whole of the Preference Shares and 11,000 of the Ordinary Shares of the Travancore Minerals Company, which was formed to work the deposits, were held in trust for the Auer Company of Berlin. The India Office have now decided that in future all the directors of the company must be British-born, and the company must sell the sand at a fair price to British firms. There is now no reason why British manufacturers should not supply in the future a large part of the world's requirements of thorium nitrate from the Travancore monazite.

The Trade Union Congress.

The Trade Union Congress which was held in the first week of September was a noteworthy meeting. In the first place, it made clear the united determination to carry on the War to a successful issue—a fact which exploded the claim that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his "Independent Labour Party" so-called, the mouthpiece of pro-Germanism in this country, put forward to speak on behalf of the British working-man. In the second place, it refused to have anything to do with the suggestion of a Labour Peace Conference at which German Socialists were to be present; the mere suggestion, which came from a somewhat equivocal source in the United States, was covered with ridicule. And thirdly, but more important than either of these matters, on which the decision of the Congress was a foregone conclusion, there was a discussion as to the position of labour after the War. A resolution was proposed, claiming that the Trade Unions should be restored to their privileges when it is over; as these privileges, which have been hardly won in years of industrial struggle, have been voluntarily, if reluctantly, abandoned during the War in

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order to increase the national output, the Trade Unionists are on firm ground in insisting on their restoration. At the same time the discussion gave evidence of a larger outlook on the part of the delegates, and since it is obvious that the national output will have to be maintained at the highest level of production after the War, some of the speakers wisely insinuated a doubt whether the policy of restricting output, which was the effect of Trade Union action before the War, was really in the interests of the nation, and therefore of the workers. The real need in this, as in other matters, is for co-operation between masters and men. That we are gradually awakening to this fact was shown by the speech of Mr. John Hodge, M.P., and the inaugural address in which Mr. Chamberlain, the Lord Mayor of Birmingham and himself a large employer of labour, welcomed the delegates to that city.

THE WOUNDED MOHAWK.

(*At the Front.*)

My heart sings of thee all day,
O thou of the wonderful hands,
That heal where they touch hurt, dying things.

Underneath my body of death
You folded your strong white arms
And lifted me out of the dark, the terrible dark.

I was so cold . . . You held me
Throbbingly close, till warmth
And life came quivering back . . . Do you remember?

In your eyes was shining a light—
A wonderful light; so, not to be blind,
I shaded my sight with my poor thin arm.

Oh Niyoh! * . . . To lie like that
Always, hiding my eyes from the light,
In those arms that would not let me sink again
into the darkness.

ANNE MERRILL.

(Of Edmonton, Alberta).

* *Niyoh* is the Mohawk word for "God."

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TRAVANCORE.

TRAVANCORE is on the south-west coast of India and reaches as far south as Cape Comorin. It is frequently described as "the Garden of India", owing to the luxuriance of its tropical vegetation, and there is a native proverb to the effect that, during one of the months, it is not safe to put one's walking stick into the ground, as it would take root. In comparison to its size, Travancore has more seaboard than any other state in India. Unfortunately there are not any natural harbours, but there are three places where harbours for deep-draught vessels could be made at a reasonable and remunerative cost. There is one peculiar feature of the Travancore coast, which is of considerable importance to navigation. At Allepey, which is the chief seaport, shipping can be carried on during the south-west monsoon, when all the other ports on the coast are closed. This is due to the fact that when, owing to the monsoon, the great inland lakes rise to a greater height than the sea, the enorm us pressure forces the fresh water under the strip of land between the inland lakes and the sea ; rising in the sea it disturbs the oily mud, and with a three-feet difference of level the sea will be as smooth as a table. Vessels, which have been experiencing rough seas, suddenly enter on what might be a closed harbour. This oily mud bank is not quite stationary, but appears gradually to drift to the south during successive monsoons, and then suddenly reappears at Allepey or a little to the north of that port.

The range of hills which form the eastern boundary of Travancore are said to have been densely populated at one time, but the hill tribes were nearly exterminated by a severe epidemic of small-pox. This tradition is to a certain extent corroborated by the fact that ruins of temples have been found in the heart of the jungles and also remains of rice stores. The highest peak in this range is Anamalay (8,837 feet), which is the highest peak in India south of the Himalayas. This range of mountains is clothed with magnificent primeval forests, and they harbour a considerable variety of big game—elephants, tigers, leopards, bears, and bison. The mountains form a break to the monsoons, and therefore Travancore has an excess of rain, whilst the region east of that range has insufficient rain, and famines frequently ensued. For over half a century the engineering possibility of diverting some of the water from the western side to the eastern had been considered. At the close of the nineteenth century the famous Periyar project was carried out. The scheme finally adopted consisted of four sets of works. First, the construction of a dam 155 feet high to close the valley of the Periyar and form a reservoir 8,000 acres in area, containing 13,000 millions of cubic feet of water, of which 6,815 millions are available for irrigation ; second, the construction of a tunnel 6,650 feet long with an area of 80 square feet through the water-shed ridge between the valley of the Periyar on the west, and the valley of the Vaigai on the east, for the purpose of draining off the water from the reservoir, with the necessary sluices and subsidiary works for controlling the supply ; third, the works necessary

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for controlling the supply down the valley of the Suruliyar to the Vaigai, and for keeping this supply separate from the natural supply of the tributary (Suruliyar); fourth, the works necessary for the regulation and distribution of the water for the irrigation of 140,000 acres of land in the Vaigai valley, or about 220 square miles. This feat is considered by many engineers to have been a greater achievement than the much-talked-of Assouan dam, as the difficulty in the construction of a dam increases geometrically with the height. The Periyar dam is half as high again as the Assouan dam. The experiences of the engineers engaged in the work might supply materials for one of Henty's books. Tigers, elephants, and bison were the principal inhabitants found in these wild mountain forests. The Governor of Madras, when he went to inaugurate the works, found his night shelter threatened by an elephant, who refused to be frightened by the bonfires or by the shouting of the guard, posted to protect the Governor from having the shed pulled down about his ears. Another elephant walked calmly through an officer's tent in the darkness, trampling under foot the bed from which the occupant had just bolted. But the vagaries of these lords of the forest and of "the blue-eyed bison", before whom a native surveyor threw down his instruments and fled, were of little importance compared with the deadly jungle fever. During four months in each year, from March to June, the locality in which the works are situated is almost uninhabitable and would naturally be altogether uninhabited owing to the malaria. Moreover, the materials had to be dragged a distance of over a hundred miles from the nearest railway station, across four large unbridged rivers, and up mountains, several thousand feet in height, by a track with a ruling gradient of one in fifteen. During the construction of the works, the natives said that the project would not be a success as no human life had been sacrificed. On the opening day a young engineer was caught in the machinery and killed instantaneously, and they then said that the gods had accepted a life and would favour the design. The water thus diverted to the eastern side of the range has irrigated a large expanse of country and has turned an unprofitable tract into a fertile and wealthy district. What is more important, the population, which formerly was at the mercy of the seasons, is now permanently protected from famine. This is one of the many great works which are silently carried out in India year after year, and which we in England only hear of for a moment when they are completed.

Travancore has always been one of the staunchest allies of the British. The early history of the state is in great part traditional, but there is little doubt that the present maharājah is the representative of the Chera dynasty, one of the three great Hindu dynasties which exercised sovereignty at one time in South India. The country was consolidated, and the petty chiefs, who had set up as independent rulers, subdued, by Maharajah Martanda Varma, who reigned 1729–1758. In the wars in which the East India Company were engaged in Madras and Tinnevelly in the middle of the eighteenth century, Travancore gave great assistance to the British, and, being reckoned as one of the firm supporters of the country, the state was included in the treaty made in 1784 between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore.

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Travancore still retains the matriarchal system: the heir to the throne is not the son of the reigning rajah, either the brother of the reigning rajah or his sister's son succeeds. The royal family are by birth of the *Kshetriya* (i.e. warrior) caste, but every maharajah during his reign goes through what is called the *tulabharam* ceremony, by which he is admitted to the Brahmin caste. *Tulabharam*, or more correctly *tulapurushadanam*, is a compound of three Sanskrit words *tula* (scales), *purusha* (man), and *danam* (gift, particularly of a religious character). The chief part of the ceremony is the donation, in which the substance given must equal the weight of the donor. It will be noted that in the Sanskrit word, explained above, there is no mention whatever of the precious metal which forms a maharajah's donation, and *tulabharam* is often performed by ordinary people with other substances than gold. In several pagodas it is performed with sugar, molasses, sandal-wood, gingelly seed, pepper, plantain fruits, or brinjals. The maharajah who was a contemporary of George III, and who reigned forty years, performed a golden *tulabharam* at the beginning of his reign and a silver one nearly at the end of it. The religious preliminaries of the ceremony extend over eight days. On the eighth day the chief priest makes a *pujah* early in the morning, after which the maharajah goes to the pagoda, bathed and religiously attired. There he worships and makes offerings, and proceeds to the *tulamandapam*, where in the south-east corner he is sprinkled with holy water. In a side room where the "nine grains" are shown in silver flower-pots the chief priest anoints him with nine fresh water kalasas. The maharajah then retires to the palace, changes his clothes, puts on certain golden jewels specially made for the occasion, and, holding the state sword in his right hand and the state shield of black leopard's skin and a scimitar in his left, he returns to the pagoda. A bull elephant is presented at the foot of the great golden flagstaff and the Maharajah enters the pagoda to offer silks, gold coins, jewels, and other rich gifts. He then walks round by the *sivaimandapam*, and re-entering the *tulamandapam*, he passes three times round the scales, prostrates himself before it, prays, performs certain preliminary donations, bows before the priests and elderly relatives and obtains their sanction to perform the *tulapurushadanam*. Mounting the western scale, he sits facing to the east on a circular heavy plank cut out of a fresh jackwood and covered with silk. The sword and shield are placed in his lap and he repeats *mantras*. The gold, both the ingots and the coins, is put in the opposite or eastern scale, until it touches the ground and the scale occupied by the maharajah rises high. The maharajah comes down and, sitting with his face to the east, places the gold with flowers and sandal paste in a basin of water. Meditating on Brahma he offers the contents to Brahmans generally. The chief priest then dismisses with *mantras* the several deities invoked for the occasion and anoints the maharajah, who prostrates before the chief priest and other great men and receives their benedictions. After walking round the pagoda in state, and having dismissed the chief priest and other priests near the golden flagstaff, the maharajah once more worships and offers presents in the interior of the pagoda and retires to the palace. One remarkable feature in the *tulabharam* ceremony will not escape notice. It

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is that it has more of the Vaidik caste than that of later Hinduism. The Vaidik gods Indra, Agni, Varuna, Vayu and others are all propitiated. The priests, who conduct the ceremony, bear for the time the Vaidik appellations. Of the gold placed in the scale, one-fourth is divided among the priests who conduct the ceremony. The remaining three-fourths is distributed among the Brahmans. The maharajah is usually kind enough to give some of his European friends specimen coins.

When the maharajah visits a palace, either newly constructed or one which has undergone extensive alterations, a priest stands with a black goat in his arms at the gate, and just as the maharajah enters, the black goat is passed in the priest's arms before him and allowed to escape. This ceremony is strongly reminiscent of the scape-goat in the Old Testament. It is considered essential for the goat to be pure black, without so much as a single white hair on it. There is another peculiar custom, which takes place when the maharajah walks up the hall at a durbar. He walks between the two lines of those present, and as he passes the Indian officials they, in addition to a profound salaam with both hands, drum with their fingers on their chests as the maharajah passes them. The significance of this is that they are supposed to say, as he passes, "May your sins rest on us and on our children". The crest of the maharajah is a conch-shell. Very rarely a shell is found on the coast with the fluting reversed. These are considered most valuable, and the temples are willing to give a thousand rupees for any such specimen. These conch-shells can be used as trumpets by cutting the top off them.

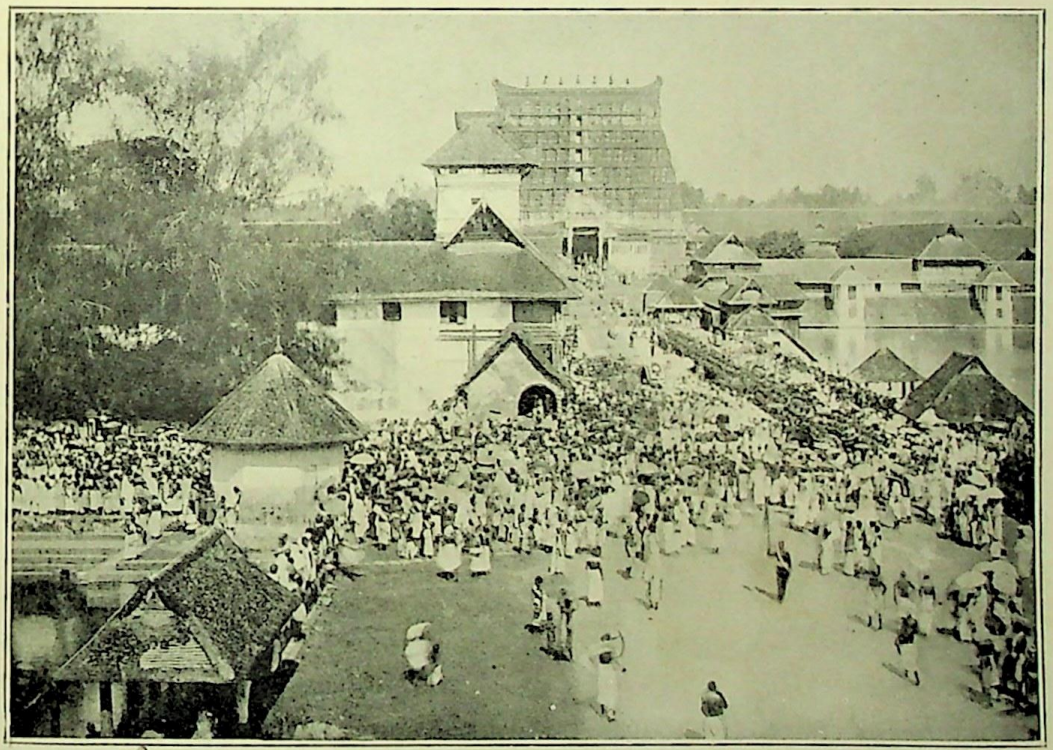
Some of the old methods of trial by ordeal in Travancore are very curious and many of them were still in use as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Whenever the accused came off scatheless the accuser was fined. The ordeal by crocodile was perhaps the most terrible of these methods of discovering whether a prisoner were innocent or guilty. The accused was first taken to a temple, and there he was obliged to pray that the gods would allow him to be eaten by crocodiles, if he were not speaking the truth. Then he started out to wade through about eight hundred paces long of water haunted by crocodiles, whilst an interested crowd watched the performance. If he returned alive, he was judged to be innocent. In another ordeal the accused had to stand up to his waist in water, whilst a Brahman holding a stick stood near him. A man on the shore shot three arrows in succession. When all three had been shot, another man had to run and pick up the arrow which had gone the farthest, a second man ran for the middle arrow, and a third for the nearest. The moment the third man picked up the arrow the accused had to dive under the water and remain there holding the Brahman's foot or his stick until the third man had brought the arrow back. If he raised his head or his body above the water before this was accomplished it was taken as a sign of his guilt. In the ordeal by balance the prisoner and a pundit fasted for twenty-four hours. Then the prisoner bathed in sacred water, and after having presented oblations he was weighed. Having written the accusation against the prisoner the pundit fastened it to his forehead. After six minutes had elapsed the prisoner was again weighed, and if his weight had increased he was pronounced

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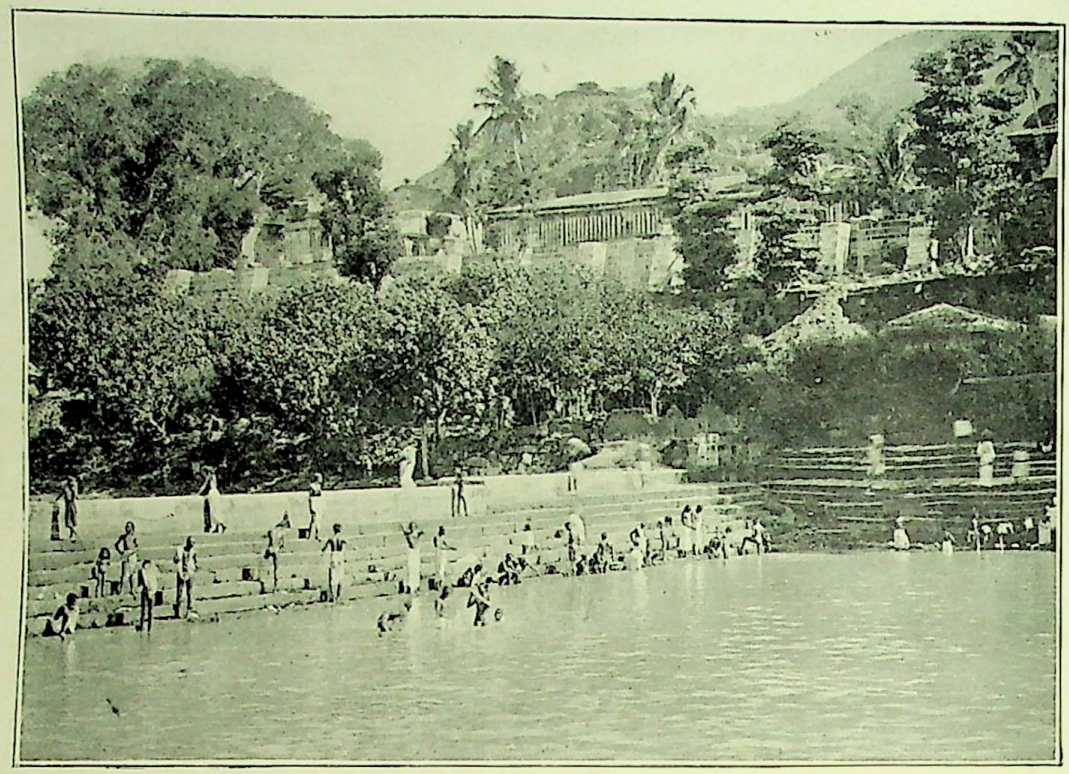
SIR RAMA VARMA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
MAHARAJAH OF TRAVANCORE.



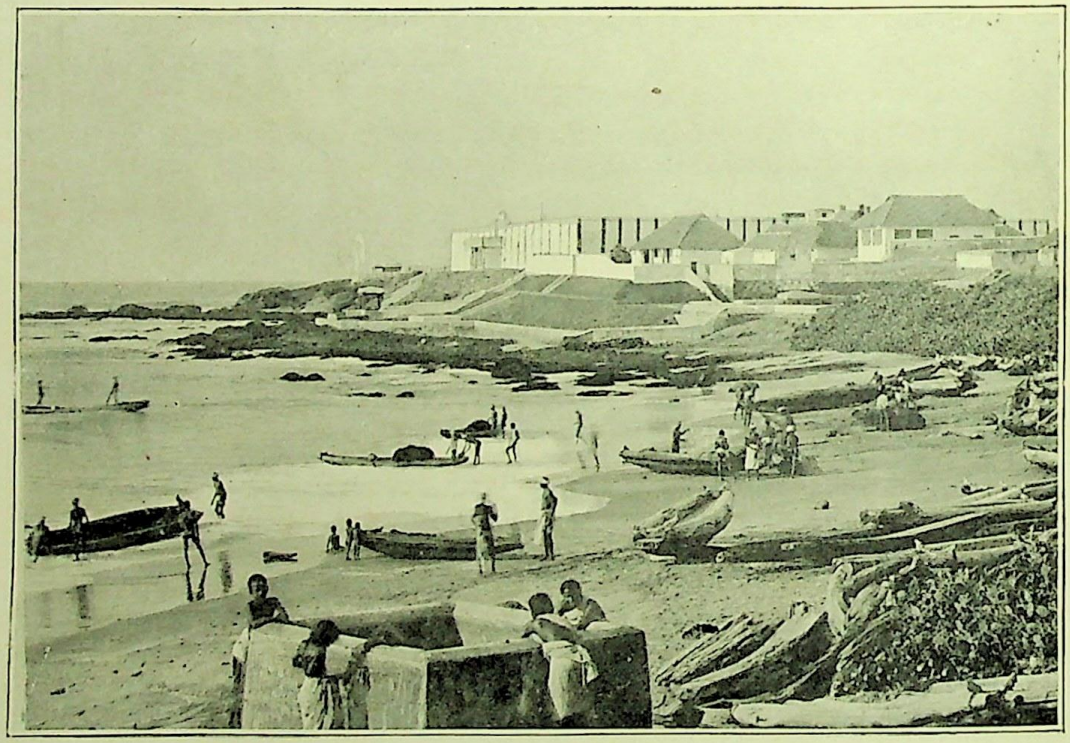
THE PAGODA, TRIVANDRUM (CAPITAL OF TRAVANCORE).

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KUMARA COIL.



CAPE COMORIN, THE LAND'S END OF INDIA.

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guilty, on the supposition that his sin had increased his weight. In another form of trial by ordeal the accused had to pick a coin out of a *chatty* containing a live cobra.

When the first European settlers, the Portuguese, came to Travancore, they must have been astonished to find a large Christian community already in existence there. These were the Syrian or St. Thomas' Christians, and according to their own account they are the descendants of those converted by St. Thomas, who, after having preached on the Eastern or Coromandel coast, came to the Malabar coast. These St. Thomas' Christians are very proud of their origin, and lose no opportunity of informing strangers that they are not "missionary Christians." After the death of St. Thomas the church fell into evil ways and many relapsed into Hinduism. Later they were once more built up in the faith by the Nestorian Katholikos of Jerusalem, who sent Joseph, bishop of Edessa, with priests and deacons to revive their dying Christianity. This was in 345. The Portuguese were horrified to find that these Christians did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and in order to bring them under his jurisdiction they prevented any patriarch from Babylon reaching South India. In 1665 Mar Gregorius, a patriarch from Jerusalem, succeeded in arriving at Malabar, and laid down the doctrine that Antioch was "the head and mother of the world." Meanwhile the Dutch had taken Malabar from the Portuguese, and in 1795, when the Dutch influence was superseded by the English, the Syrian church acquired its freedom. The St. Thomas metropolitan or bishop to this day holds his authority from Antioch.

It is somewhat striking to note how much more scientifically the divisions of time are made in Travancore than in Europe. With us the months are purely arbitrary and artificial, and are incorrect, necessitating an alteration every five years. In Travancore the months are divided by the time at which the sun enters each sign of the Zodiac, and the months are called after the signs of the Zodiac. In olden times the year also began correctly, viz. at the time the sun entered the first point of Aries, but as the science of astronomy became neglected, the beginning of the year was altered to suit civil requirements. The minor divisions of time are far more minute than in the European system, a fact which is worthy of notice, as it clearly demonstrates that in ancient times they must have possessed some means of knowing the time far more accurately than even the most expensive chronometers of the present day will show. The divisions are as follows :—

8	Nody	= 1 Mathra	= 0·1 second.
4	Mathras	= 1 Gunnidum	= 0·4 second.
10	Gunnidums	= 1 Vyerpoo	= 4·0 seconds.
6	Vyrepoos	= 1 Vynauligans	= 24 seconds.
60	Vynauligans	= 1 Nauligay	= 24 minutes.
2½	Nauligays	= 1 Munneynehrum	= 1 hour
7½	Nauligays	= 1 Yaumam	= 3 hours or 1 watch.
60 Nauligays or 8 Yaumams		= 1 Divvassam	= 1 day.
7	Divvassams	= 1 Wauram	= 1 week.

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From the above it will be seen that the divisions of time are worked down to one-eightieth of a second, a space of time which none of the astronomers of the present day would dream of honouring with a name. Yet the ancients would not have named them unless they had some means of ascertaining such minute divisions and had some necessity for giving them names. The week corresponds to the European week, but the minor divisions bear no similarity to our minor divisions of time. The day, for instance, is not divided into twenty-four hours of sixty minutes, but into sixty nauligays of twenty-four minutes each. As already stated, the Malayalam months are named after the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and consequently are totally different from the European month. But, curiously enough, when we come to the days of the week the Malayalam and European names have the same meaning. In the case of Wednesday, the name, with the exception of the W being changed into B, is the same, the Malayalam name being Boden or Booden. While on this subject it may be of interest to note that the coffer in the Great Pyramid holds exactly four quarters (English) of wheat, and that two coombs equal one quarter. Now, the Malayalam name of the Zodiacal sign Aquarius is *Coombhum*, which does not mean water-bearer, but water-vessel or water-measure. The coomb also appears to be the only English measure which has any relationship to the Malayali measures, as exactly 160 parahs make 1 coomb ; but every comparison between other weights and measures runs into fractions. The sentries have a very simple method of calculating the time. They place a large copper vessel full of water in the guard-room, and when the sentry goes on guard he takes a small copper vessel with a minute hole at the bottom and floats this in the big vessel. The small vessel then gradually fills with water and finally sinks to the bottom. The sound of the clang this makes calls his attention to the fact that one nauligay has passed, and he lifts it out of the water and floats it again.

The coinage of Travancore is peculiarly small, both in size and value. The ordinary copper cash only represents one-seventh of a farthing, and yet this is the coin in daily use amongst the poorer classes. The silver coins are the fanam, the chuckram, and the half chuckram. The last named is the smallest silver coin in the world. Sixteen copper cash equal one chuckram, and seven chuckrams equal one fanam. Twenty-eight and a half chuckrams equal one British rupee or sixteen pence. Owing to the small size of the chuckram it would be very difficult to count any large sums in it quickly. From the Government treasuries to the smallest shop in the bazaar a board is used which has a small ledge all round and holes counter-sunk numbering one hundred, two hundred, or five hundred. The shroff (cashier) pours a handful of chuckrams on the board, and with a dexterous twist of his wrist shakes the coins so that one goes into each hole. The board being black, it is then plainly seen if a single hole is empty, and as the counter-sinking is only to the depth of the coin, two coins cannot get into one hole. Some of the shroffs are so skilful in the manipulation of these boards that they will shake, say, two hundred coins on a five hundred hole board, so that the two hundred form exact lines. It is then only necessary to count the lines.

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The most conspicuous feature in the vegetation on the coast of Travancore is the coconut-tree. Salt is essential to its growth, and inland it does not flourish. The natives say that the coconut tree will not thrive where the sound of the human voice cannot reach it. This is quite true. There is a curious legend about the origin of the tree. Hindu tradition says that Kusi Rajah worshipped a supreme deity and made no offerings to inferior gods. In time he became almost equal to these inferior gods and accomplished many wonders. Amongst other things he made many of the grains. At last he desired to make a human being superior to any ordinary mortal. He completed its head, but the other demi-gods became so alarmed that they persuaded him to cease his work. The head he had made was transformed into a coconut tree, henceforth designed to be one of the most useful of all trees. More than one writer has pointed out that it is possible to build and rig a boat, and also to load it with bread, wine, water, oil, vinegar, sugar and other commodities all from the coconut tree. Plantain trees are frequently seen growing amongst the coconuts. The plantain tree thrives from the sea level to an altitude of 5,000 feet, and it is always considered as an emblem of fertility. The leaves are commonly employed in dressing blisters. If the upper surface be applied to the blistered part, the healing process soon takes place ; but if the sore must not skin over too rapidly, the under-surface of the leaf is applied and this acts as an irritant. Plantain leaves cut into rounds are frequently used as plates by the natives. Hindu temples are always built near the sacred banyan tree. It is believed that Vishnu was born amongst its rustling leaves. In village communities suspected persons are taken under a banyan tree and made to swear to the truth of their statements. They hold one of the leaves in their hands and pray to the gods to curse them and their families, if what they say is not true. The St. Thomas' Christians say that the Cross was made from a banyan tree, and that is why its leaves have never ceased trembling. The Buddhists assert that this is the tree Buddha loved most when he was on earth, and that therefore its leaves have never since ceased rustling in a state of ecstatic emotion.

E. SINCLAIR.

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THE CITIZEN FORCE OF AUSTRALIA.

By Act of the Federal Parliament, military service became, on July 1, 1911, obligatory upon the citizens of the Commonwealth. That some scheme of National Defence was necessary, owing to the geographical position of the country, had for a long time been admitted, but there were those—a minority—who considered this drastic step an infringement upon the rights of the individual. They urged that an unbearable spirit of militarism would in consequence arise, and liberty be crushed, or at least unduly restricted. The Anti-Compulsionists formed themselves into a "Freedom League" and meetings were held in various places with the object of quashing the movement. Meanwhile, the all-important question of organisation was being discussed by the authorities, and it was decided that the matter should be confided to the greatest master of that particular art—Lord Kitchener, who duly accepted the invitation of the Federal Government, in 1910. The scheme for the moulding of the new Defence Force was eventually made public and adopted, in spite of the efforts of the Freedom League.

The obligation imposed required all male inhabitants of Australia to be trained, with the exception of (1) those medically unfit; (2) those not substantially of European origin or descent; (3) school teachers, who had qualified at a school of naval and military instruction; (4) theological students, while they remained such students; and (5) residents in any area situated at a distance of five miles or more from any Training Centre. It will be noted that the Act applies to any male person, not necessarily British, provided he is of European origin and descent.

The training is split up into four stages as follows:—

(*a*)	From 12 to 14	years	of age	Junior Cadets.
(*b*)	,, 14 to 18	,,	,,	Senior Cadets.
(*c*)	,, 18 to 25	,,	,,	Citizen Forces.
(*d*)	,, 25 to 26	,,	,,	Citizen Forces.

The word Cadet applies to all trainees until they enter the Citizen Forces. Except in time of imminent danger of war, however, service in category (*a*) is limited to one registration or one muster parade.

Let us now turn to the question of organisation, and see how the Continent, together with the Island of Tasmania, is divided for the purpose of training. The six States which comprise the Commonwealth, *i.e.* Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, in their order of seniority, are called Military Districts, each being under the command of a District Commandant, who receives his administrative orders from Headquarters at Melbourne. Each District is subdivided into Brigades, there being no fixed establishment for a District. The Brigades are divided into what are called Battalion Areas, which are numbered. The latter in turn may

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contain more than one area, in which case the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., are used to designate them. Thus one Battalion Area will consist of 90*a*, 90*b*, 90*c*, and so on. Each of these sub-areas is under the command of an Area Officer, who is responsible for the administration and training so far as senior cadets are concerned. Areas vary in size according to population, and in the outlying districts many square miles are administered and trained by the staff of one area.

Under the Education Act no boy may leave school until he becomes fourteen years of age, so that at the age of twelve the necessary census already exists in the school registers, and no eligible boy can escape his training, unless he be found unfit. Physical training is made a speciality, the idea being to make the cadet physically capable of carrying out the more arduous duties of the future. Elementary drill is also taught, with the object of inculcating the principle of discipline into the young mind. Ninety hours in each year are devoted to this work, which forms part of the curriculum of the school. It should be explained that the teachers have previously been thoroughly grounded at special schools of instruction, which are held at least once a year in each State for the purpose.

The cadet then receives his first two years' training whilst he is at school under the auspices of the Education Department. The Act requires all male inhabitants of Australia who have resided therein for six months to register themselves, or be registered by a parent, guardian, or other person acting *in loco parentis* in the manner prescribed, *i.e.*, "during the months of January and February in the year in which they reach the age of fourteen years." When the Act came into operation all male persons who had reached the age of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years were also required to register. If a boy omit so to do, he is not prosecuted for "failing to register", but is ordered to register by the Area Officer in whose area he resides, and should he then disobey these instructions, he is, on a given date, formally registered by the Area Officer himself, and afterwards prosecuted by the same officer for "failing to render personal service." Registration forms may be obtained from any area or post office. These must be filled in and forwarded to the Area Officer. All notices sent to a person's last known abode are deemed to have been delivered to him for the purposes of the Act; by this means is obviated the objection which might be raised by trainees that such notice was never received by them. To every cadet is issued a "Record of Service Book," in which all information concerning his military career is from time to time entered.

Trainees are divided into classes according to the year of their birth, so those born in 1894–97 are now in the Citizen Forces. Those born in 1898–1901 are Senior Cadets, and those in 1902–1903 Junior Cadets. After registration, Area Officers notify all boys who have been registered that year to attend for medical examination, when they are classified as either "fit", "temporarily unfit", or "unfit." Those who are "fit" are immediately allotted to a company, each individual being given a parade card showing the date, time, and place when and where to attend. At this stage they become senior cadets and pass directly

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under the control of the Area Officer, who is responsible for their training as far as their military duties are concerned.

The training in each year is as follows :—

Four whole days of not less than four hours' duration each.

Twelve half days of not less than two hours' duration each.

Twenty-four night parades of not less than one hour's duration each.

Making the number of hours in each year not less than sixty-four.

Half-day parades are held on Saturday afternoons, in order to prevent interference with the cadets' civil avocations. Instances, however, do occur where Saturday afternoon forms part of a boy's working hours, in which case special arrangements are made in order to meet the convenience of employers in every way possible. If the latter, however, or anyone else, prevents or attempts to prevent a boy from rendering the personal service required by law, he is liable to a fine not exceeding £100.

Every senior cadet must put in his sixty-four hours, and reach a certain standard of efficiency each year. Voluntary parades, however, are provided to enable those who for various reasons cannot attend compulsory parades, but unless leave has been granted from the latter, double the number of hours must be put in to make up for the time which has been lost. It will be seen, therefore, that the defaulter has no valid excuse to offer for absence.

At certain times of the year the Area Officer inspects his roll-books, and a warning is sent to those who are behindhand in their drills, and if, after reasonable time has elapsed, no effort has been made on the part of the cadet to fulfil his obligation, a police summons is issued, and he is brought before a magistrate in the Children's Court, or if over the age of eighteen, in a police court. The penalty naturally depends on the amount of time lost or the seriousness of the offence, but the cadet in every case is allowed to employ counsel should he so desire. The prosecution is conducted by the Area Officer himself. In some cases, should the cadet be found guilty, he is committed to Detention Barracks for a period ranging with the nature of the offence, but seldom for more than three weeks. More often than not he is handed over to the custody of the Area Officers to make up time lost. Detention Barracks are not prisons in any shape or form. The offender for the time being is more or less treated as a permanent soldier, excepting that his parade hours are longer and he is allowed no leave. The object of this penalty, in addition to its punitive and deterrent effect, is to enable him to make up lost time. It may be that the defaulter will lose his civil billet, as few employers will allow an employee to be absent for, say, three weeks in order to comply with the order of the Court; but that is the employee's affair. He has committed an offence against the law and must pay for it. If in the opinion of the Area Officer a cadet is non-efficient for any particular year, he marks him as such in his record book, in which case the boy does not receive his discharge until a year later, that is, at twenty-six years of age or later. This may seem a drastic measure, but it will readily be seen that some such step is necessary to ensure the thoroughly trained soldier at the end of the period of compulsion.

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We now have to consider the case of those who live outside the five miles' radius. In Queensland and Western Australia the population is scattered, and it is found impracticable under these conditions to have training centres where only a handful of trainees are available, who may have to travel long distances in order to reach the nearest area office. The hardships imposed would be too great, and therefore exemptions in these cases are granted. Trainees who come under the above heading are only exempt as long as they reside in one of these areas. Increase of population will wipe out many of, if not all, these exemptions. Change of address must in all cases be immediately notified, and a penalty is provided for a breach of this regulation.

The training of the boy during the period when he is a senior cadet is the most important, as everything depends on the results attained at the end of it. At no time does the mind develop so rapidly as between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and this period, therefore, is the most critical of all. The impression left at eighteen years of age, after four years of training, will either make or mar the future soldier. For this reason special pains are taken to make the work as varied and interesting as possible, and the cadet is seldom kept for more than half an hour on one particular subject at any parade—a system which has met with undoubted success.

Many areas own their own gymnasia, which have nothing to do with the Government. The apparatus is purchased by voluntary subscriptions, and one night in each week is set apart for gymnastics, a qualified instructor, paid out of the funds raised, being in attendance. Areas have their own cricket, football, and general sports clubs, all tending to create that *esprit de corps* which is so necessary to success. The sporting element, although encouraged in every way by the authorities, is purely a matter for the cadets themselves to create, and Area Officers devote much of their spare time to the organisation of different kinds of games, endeavouring to make the boys look upon their respective drill-halls not only as places where military instruction is imparted, but also as centres of recreation and amusements.

Once a year a series of competitions is held in each State in progressive stages ; thus the winners of the Battalion competitions compete in the Brigade series, the Brigade in the District, and the District in the Commonwealth. Each company enters a team which consists, or used to consist (when the writer left Australia a year ago), of one officer, one sergeant, and twenty-seven cadets ; but possibly this has since been altered, owing to the double company system having been adopted.

The subjects of the competition are : (1) Company drill ; (2) simple tactical exercises ; (3) field firing ; (4) physical training. The excitement and enthusiasm are extraordinary, and the cadet competitions have become quite the event of the year in each State. Freedom Leaguers are struck dumb.

We now pass on to the third and last stage of the training, the Citizen Forces. Once again a medical examination has to be undergone, and the cadet, if "fit", becomes a citizen soldier. He is allowed to apply for any arm of the Service he prefers, but whether his application is granted entirely depends

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on his efficiency, ability, and the number of vacancies. The Infantry, being the least technical corps, absorbs the greatest proportion of cadets; but it is remarkable how many select it when they have the choice of another arm of the Service. Excepting that the training is more advanced the same rules and regulations apply as in the case of cadets, but the duration of parades is longer. Sixteen whole day drills, or their equivalent, of which not less than eight shall be in a camp of continuous training, have to be attended. In the case of those allotted to the Naval Forces, the Artillery and Engineers, or the Army Service Corps, the training is twenty-five whole day drills or their equivalent, of which not less than seventeen are carried out in camps. A whole day drill may not be less than six hours, a half day not less than three hours, and a night parade not less than one and a half hours. The civil avocation of the trainee is taken into consideration, whole or half day parades being held on Saturday afternoons, but with regard to the camps of continuous training the inconvenience, if any, to employers is general throughout the country and is minimised by the camps being held during the Easter holidays, so that only a few civil working hours are commandeered. During the seven years of service the trainee becomes each year more proficient, and by the time he has reached the age of twenty-three, *i.e.* three years before his discharge, he should have attained the full status of a soldier.

The system has proved a success, and results have been more satisfactory than even the greatest optimist anticipated, not only from the military, but also from the moral and the physical point of view. It is true that in the initial stages a tremendous task had to be faced by the administrative and instructional staff, because 80 per cent. of the boys of Australia at that time were not old enough to realise the why and wherefore of the scheme, and being inconvenienced to a small extent by having to devote a half-holiday now and again to drill, naturally objected very strongly. Their objections more often than not were forcibly urged. Tact and common sense in the administration of the law and generous handling of the boys, however, soon told a flattering tale, and in the short period of three months a marked improvement was shown in the general behaviour of the cadets on parade. The difficulties met with were innumerable, but by grit and perseverance they were one by one overcome.

The Australian youth is remarkable for his quickness of reasoning and mental alertness. It is largely due to these qualities that the Defence Act has proved so successful. Before the system was enforced, a most undesirable element of larrikinism was yearly becoming more pronounced, and groups of boys of a very early age could be seen at street corners discussing the possible winners at the next race meeting or football match, and backing their opinions with their week's earnings. Few characters are more objectionable than the Australian larrikin, but thanks to the Defence Act he is fast dying out. Area Officers have many types to deal with in all classes of society, but they rarely have to give up a case as hopeless. An amusing incident which bears out this contention happened in my own area.

It was shortly after the Act came into operation, and the area was very

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understaffed. I had my work cut out to deal with a large number of youths who strongly objected to come to drill. One night I, together with another officer and a Staff Sergeant Major, attended a parade of about 200 cadets. Our drill hall at that time consisted of an old corrugated iron shanty with a few windows, which owing to the incessant bombardment of bricks and stones presented the appearance of having been the objective of a Zeppelin raid. The mob, for that is all they were, had been pelting stones in through the door also, so that, deeming discretion to be the better part of valour, I closed it until the time for "Fall in" arrived. A note was pushed underneath. I picked it up and opened it. This is how the document, headed with a black hand, was worded: "We, the cadets of ——, object to come to drill and be ordered about by you. If you come any more swank with us we mean to stoush * you after parade." I tossed the letter across to the other officer, who in turn handed it to the S.S.M. We held a council of war, and ordered the parade to fall in immediately. The lighting accommodation consisted of two small hurricane lamps. After an awful clatter over the wooden floor something like order was obtained, and the roll was called. A particularly sulky looking youth was leaning against another's shoulder. I ordered him to stand properly "at ease." He informed me he was doing so. Annoyed at this cool retort, I asked him whether he felt ill, and his reply was, "No, but I'm damned tired." I ordered him off parade, having made up my mind that no leniency should be shown in face of the ultimatum which I had received. Several other cadets were also sent off. An inspiration suddenly flashed through my mind. N.C.O.'s were conspicuous by their absence, but I certainly could not manage without them. It seemed impossible to clothe anyone even with a little brief authority from the rabble I had on parade. Shall I give him a trial, I thought, looking at the biggest larrikin in size and character? His general appearance disgusted me, and I confess that my hopes of success were small. He was the ringleader, of that I was sure, but I thought there might be just a faint chance of some sort of pride being left in him, so I decided to risk it. This youth's parentage and upbringing were not of a nature to lead one to expect great things of him. I happened to know this. I ordered him out of the ranks, and with an objectionable sneer and slouch he came towards me. On telling him that it was my wish that he should take command of a squad, he informed me that he knew nothing whatever about drill, and had no desire to learn. A general titter went through the ranks. However I persisted, eventually "hooking him with the bait" that he was the only man whom I could trust to control the others during my absence. He reluctantly consented, and a small squad was "told off" for him. On being ordered to march his men off he said, "What do I say?" I told him, and he soon learnt to give a few commands—not in a way becoming a soldier perhaps, but they were *orders*, as I will soon show. At last the squad was marched off up the road, and I soon lost sight of it in the darkness. I presently heard a most appalling noise, and at once hastened towards the spot, just in time to witness a violent altercation. "Now look, if any of you blokes

* "stoush," "knock you out."

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want to argue the point you can come right out here and try me." (Laughter.) "I mean what I say, stop that there talkin' or I'll stoush the lot of you." The squad was somewhat sobered by this threat, with the exception of one individual who was bigger than the rest, and evidently resented being ordered about by a traitor to the larrikin cause. "It will take a better bloke than you to do that," said he. "Will it?" Brown replied; "then come out here and put 'em up." Before I could stop what promised to be an ugly brawl, I saw a figure drop to the ground like a stone, and Brown standing over his victim inviting others to "have a go" also. "What's the meaning of this?" I asked sternly, feigning complete ignorance of what had gone before. "What you see," replied Brown. "This cove here wouldn't do what I told him, so it's come to this." I congratulated him, condemning at the same time the use of such stringent measures, and left them for the remainder of the parade. Brown never for an instant lost his grip of authority. He was shortly afterwards promoted, and became one of my most trusted N.C.O.'s. I left him, when I was invalided home, striving valiantly to win a V.C. at the Dardanelles, and nothing would astonish me less than to hear that he had won it.

And the moral of it all, if indeed moral there be, is that what has been tried and proved to work satisfactorily in one country might at least be put to the test in another. You never know your luck, and no man or nation was ever the worse for being properly disciplined.

E. T. Humphrey Knight, Captain
(*Director of Military Training for West Australia*).

THE INTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE.*

By Sir HARRY WILSON, K.C.M.G.

I am appearing before you this afternoon, not as Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, but rather in the capacity of one of the lecturers belonging to the panel formed last year in connection with the Imperial Studies scheme, the operations of which were, until recently, entirely confined to the Metropolis. The new departure it is making has been well described by the Chairman of the Institute's Council, Sir Charles Lucas, both in our journal *United Empire* and in other articles which he has contributed to the daily Press. He opened the campaign in the provinces, as I may mention in passing, at Birmingham last autumn, with an admirable address on "A Democratic Empire." "Imperial Studies" may be defined (I quote from the pamphlet issued by the University of London) as "a specialised study of the past and present conditions that govern the life and development of the Communities under the British Crown, together with the study of cognate problems." The mainspring, and, if I

* *Paper read (with Lantern Illustrations) at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, on April* 18, 1916, *Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., in the Chair.*

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may so call him, the *impresario* of the movement has been my friend, Dr. A. P. Newton, whose energy and enthusiasm have been beyond praise, and have been rewarded above his and our most sanguine expectations. The winter from which we have just emerged has seen courses of lectures delivered not only in London—where, as I have said, the idea originated—but in Glasgow, at Manchester, Sheffield, Bristol, and Birmingham as well as in the University Colleges of Nottingham and Exeter. Various causes have prevented their being started so far in some other educational centres, and particularly (to the disappointment of our Committee) in Liverpool and Edinburgh, but speaking generally the University authorities have met us more than half-way, and in so doing have approved themselves true guides and unerring interpreters of national thought. The time, Mr. Chairman, is ripe for such a lecturing crusade as we have inaugurated. There is no one, not even the most hardened of Little Englanders, who can do otherwise than "think Imperially" in such days as these, when the bonds between the Mother Country and her daughter states are being drawn closer than they have ever been in the past; when Canada, by that magnificent effort which will live for ever in history, has written her name indelibly upon the blood-drenched fields of Ypres, and Australia and New Zealand have earned undying glory upon the inhospitable cliffs of Gallipoli; when the brave soldiers of India have, for the first time, fought side by side in Europe with their British comrades-in-arms; and when Boer and Briton, forgetting their ancient grudges and grievances, have joined hands, under that good patriot, General Botha, to bring to an end the German menace to the new-born Union of South Africa, and, that task accomplished, have sent a strong contingent under General Smuts to German East Africa, while others have hastened to the Imperial tryst in Europe, six thousand miles away from their homes beneath the Southern Cross. Now, as never before, the British Empire is "finding itself" as one indivisible entity, in the throes of this mighty struggle; and as the Premier of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, said in my hearing at the London Opera House on August 4 last, "The Empire is something greater than it was a year ago. Indeed, it can never be quite the same again. The old order has, in some measure, passed away. Once for all it has been borne in upon the minds and souls of all of us that the great policies which touch and control the issues of peace and war concern more than the people of these Islands." I heard the ringing cheers which greeted those pregnant words, and, as I wrote in commenting upon them in the Institute's Journal, "they were the augury of that closer union which must inevitably be the outcome of our joint adventure in war."

Nearly twenty years ago, when I had recently been appointed Private Secretary to the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, I wrote, with his approval, an unsigned article for the *Fortnightly Review*, bearing a similar title to the one I have given to my lecture this evening—"*The Integration of the Empire.*" I turned it up at my Club in London before preparing this paper, having scarcely thought of it in the interval, and was agreeably surprised to find that my early prophecies, as to the future of the Empire, were not so very far out. Remember that at the time of which I am speaking (May 1896) Canada was the only part of the British Dominions which was federated, the

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Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa having still to come into being, the former in 1900, and the latter in 1910, while New Zealand had not yet been raised from the status of a Colony to that of a Dominion. In these circumstances I wrote as follows :—

> The movement (for Imperial Federation) inaugurated by the late Mr. W. E. Forster and Sir John Seeley (to name two of its most distinguished parents) is not one which can be unduly hastened. It may, indeed, almost be described as a cosmic process, an application to the domain of national affairs of that universal principle which Mr. Herbert Spencer defines in his sonorous way, as " a change from an indefinite homogeneity to a definite heterogeneity, due to the continued integration of the differentiating parts which accompanies the continued integration of the aggregate which they form." In other and plainer words, if we regard the United Kingdom as the Sun of the political system known as the British Empire, the three main groups of Self-governing Colonies may be likened to subordinate heavenly bodies in different stages of planetary development. The Dominion of Canada, with its organised federal government, will be the Earth, or Mars, of our astronomical simile ; Australia, as yet not unified, its uncondensed and still vaporous Jupiter ; while South Africa, like some far-off Uranus or Neptune, awaits at an even greater distance of time those solidifying influences which will give it consistency and coherence.

Later on in the same article I quoted Mr. Chamberlain as speaking at the Natal banquet which celebrated the completion of the Natal-Transvaal Railway, of " that local federation, which is the necessary preface to any serious consideration of Imperial Federation," and described the statement as being profoundly true. " The integration of the parts " is, in fact, no less essential than " the integration of the aggregate which they form." And in the remainder of my essay I considered in some detail the progress made by the different portions of the Empire towards the realisation of the federal ideal, and concluded it as follows :—

> The Commonwealth of Australia may be an accomplished fact before many months have passed : but we shall have to wait a good deal longer—perhaps well into the twentieth century —for the unification of South Africa. And, as has been already said, both these local federations are essential preliminaries to that complete " integration " of the Empire which only our grandchildren may hope to see.

The only word in that statement, sir, which I would withdraw is the word " grandchildren," for I believe now that our children, and indeed ourselves, may see it. So much for my long-forgotten article, which I have only disinterred from its dusty seclusion because, in a way, it suggested the subject of this address. The Spencerian formula, which I have quoted as its text, deserves and requires closer analysis. Let us examine it, and see exactly what it means. Put into homelier terms, the change of which the philosopher speaks, " from an indefinite homogeneity to a definite heterogeneity " is the change from one formless thing which is all of a piece into several well-formed or shapely things which are all different. But this change, he goes on to say, " is due to the continued integration of the differentiating parts which accompanies the continued integration of the aggregate which they form." Again, simplifying his language, we may say that the change is due to the continued process of completion or " whole-making " of the different parts which goes on side by side with the continued process of completion or " whole-making " of the whole of which they form the parts.

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"Integration" is, by its derivation, a making "whole" or "complete," and connotes also, to my thinking, a gradual articulation or binding together of the internal details. It is the exact opposite of the word in much more frequent use, "*dis*integration," which implies the process of falling asunder or dropping to pieces, the resolving of a whole or an "aggregate" (to use the Spencerian term) into its component parts. We will, if you please, leave *that* word for the Empires of Germany, Austria, and Turkey.

Before dealing with the subject which confronts us, wrapt in the long convolutions of the philosopher's formula, I must premise that a very large part of the ground which I might be expected to cover will not be covered by me this afternoon. In the first place I leave out altogether that first British Empire founded by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia, in 1585, and by the Pilgrim Fathers of the "Mayflower" thirty-five years later in New England, which is now the United States of America, though it is as tempting an illustration of our text as can be found. Just think of its huge amorphous bulk, its "indefinite homogeneity," in its pristine condition; its differentiation into thirteen colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, with but little cohesion, until Alexander Hamilton's constitution gave them an organic existence in 1789; the admission of other States and Territories into the Union during the first half of the nineteenth century, the great disruption of the North and South, with their apparently irreconcilable ideals, and their welding together once more in the fires of the Civil War of 1861–65; and finally, the present fully-developed Republic of forty-eight States, one Federal District and one organised Territory, forming one indivisible whole or aggregate of widely-different parts under the Stars and Stripes.

Again, I must leave out Newfoundland, in spite of its hoary antiquity as a portion of the British Empire and the brave part borne by its contingent in the present war; for, to speak frankly, it has but recently emerged, thanks to the development of its railway system, from the "indefinite homogeneity" of the days of John Cabot and Humphrey Gilbert. Some might perhaps be inclined to say that its natural destiny—from which it has, so far, held aloof for various reasons unnecessary to be mentioned—is to become a State in the Dominion of Canada, though I express no opinion of my own upon so debatable a proposition.

Nor can I dwell to-day upon the large and varied assembly of Crown Colonies and Protectorates, which, for all their wealth and growing importance, are still in a condition of tutelage to the Colonial Office, though I may have to give a side glance to some of the latter in connection with the self-governing Dominions.

Finally, I must omit all reference to India, though I do so with reluctance, for it is clear to all who have studied the question that the recent events which have brought that great dependency into such close touch with the Mother Country on the battle-fields of Europe will almost certainly call for a fuller recognition of the rights of the Indian peoples at the centre of the Empire, and some form of representation for them in the Imperial Conference. But the story of the "continued integration" of India, fascinating as it would be, from the scattered trading stations dotted along its coast, through the rise of Bengal and the Carnatic, to that marvellous structure of British

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Provinces and Native States existing at the present day under the rule of the King-Emperor, demands a whole evening to itself.

I confine myself, therefore, to the great self-governing Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, which may be described in legal language, together with the Mother Country, as the "operative parts" of that strange working agreement or *concordat* which we know as the British Empire. In the time at my disposal I can only deal even with these in the broadest outline, but I hope to show you, partly by description and partly by the maps which we will place on the screen, how truly they exemplify the Spencerian generalisation; how they reveal themselves as gradually evolving from vague formlessness or "indefinite homogeneity" into the highly-organised and complex communities with which we are familiar at the present day. We shall see them at various stages of their development, during the past 120 years, always "differentiating", yet always being "integrated" or "made whole", and that, too, in such a way as to keep step with "the integration of the aggregate which they form", though, as I shall hope to show later, neither their, nor its, evolution has yet reached its final goal.

We will take first, if you please, the youngest of these Federations, and work backwards to the oldest. South Africa, which, under General Botha, has so brilliantly accomplished the twofold feat of crushing an internal rebellion and adding a new province to the Empire, "swam into our ken" in 1795, when, Holland having yielded to the French Revolutionary Government, a British force proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope to secure it against the French, and ultimately took possession of the territory in the name of King George III. Restored by the Peace of Amiens to the Batavian Republic, and evacuated in 1803, it was again captured in 1806, and at the General Peace of 1814 was ceded in perpetuity to the British Crown. The maps I am now going to show you are taken by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Dent & Co., from those prepared by Dr. Bartholomew for their series of Literary and Historical Atlases, each volume of which is a surprising shilling's-worth; and I have much pleasure in acknowledging their courtesy in the matter. The slides have been produced by Messrs. Newton exclusively for this lecture, and will, I hope, prove as interesting to you as they have been to myself.

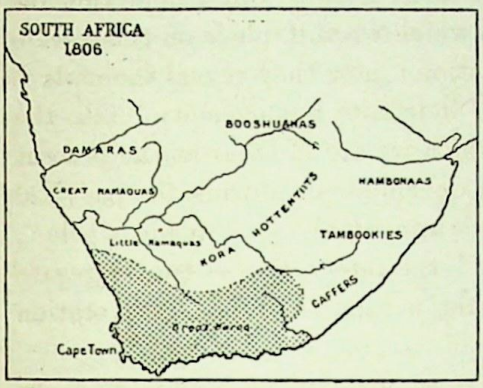
Let us look at South Africa as it was in 1806, the year of the second occupation of the Cape by Great Britain, when the last century was still young. (1) The Settlements we inherited were made by the Dutch, who had been in permanent occupation since 1652, and had penetrated a considerable distance to the northward over the Great Karoo from their original holdings in and about the Cape Peninsula. All the rest of the country, as you see, was parcelled out among the Bantu and Hottentot tribes, which owned no sovereignty but that of their own chiefs. It was, in fact, an "indefinite homogeneity" as yet "undifferentiated," except for the Dutch districts, where orderly government had been established before our arrival.

(2) We will now pass on to 1860, more than fifty years later. Even then the effective advance to the northward had been comparatively slight, though the bounds of Cape Colony were extended to the Orange River, and Natal, first added to the

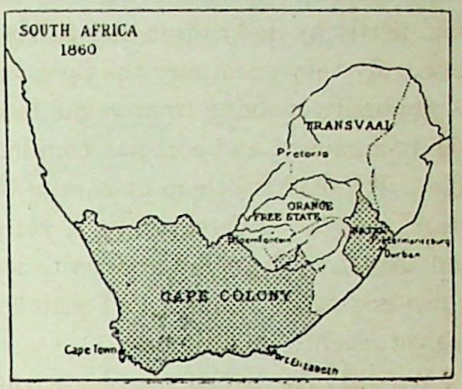
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British Dominions in 1843, and originally forming part of the "old Colony," had been erected in 1856 into a distinct and separate government. Further, the migrations of the discontented Dutch, who left their homes in the Cape Colony in the Great Trek of 1836, had resulted in the establishment of the two Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, by which the British and Dutch were, to a large extent, ranged in separate "kraals" (to use the South African term), and what is now known as the

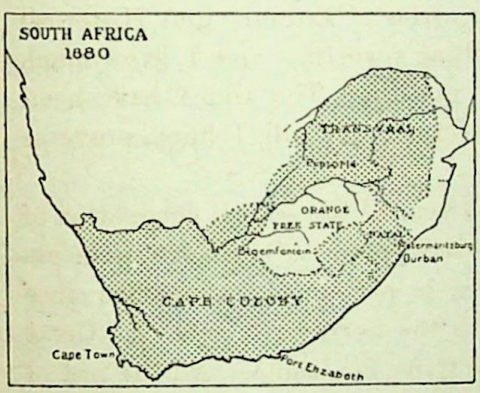


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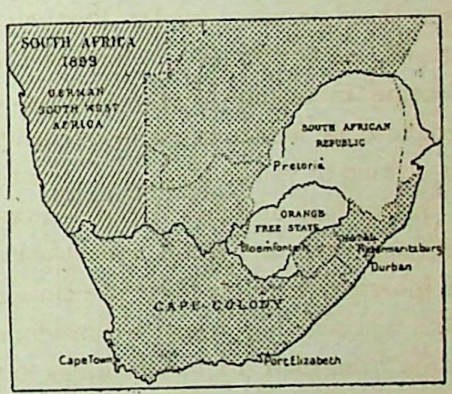


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"two stream" policy of General Hertzog had been unfortunately initiated, rendering political union between the two races for many years difficult, if not impossible, of achievement. (3) Twenty years further on, in 1880, we see the Transvaal already annexed to the British Crown, while the Orange Free State retains its independence, confirmed to it in 1854 after the short-lived Sovereignty established by Sir Harry Smith in 1848 had been abandoned. But that state of things is not of long duration, and two years later (1882), the South African Republic, as the Transvaal is now ominously called, has practically resumed its autonomy, under the shadowy suzerainty



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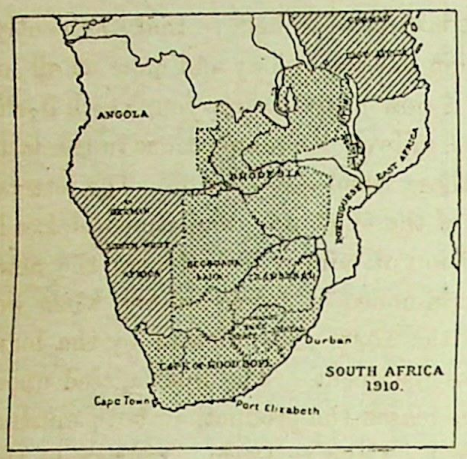
of Great Britain(4). This continues till the Boer War of 1899–1902, when, after nearly three years' hard fighting, the two Republics were finally incorporated in the British Dominions as the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. But long before this, as you are all aware, the Germans had established themselves in the huge tract that lies between the Atlantic and the Kalahari Desert, and has lately been the scene of General Botha's successful operations, while Mr. Rhodes had seen placed under the rule of his

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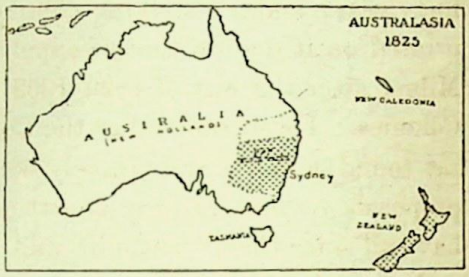
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Chartered Company the vast territory which bears his name both to the north and the south of the Zambesi. Furthermore, British Bechuanaland had been added to the Cape Colony in 1895, and Basutoland and Bechuanaland had become Protectorates directly under the Crown, while Zululand and Amatongaland had been annexed to Natal in 1897.

(5) Our next map of South Africa, in 1910, shows the Union as it exists to-day. It was, as I need not say, created in 1910, with a Constitution framed by a National Convention, its four provinces being the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and



5



6

Transvaal, and included within its borders, geographically but not politically, are three Protectorates, Swaziland being added to the two just mentioned. Provision is made for their entry, as well as that of Rhodesia, into the Union; but so far they remain outside it, except for customs purposes, and the Protectorates are governed by the Crown through the High Commissioner. The British South Africa Company is now putting forward the suggestion of the fusion of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, which may, or may not, be intended to facilitate the entrance of that great country into the ring-fence of South African States. It may not be generally known that, at present, the Roman Dutch law, which the Boers carried northwards with them in their wanderings, ceases abruptly at the Zambesi.

I make no apology for commemorating the exploits of General Botha and of his brave troops, both Dutch and English, by painting red the whole of the territory taken last year from the Germans, which is already being administered by Union officials, and we may rest assured will never revert to the sway of the War-Lord of Potsdam.

You have thus had placed before your eyes the evolution of South Africa from its earliest beginnings in a series of geographical pictures. Without form and void—or, nearly so—from the point of view of European settlement at the opening of the last century, it has gradually taken shape by the separation of its component parts, from various causes, and their organisation into distinct and widely-differing communities. For many years the lack of railway communications kept them isolated and apart; but for that very reason they were all the time acquiring special characteristics of their

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own, and each developing an individual consciousness, which adds greatly to the completeness of the whole now that they are politically united. The results of the General Election which took place last year are full of interest to the student of South African psychology. For the first time there was a cleavage other than merely racial, and the drawing together of the British and loyal Dutch in support of General Botha's policy is likely to affect profoundly the whole future of the country. Do not underrate, however, the serious significance of the solid party of twenty-seven Hertzogites mainly recruited from the Orange Free State, with which I possess an intimate acquaintance from having spent seven of the best years of my life as a member of its Government. But this is by the way. It is difficult to believe that so recently as 1873 only 63 miles of railway were in operation in Cape Colony and none at all in Natal or the two Dutch Republics.* The map I now have to show you, which itself is by no means up to date, shows the extension of railway communications in the last forty years, and is a striking commentary upon those which preceded it. The letters printed on it denote the principal towns. One of the chief pre-occupations of Lord Milner after the war of 1899–1902 was the provision of railway facilities for the new Colonies. I well remember the Conference he summoned to Johannesburg, when we sat round a table and gravely considered how the £5,000,000 allotted by the loan proposals to new railway construction could best be spent. The lines agreed upon have all since then been built, and have vastly increased the production, both mineral and agricultural, of the country, while the great "Cape to Cairo" railway to the north, projected by Mr. Rhodes, has steadily progressed from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, and thence by Broken Hill to Katanga in the Belgian Congo. The problems that arose over the spending of that money, and the building of those lines, owing to intercolonial jealousies, proved so insoluble, that it finally became evident that only federation could cut the Gordian knot. It was by this road, more than by any other, that South Africa was unified.

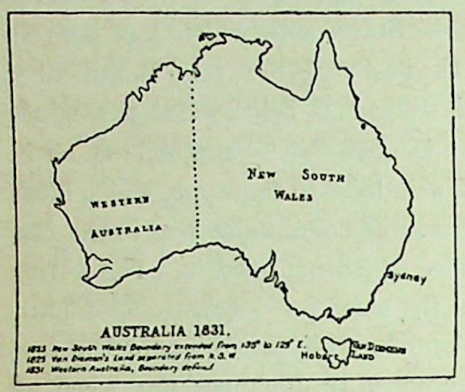
Let us now turn to the great island continent of Australia, and in the same cursory manner follow its surprising development from the small and sinister beginnings of its early settlement at Port Jackson in 1788 under Governor Phillip. Here, if anywhere, we have the "indefinite homogeneity" of the Spencerian formula, for the country at the time of its occupation was untenanted save by a strange and unfamiliar fauna, and by scattered bands of aborigines of the lowest type, a huge expanse of virgin territory lying open to the first-comer. I was almost tempted to reproduce one of Australia's recent postage-stamps as an illustration of the state of things existing at the date of which I am speaking. It represents the well-known outline of what is now the Commonwealth, with a single kangaroo squatting in the centre of the picture. Dutch and Portuguese navigators had visited its shores in the seventeenth century, but had nowhere established themselves, though the former nation laid a vague claim to the entire western half of it. Our first map shows (6) the whole of Australasia as it was in 1825, with the Northern, Western and Southern Coasts of Australia (or New

* This and the other maps showing railway communications in Australia and Canada are omitted as being too complicated to produce on a small scale.

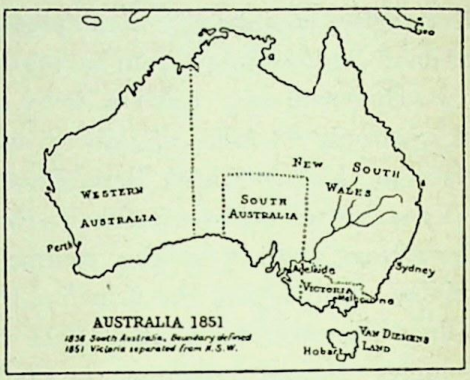
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Holland) painted yellow, and the Eastern fringed with red, denoting respectively the Dutch and British spheres. The Colony of New South Wales, so called by Captain Cook when he landed there in 1770, with Sydney as its capital, has extended westward for a considerable distance, and Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land) has been formally taken possession of by England in 1803 as an auxiliary to the penal settlement at Botany Bay. Our next map (7), which is dated 1831, shows the whole eastern portion

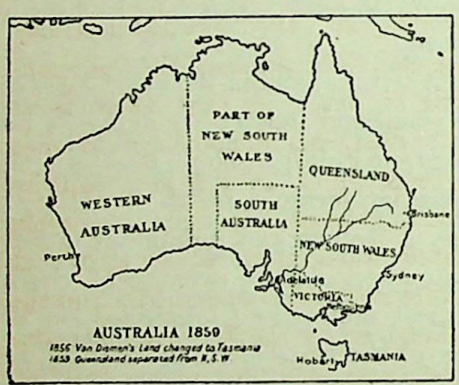


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of the Continent labelled New South Wales, from which (as from one of the old Greek States) fresh settlements were formed in different parts of the huge island, like swarms hiving off from the parent stock. These, in due course, became the nuclei of new Colonies. Thus, in 1826, a detachment of soldiers was sent to King George's Sound on the south-western coast, and in 1829 was founded the Swan River Settlement, now the Province of Western Australia, while a year prior to the former date Van Diemen's



9



10

Land had been released from the leading-strings of the Mother Colony. Twenty years later, in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition in London, two striking changes are apparent. (8) Firstly, South Australia had been settled in 1836 by a Company formed in England to carry out the colonising principles of Gibbon Wakefield, and its boundaries had been defined in the same year as you see them on the map. In the second place, Victoria, which had received its first immigrants from Van Diemen's Land in 1834,

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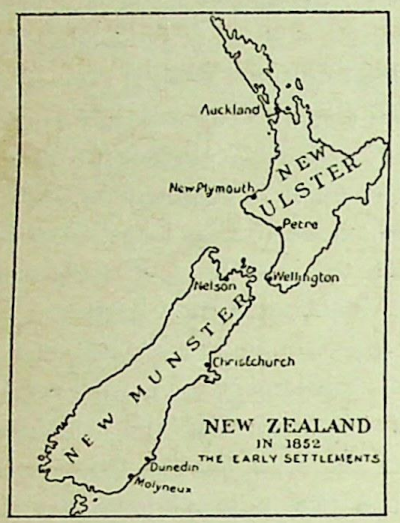
had, in 1851, been erected into a separate Colony, carved out of the diminishing bulk of New South Wales, and was soon to enjoy responsible government. "Integration" proceeds apace, and barely eight years have passed, when in 1859 (9) the next vast slice is cut off from the parent Colony, and the new State or Province of Queensland attains an independent existence. New South Wales is now divided into two portions, the one being the old Colony, or what is left of it, and the other the big unoccupied strip running northwards to the Gulf of Carpentaria. (10) In 1863 Queensland has encroached considerably on this so-called "Northern Territory," which has been annexed to the Colony of South Australia, and that Colony itself has been extended so as to be conterminous with Western Australia. The whole thing has become a regular jig-saw puzzle, and no part of the "indefinite homogeneity" remains to be accounted for, it being all parcelled out in a "definite heterogeneity" of six well-defined, lusty, and often quarrelsome States. Federation was slow in coming, for though joint action was provided for as long ago as 1885 by the "Federal Council of Australasia Act" of that year, the sessions of that rather anæmic body were infrequent, and its measures for the most part insignificant, while New South Wales left it severely alone. It took fifteen years more to effect the complete union of the Commonwealth, and it would be tedious to detail the various steps which led to that long-wished-for goal. Suffice it to say that in 1899 addresses to H.M. the late Queen Victoria were received from the five Colonies which had accepted the Constitution drafted by a National Convention, praying for the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill and in the following year (1900) the Bill was introduced into Parliament, and, with certain amendments, passed into law. Provision was made for Western Australia, which had held aloof, being included as an original State before the Proclamation bringing the Act into force was issued. In Australia, as in South Africa, railways have played a considerable part in unification, but less than they might have done if there had not been different gauges for the lines in the different States, with the awkward necessity of transhipment at their borders. A map showing the communications of the Commonwealth may now be placed on the screen. It will be observed that there is as yet no through line across the Continent linking up the Eastern and Southern Colonies with Western Australia, though one is at present in progress, as well as a railway running north and south, through the heart of the Continent. It may be shortly stated that the Constitution follows that of the United States more closely than that of Canada, so far as the distribution of federal and state powers is concerned; and the railways are up to the present time only partially taken over by the Federal authority.

New Zealand need not detain us so long. It first came into prominence in 1769, when it was visited by Captain Cook, and was subsequently resorted to by whalers and traders from Australia. In 1840 the sovereignty of the country was transferred by the native chiefs to the British Crown, and the islands became a British Colony. At the outset the country was a dependency of New South Wales, but it was separated by Letters Patent in 1842. The North and South Islands in the earlier period of the Colony's history were known for a time as New Ulster and New Munster, and in our first map we shall see them so described. (11) The date of this map is 1852, and it

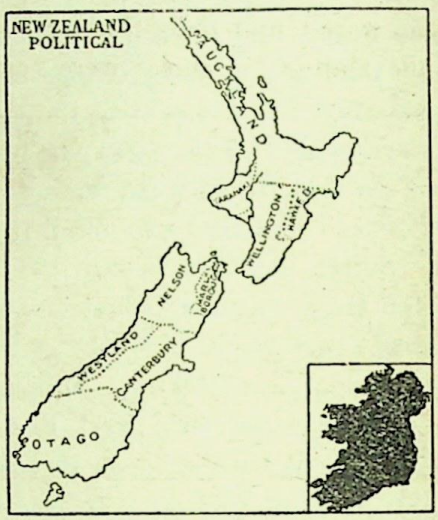
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was in that year that these names were abolished—another injustice to Ireland—and six provinces, afterwards increased to nine, were created. Thus, the "indefinite homogeneity" of primitive Maori days was first changed into the "definite heterogeneity" of first two, then six, and finally nine divisions. I have not been able to procure a slide to represent the intermediate position, but I will show you a map of New Zealand divided into its nine provinces of (12) Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, Hawkes Bay, Westland, and Marlborough. The provincial system has, however, now in its turn passed away, and given place to a division of the Dominion into counties and boroughs. I regret that I have no map of the existing state of things, but if I had, it would only illustrate even more clearly than in some cases I have mentioned the general truth of the Spencerian dictum—"the continued inte-



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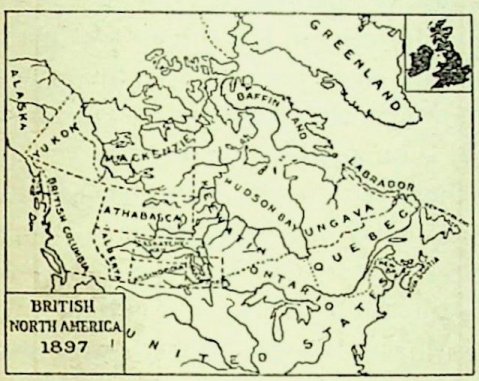
gration of the parts which accompanies the continued integration of the aggregate which they form."

Last, but assuredly not least, in this great procession of the Dominions, comes British North America, the mighty Federation of Canada. I found it impossible to prepare an adequate picture of the Dominion in its earliest condition, partly because its history is so closely intertwined with that of the old British Colonies further south that any map, to do justice to it, would really have to comprise a considerable portion of the whole North American Continent. I content myself, therefore, and hope that I shall content you, by simply throwing on the screen a couple of maps showing it at two periods of its development, in 1897 and again in 1905. (13) But first let us briefly run through the earlier stages of its history. It seems, then, that the north-east coast of the Dominion was first discovered by the Norse seamen of the middle ages. Cabot reached Labrador in 1497, and the fisheries off this coast were frequented (I quote from an official publication of the Colonial Office) early in the sixteenth century. In 1535 Cartier explored the St. Lawrence on behalf of France, and others followed. In 1608 Quebec, the first settlement, was founded; in 1759 it succumbed to the British

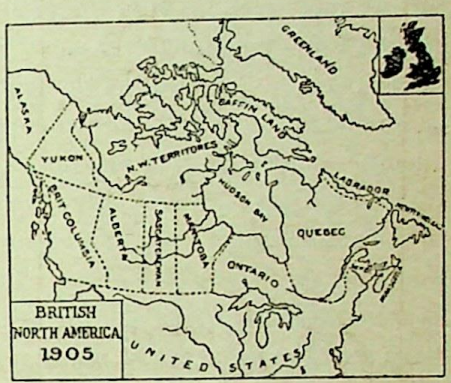
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forces under General Wolfe; and in 1763 the whole territory of French Canada was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris. In 1791 Canada was divided by the Act 31 George III. cap. 31 into two provinces—the first differentiation—Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec), and a constitution was established for each. Both the Houses of Assembly thus created, and especially that of Lower Canada, were in constant conflict with the Executive Government from the end of the American War in 1814 until the Canadian Rebellion of 1838. After the reduction of the insurgents, the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended, and Lord Durham was sent out from England as Governor-General, with special powers, and instructed to report on the affairs of the country. He recommended, as is well known, a union of the provinces, and in accordance with his recommendation, the two provinces were reunited by the Act 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 35, and the Legislative Bodies of the United Provinces were consolidated. Passing over the intermediate years,



13



14

during which increasing difficulty was experienced in the conduct of public affairs owing to the antagonism of the members for Upper and Lower Canada, we come to the solution of the deadlock by the British North America Act of 1867. Under its provisions the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were formed into one Dominion. Later on Manitoba, afterwards, like New South Wales, much subdivided (1870), British Columbia (1871), Prince Edward Island (1873, and in 1880 all British Possessions in North America other than Newfoundland), were annexed to the Dominion. In 1885 the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, and opened for general traffic from Montreal to Vancouver a year later, linking East and West, Atlantic and Pacific, together, and rendering possible that extensive settlement of the Prairie Provinces which has continued ever since.

Already in 1882 the districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska had been created, and thirteen years later, in 1897, the remaining territory was subdivided into the districts of Ungava, Franklin, Mackenzie, and Yukon. The "indefinite homogeneity" of the vast stretches of Central and Northern Canada was, in fact, being changed into a "definite heterogeneity" with a vengeance. In 1905 (14) the four provisional districts of Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Athabaska were formed into the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, as shown in our

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second map, and were admitted into the Dominion. The original provinces of Upper and Lower Canada have, after various vicissitudes, expanded into nine, together with the North-West Territories and the Territory of Yukon.

A map showing the constantly growing railway connections of the Dominion may fitly close our series. With the three great arteries of trade from east to west, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk, nothing can stop the rapid development of the country when once the interruption caused by the present war is at an end. Canada, as you know, is ever hungry for men, and her hunger will be intensified after normal conditions are re-established.

We have now seen, in such detail as is possible within the limits of a short paper such as this, the "integration of the differentiating parts" of the British Empire, or at least such as are self-governing. But what of "the integration of the aggregate which they form?" We can only glance at some of the manifestations of this tendency, and we must seek them in the political, rather than the geographical, sphere. Is the British Empire coming ever closer together, or is it destined in the fulness of time to fall asunder? "Perish the thought," you will exclaim, at an hour such as this, when, as we said at the outset, our common enterprise of war against a relentless and insidious enemy is more than ever making us one people. It is impossible that we shall ever be divided against ourselves, after the bitter-sweet memories that this huge Armageddon of the nations must leave as a legacy to the Mother Country and her children. I hope, and I believe, that it will be so. But when the great fight is over, and the world is at peace once more, we have a mighty task of reconstruction before us as a nation. We have seen the influence of many unifying agencies during the past thirty years from the time when the heresy that the Colonies were a burden and a bane came to an inglorious end. I mentioned the Imperial Federation League, whose teaching, inspired by Mr. Forster, Sir John Seeley, Lord Rosebery, our respected and beloved chairman Dr. Parkin and others, did so much in the eighties of last century to change the mind of the nation on these important subjects. It did its work, and ceased to be, but before its dissolution it placed on record—in answer to the challenge of the late Lord Salisbury—a plan for closer union which, in the opinion of many competent judges, still holds the field as one of the best that has yet been devised, and which was laid before his successor Mr. Gladstone in my own hearing.

Since then we have had Colonial Conferences and Imperial Conferences, and best of all, we had from 1895 to 1903 in my own revered chief, the late Joseph Chamberlain, a statesman at the Colonial Office who did more to bring this great problem into the region of practical politics than anyone who has yet addressed his mind to the task.

The two volumes of his speeches, recently so ably edited by Mr. Charles Boyd, show how the subject of the closer union of the Empire was continually in his thoughts, from long before the day he took office as Secretary of State for the Colonies to the end of his strenuous life. I saw him at fairly frequent intervals after his serious illness necessitated his withdrawal from public activities, and I can testify that his interest in the question we are discussing was unabated to the last.

You will often be told by excellent authorities that for the crowning achievement

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of a federation or unified government of the British Empire—its complete "integration" in Spencerian language—you must "wait and see." The British Constitution, such authorities are wont to aver, is a slow and gradual growth, like one of our British oaks, and out of its Imperial Conference, or its Privy Council, or its House of Lords, or in some other way that we cannot predict, a new Imperial organism will be evolved by a natural process. Do not believe them. Advances to the ideal, useful as far as they go, have been, and are being made; but because the statesmen of the Dominions are added to the Privy Council, or given seats in the House of Lords, or because they are introduced into the Committee of Defence, or even invited, for one day only, to join the Cabinet in Downing Street, none of those things will unify the Empire, though they make the day of its unification nearer. The subordinate federations of the Empire have all been created by definite legislative acts, and I have never been able to understand why that process should be inapplicable to the grand federal reconstruction of the aggregate which they form. On this subject we had last year a well-considered paper by the Hon. Sir John McCall, which resulted in the appointment of a joint committee of the Royal Colonial Institute and the British Empire League under the chairmanship of Lord Sydenham, whose report has just been presented to the Councils of the two bodies. Still more recently we listened to a pronouncement of the first importance from the Hon. B. R. Wise,* the Agent-General for New South Wales, which was contained in the address he delivered at this Institute, shortly after his arrival in this country.

"While interest and sentiment alike are impelling the Dominions towards a closer union with each other and with the Mother Country, the practical difficulties in the way of this organic change appear so formidable that no responsible politician would venture to propound a scheme. Yet this need not cause discouragement if we recollect two facts—first, that no men, however able, can prepare a Constitution for a free people; and, second, that a free people can prepare for itself, in some fashion or another, any Constitution which it needs.

"We have in Australia an example of this paradox. I do not believe that anyone who knew Australia during the late eighties and the early nineties, would deny that the difficulties in the way of forming a Constitution for the British Empire which shall give a voice to all portions of the Empire in all matters of common interest, and, at the same time, preserve the independence of each part in the management of its internal affairs, are not any greater—if indeed, they be not less—than those which stood in the way of the union of the Australian States. These difficulties the people of Australia overcame against the opposition and indifference of the majority of their politicians by calling upon each State to elect ten representatives to a constituent convention, which was charged with the duty of preparing a Constitution to be submitted for acceptance or rejection to a plebiscite of each State. The people thus had both the first and the last word in the framing of their Constitution. They first chose the men by whom it would be framed, and then they voted on the finished work.

"Is it the dream of a visionary that a Constitution for the Empire could be framed by a similar method, and is it not at least worth while making the attempt? Personally, I believe three parts of the difficulty would be overcome by the mere fact of the Convention meeting, because I can imagine nothing more stirring to the imagination and nothing more likely to conduce to union than the assemblage in Westminster Hall of the elected representatives of all the King's Oversea Possessions under the presidency of his Majesty. The Unions of America, Australia and South Africa were effected by the method I have outlined."

* Mr. Wise's lamented death (September 19, 1916) has deprived the British Empire of one of the foremost students of the problem of its reconstruction.

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The fact is that the organic union of the Empire has already, because of the war, and the mighty efforts it has called forth on the part of all the British peoples, entered the region of what is known as "practical politics." If you glance at the notes in the April number of the Journal, you will find collected together the utterances of various leading statesmen, including Mr. Hughes, of whose recovery from his recent illness we have all been so glad to hear, and no less than three British Cabinet Ministers—Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Samuel. All of these distinctly foreshadow the necessity of some reconstruction of the Imperial fabric when the war is over, and the great stocktaking of our common resources, naval, military, financial, and industrial takes place. The mind of the Empire has begun to move on this subject, and when the people have shown what is their will, we may be certain that the politicians will find the way. One of the most significant features of the present situation is the founding of the "British Workers' National League" by some of the ablest leaders of the Labour Party, a plank in whose platform is the Federation of the Free British States.

I will close with an anecdote which I have already given incidentally in one of our discussions here. A short time ago I was staying in a house in Herefordshire where some Australian officers, wounded at the Dardanelles, were enjoying the hospitality of its owner. The bestowal of the Victoria Cross upon one of them, a quiet, thoughtful young fellow from Melbourne, for conspicuous heroism, had been announced that morning. As he lay on the sofa in the smoking-room the same evening, we chatted together of the future of the British Empire. In his modest way, which was infinitely attractive, he spoke of the part his fellow-countrymen had played in the historic landing at Gaba Tepe. "We did our bit for the Empire; perhaps we have earned a right to have just a little say in it." That is what Sir Robert Borden said at the Opera House, in statelier and more rhetorical terms: "From this day forward, the great policies which touch and control the issues of peace and war *concern more than the people of these Islands*."

Before the reading of the Paper:—

THE CHAIRMAN (Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G.): As you know, everybody is thinking about the Empire in these days. We have never in the history of the British Empire had to face such big problems as are before us to-day—such complicated questions that require the best opinions of the best men drawn from every part of that quarter of the world which the British Empire now practically covers. We need not be a bit afraid of dozens of meetings like this, in which we are trying to clear our minds and form our convictions about what is best for the Empire, and the best means by which we can work out the great destiny in store for us. It is particularly necessary even at this time of great difficulty that we should understand whence we came and whither we are going. In Sir Harry Wilson we have the good luck to have a Secretary who has himself been a great student of Empire matters, and who served the Empire in important ways at one of the most critical periods.

After the reading of the Paper the following discussion took place:—

THE HON. B. R. WISE (Agent-General for New South Wales) recalled that for three years he sat on the same form at Rugby with Sir Harry Wilson, and always admired the accuracy and ease of his scholarship. He felt that admiration to-day in listening to the paper. It is not inexpedient (Mr. Wise continued), now that the reorganisation of the Empire is in the air and has become a matter of practical

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politics, to look back upon the history of the Imperial idea and the different ideals which from time to time have inspired the British race. It is commonly believed that the American Colonies broke away from the Mother Country entirely through the blind pig-headed obstinacy of King George and his Ministers; but when we look into history we find that in this matter, as in some others, we have to a certain extent been the dupes of generations of Whig historians, and that there was in fact a great deal to be said for the idea expressed at that time by the old King as the mouthpiece of England. The resistance we made to the demands of America was not merely a blind selfish resistance, but the resistance of men who realised that, if the American Colonies succeeded, the idea of Empire, as understood at that time, disappeared; and there is nothing more instructive in reading the memoirs of the time than the way in which the King harped on the necessity of preserving for England the British Empire. His opponents had nothing in its place to suggest except separation, and from 1832 onwards, when England was in the grip of pedants, the word Empire, as well as the idea of Empire, was practically unknown, or only used as a term of ridicule and reproach. The sacred flame was kept alive by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Froude, and others. Afterwards came the Imperial Federation League. I well remember the formation of that League, and also how some of the speeches made at the meetings of the League and the proposals of the League set Australian feeling against Imperial Federation. The explanation of the paradox was that the League was formed as a reaction from the separatist ideas which had prevailed forty years. In Australia nobody thought of anything as possible in political development except a gradual strengthening of the bonds uniting the whole Empire, and therefore the addresses made here as to the necessity of close union passed unnoticed. But what did attract attention were the short cablegrams of schemes suggesting union at meetings of the League, which really conveyed very little of the true spirit of the promoters of the League, while in those few sentences they gave the impression that the object was to destroy the self-government of the Dominions. Of course nothing was further from their thoughts. From about 1893, when the League was dissolved to the outbreak of the Boer War, there were in the Dominions relaxations of Imperial feeling. When the Boer War broke out the same sentiment manifested itself that we saw in the greater war which began some eighteen months ago. If one were to name the two men who have done most to consolidate the British Empire, one would put first Paul Kruger and next the German Emperor. Unfortunately there were differences of opinion about the Boer War in England, so that its Imperial effect was not altogether what might have been anticipated. Still, great progress was made and the outbreak of the present war has unquestionably revealed the Empire to itself. Things never can be as before, for the reason that there is a new bond of union—the strongest bond of union between free peoples. They are supporting side by side the common cause and are animated by a common pride in the achievements of every portion of the Empire. How then can we take advantage of a sentiment which is stronger than any parchment constitutions? How can we use the opportunity which fate has offered of binding closer together the different portions of the race? Sir Harry Wilson has referred to the scheme of the Imperial Federation League. It was a carefully thought-out scheme, but there is this to be said—that when contributions are only voluntary, the desire to give becomes weakest where the need for giving is greatest. All history teaches the same experience. The Confederation of the American States before the Federal union broke down because when money was most wanted was the moment when one State or another refused to supply the promised quota. You cannot risk the existence of an Imperial constitution by leaving its successful working to the whim of the Parliamentary majority of the day, not in one Parliament only but in five or six. The outcome is that there must be an Imperial Parliament with full control over affairs of Imperial interest, which are foreign affairs, and that involves control over the Army and Navy, without which a voice in foreign affairs is no good

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in Parliament. It involves further a revenue to keep up the Army and Navy. The Imperial Parliament must raise that revenue by taxation, and there will be no more difficulty in raising a tax in Westminster by an Imperial Parliament than in raising in Sydney a tax imposed by the Commonwealth Parliament sitting at Melbourne. If we cannot get the highest, let us be content with something less. Nothing venture, nothing have. Let us aim at the utmost, certain that in the end we shall get something. There is only one way to bring this scheme about, that is by an elected convention of the people. You cannot impose a constitution on free people, but they can make one for themselves. That convention ought to be a large body, comprising perhaps 600 or 700 members. It must be large, because every member who comes from a distance ought to be able to go back and explain the constitution the conference had framed. I believe a constitution framed by an elected convention of delegates in Westminster Hall would, with small modifications, be gladly accepted by the democracies of all the Colonies.

Hon. Sir John McCall (Agent-General for Tasmania) reminded the meeting that he had always been in favour of an Imperial Parliament, and that at gatherings of the Institute he had, like Mr. Wise, advocated the bringing about of that Parliament by means of a convention. Undoubtedly the present war had done much to bring all parts of the Empire closer together. The preparations made by Germany in the Pacific and elsewhere had revealed what were her real intentions. He hoped the Empire would rise to the occasion. If we did not get an Imperial Parliament at the close of the war, he feared we should have to wait a very long time. The form of union was a matter for the convention, but no convention, he believed, would decide on any scheme which would seriously interfere with the local Government of the Dominions.

Mr. Robert Duncan referred to the backward position of the Imperial idea in the early part of last century, and reminded the meeting that Carlyle and other powerful thinkers told us that we were on the wrong track. In Canada they found a practical statesman in the person of Sir John McDonald, and ultimately his doctrine conquered and would conquer still further.

Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hutton, who spoke next, submitted that the driving force which had brought about the evolution of the Empire was not this politician or the other, or this professor or that, but self-defence and nothing else. He spoke of his own experience in Australia and in Canada, contending that what brought Australia into federation in 1903–6 was the rise of Japan, which was a menace at her very door. In regard to Canada he had the good fortune to be sent there in order to put her defences on a sound basis, and any success he achieved at that time was due to the Venezuela trouble, as the result of which we were on the verge of war with the United States. Now again came the time for striking the Imperial note. We were face to face with the menace of Prussian militarism. All parts of the Empire were aware of the crisis through which we were passing, and we in this country were not the last to be roused to the great occasion which presented itself. The question of how Imperial union was to be brought about was quite another matter, but that the thing must be done was the instinct and the determination of every Briton who owned allegiance to the King.

Mr. Herbert W. Garrison thought everybody would agree that the Dominions were absolutely ripe for federation. He had had the pleasure of talking to a good many soldiers, and they all struck this note—that after the war the Dominions must have a greater voice in Imperial and foreign affairs. The point now was to educate the people of the Mother Country in the matter. In the House of Commons itself there were any number of men who did not agree with the idea, and the first thing to do was to sweep them out, root and branch, and put in their places not petti-fogging parish politicians but Imperialists.

Sir Frederick Pollock considered that the question of an Imperial Parliament

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as distinct from a smaller and more compact body was a very arguable proposition. It was well worth consideration whether a small body representing Governments rather than popular assemblies all over the Empire would not be a more efficient instrument for the purpose in view. That, however, was a question that would have to be decided by a convention of the Empire. He urged that we must keep our minds fixed steadily on these problems for some time. It was one thing to end the European war in the sense of the actual hostilities coming to an end. It was quite another thing to make terms of peace, which might take twelve months or more, and after that, turning to our Imperial constitution, he should be surprised if it took anything less than five to ten years to do anything seriously worth doing. It was extremely important to educate our own people, so that they might not be contented to rest and be thankful after the war; for we must not only beat the Germans, but take ample security that we should not again be in such danger as we had been on this occasion. It was a case affecting not merely the British Empire but the whole of Western civilisation. He strongly deprecated the practice of talking about the British Empire without remembering that there are such people as our Allies. It would not do after the war to lump them together as so many foreigners. He would give one word of warning as to what we should have to face in regard to any scheme of Imperial union. It would not be like disestablishing the Welsh or the Irish Church. It meant disestablishing the House of Commons, for you could not have a constitution of the British Empire and allow the British House of Commons to retain its present position of ultimate arbiter in everything. It would not be at all an easy thing to get the House of Commons to pass a self-denying ordinance, for there were vast interests—party interests and the like, which would be opposed to anything of the kind. ("What about Ireland?") Many years ago he ventured to say that once we got an Imperial constitution and Ireland in it the whole trouble would be solved. He repeated that the adoption of an Imperial constitution would be a very serious undertaking which would require all the best heads of the country and would have to be carried through in face of many difficulties, and probably with occasional appearances of defeat. He hardly believed ten years ago that he should live to see anything done in the matter, but now he hoped he might.

THE CHAIRMAN: I now move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Harry Wilson for his interesting, able, and instructive paper. I entirely agree with the last speaker that we are not going to accomplish this business easily, and that no burst of enthusiasm or patriotism will accomplish it. No great federation was ever accomplished without the most intense effort and after a long process of education. But I want to point out this encouraging fact—no nation in the course of human history has ever had the range of experience in working out federations that the Anglo-Saxons have. In 1776 they had to solve the problem of federating the American Continent. The difficulties were immense. Anybody who has read Fiske's book knows the critical period came after the war of the American Revolution had been fought out. When I first met Mr. Wise in Australia at the time I went out to discuss the question of Imperial Federation (I think he will admit his views have enormously changed and expanded since those days), one-half of the people of Australia would have treated with contempt the idea that you could unite states so separate in interest and in some ways in sentiment. We have accomplished this by people of our own race in the United States, Canada, Australia, and in still more difficult circumstances in South Africa, so that when we do face the problem we shall have an extraordinary range of experience to fall back upon. We shall have to slay one great enemy or take some means to weaken his power before we can accomplish this task. I mean the power of party spirit in our political system. The only way in which that convention can have any fair hope of achieving its purpose is to make men of both parties come and take part in it. If you were to-day to call together a conference of the controlling Governments only, every politician remaining behind would be lying in wait to trip up his fellows who

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came over here. You must call up the men of all political parties and let them fight out the principles on which they will be free to stand when they go back to face their constituents. If you call together the statesmen of all parties, I believe you will thereby eliminate the poison of a system which in the past has brought us very close to the edge of political destruction, and that you will then have some fair and reasonable basis on which to proceed. Major-Gen. Hutton is a soldier; naturally he thinks defence—the soldier's work—is the one thing that has hammered and will hammer the Empire together. I am willing to admit there is great force in what he says. If on the other hand you study the Empire and its outlying and central parts, I think you will agree that you can imagine no closer connection that can exist than between the great producing areas in the outlying parts and the consuming and manufacturing centres in the heart of the Empire. Moreover, we say we are a practical people, but after all we are an immensely sentimental people. I have roamed round the Empire a great deal, and have often felt that apart from trade and defence and vast material interests, there is after all an amazing bond in the sentiment of the Empire. Out in those distant parts you will find men who bring up children and grand-children to talk of this country as home, and here in the Motherland, which has watched the growth of these great new nations in the spirit of the mother in Virgil who looks with pride on the growing up of her splendid daughters, a sentiment has grown up of amazing affection, love, and sympathy towards these new colonies. With all that material to work upon let us not be discouraged. We are facing a great trial. If there is one thing to my mind more true than anything else, it is that we are coming out of this conflict a greater nation than before, but a nation that is going to provoke envy in the world, unless we keep our heads level and our purpose high and true, and give convincing evidence to the world that we are going to use our strength for the good of the world and not merely for our own selfish gratification.

Sir Harry Wilson, returning thanks, remarked that the last few pages of his lecture, which had been the stimulus of the debate, had he thought been received with general approval. He felt sure that his friend Sir Frederick Pollock, whose remarks he had heard with the greatest respect, would go so far with him as to agree that a convention was a necessary preliminary to the formulation of a constitution. What form of constitution that convention would produce was a matter still on the lap of the gods. It might have to sit two, three, or four times or more, but at the end of it all, if we were patient and determined, we should arrive, he was certain, at a satisfactory constitution for the Empire. He asked the meeting to give a vote of thanks to his dear old friend Dr. Parkin for taking the chair. They had worked together in the cause of Imperial Federation for thirty years, and during that time his respect and affection, and he might say love, for Dr. Parkin had grown continuously.

The name of Mr. G. McLaren Brown was inadvertently omitted in the September issue of United Empire from the list of those who were present at the deputation from the Empire Land Settlement Committee which waited upon the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law and the Earl of Crawford.

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LUNCHEON TO THE HON. W. H. HEARST, K.C., PREMIER OF ONTARIO.

On September 22 the Hon. W. H. Hearst, K.C., M.P.P., Premier of Ontario, was the guest of the Royal Colonial Institute at a luncheon given at the Hotel Cecil. Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, was in the chair, and among those present were:—The Earl Brassey, G.C.B., Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir Charles P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Colonel the Hon. Dr. Pyne, M.P.P., Minister of Education, Ontario, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Reid, Agent-General for Ontario, Mr. John A. Reid, Agent-General for Alberta, Sir Rider Haggard, the Hon. John Barrett (U.S.A.), Captain Muirhead Collins, C.M.G., Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., and Mr. W. Perkins Bull, K.C., who entertained a large party of guests.

After the toast of "The King and United Empire" had been honoured, the chairman proposed the health of "Our Guest."

Taking as the subject of his address "Ontario and the War," Mr. Hearst, in an eloquent speech, told his audience something of the progress that the province had made and something of the opportunities before it.

Ontario, he said, has an area of 407,262 square miles, or 260,647,636 acres. It is the second largest province in the Dominion of Canada, being only exceeded in extent by the Province of Quebec; it is eighteen times as large as England, that maintains a population of 30,000,000. Of this immense area, we have only alienated from the Crown a little over 41,000 square miles, leaving in the Crown, still to be disposed of as the Government may see fit for settlement or for development in the way for which it is best adapted, almost 90 per cent. of our entire area. At the time of the last census, 1911, Ontario had a population of 2,523,274, or 9·67 to the square mile, while Great Britain has a population of 471, Germany 310, France 190, and the United States 33 to the square mile. Ontario has under cultivation only a little over 13,000,000 acres, or less than 6 per cent. of the entire area. With this comparatively small percentage of its total area cultivated, the agricultural achievements of Ontario are something in which we feel no small degree of pride. The value of our agricultural output is over $300,000,000 annually, the annual value of our live stock sold or slaughtered is over $90,000,000, our dairy industry over $40,000,000, and our fruit and vegetables over $20,000,000 annually. We have 290,000 acres of orchards, 24,000 acres of small fruits, 11,000 acres of vineyards, and 50,000 acres of gardens. We produce fruit of almost all kinds in abundance, the apples, pears, peaches, grapes, and small fruits of Ontario not being excelled anywhere in the world. The value of Ontario's live stock is over $251,000,000, our farm buildings over $348,000,000, our farm implements over $92,000,000, and the total assessment of property liable to municipal taxation is over $2,000,000,000. The municipalities annually pay for the maintenance of our schools $12,500,000, which sum is largely supplemented by provincial grants. In the fall of 1913 our farmers had on deposit in the Savings Banks $100,000,000.

From the above it will be seen that farming, in all its branches—including grain growing, cattle raising, dairying, fruit and vegetable growing—is carried on most successfully in the province, and when you stop to consider the extent of our production with our relatively small population and only 6 per cent. of our land under cultivation, you will readily understand the opportunities there are for those who desire to engage in farming in any of its branches, and be able to understand something of what the immense value of Ontario's agricultural output will be when all her farm and orchard lands are placed under cultivation.

It is true, we have large tracts of land holding greater possibilities for timber and minerals than from an agricultural standpoint, but nevertheless we have millions upon millions of acres of just as good agricultural land, awaiting the advent of the settler, as the land already under cultivation; and this land the Government will give

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free, or at the nominal price of 50 cents an acre, to all desirable classes fitted for this kind of life who wish to cast their lot with us and help to develop one of the richest and most favourably situated portions of the Empire. One of the most important agricultural areas awaiting development in Canada is what is known as the Great Clay Belt, to the north of the height of land on the Hudson Bay slope in Ontario. This section, which contains 15 to 20 million acres of excellent clay soil, until recently has been inaccessible by reason of lack of railway transportation. That obstacle has now largely been overcome, and we have the Ontario Government Railway extending from North Bay to Cochrane, 252 miles, and running north and south through the easterly part of this belt. Then we have the National Transcontinental Railway running east and west through the northern section of this country, traversing good agricultural land for a distance of 400 miles; the Canadian Northern Transcontinental Line running through the southerly part of this Belt, and the Algoma Central Line running north from Sault Ste. Marie, a splendid and thriving port at the foot of Lake Superior, and connecting with the National Transcontinental Line at Hearst, in the very heart of the Great Clay Belt. We have land sufficient to provide homes for millions, and the Government is now particularly studying the question of how we can assist settlers after the war, and especially ex-soldiers who may desire to seek homes for themselves in a new country and who are entitled to the best thought and consideration of the people in every section of the Empire. We have already made provision for furnishing settlers with good seed at cost, and for lending them money at a cheap rate of interest to help in clearing their farms and securing the necessary horses, stock, and implements to enable them to proceed advantageously with the work of clearing and cultivating their homesteads. In addition to the Government College and Experimental Farm at Guelph, one of the best agricultural colleges in the world, we are establishing Agricultural Schools, Experimental Farms, and Experimental Plots throughout the newer sections of the Province, so that the settler may be able to secure in the easiest manner possible all necessary information. Added to this, a Government farm-expert is located in every community, who gives the settlers the benefit and advantage of expert advice as to the best seeds to sow, the best manner of cultivation, and in other matters in which he may require advice or assistance. In short, the Government of Ontario is ready to do everything reasonable and practicable to assist the settler, and especially the ex-soldier, to make a success in establishing himself in our Province.

But while Ontario is a great agricultural country, that is only one of its many resources, and one of our great advantages as a Province is the diversified character of our resources and occupations. We are fast taking no mean place as a mineral-producing country. One ounce in every seven of the silver that comes from the earth's crust is taken from the cobalt mines of Ontario, and only two countries in the world —the United States and Mexico—exceed Ontario in silver production. We produce 80 per cent. of the nickel of the world, and Ontario's output of cobalt has driven other sources of supply from the world's markets. We are also fast taking a prominent place as a gold-producing country. The value of our mineral production in 1915 was $57,856,375, and from present indications this production will be far exceeded in the present year. The rapid growth of this industry is shown by the fact that twelve years ago our total production was less than $13,000,000. The Cobalt Silver Camp in the last ten years has produced $122,750,000 in silver, and in 1915 these mines paid dividends aggregating $4,441,948; and up to the end of 1915 dividends amounting to $59,660,912 had been paid by this Camp. The Porcupine Mines have only been in operation a short time, but up to the end of last year they paid over $5,000,000 in dividends. And there are millions of acres of mineral lands yet remaining that have never been mapped by a geologist or echoed to the sound of the prospector's pick.

Our timber wealth can scarcely be estimated. We have on Crown Lands alone undisposed-of timber valued at over $400,000,000, and the value of our annual output

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of timber is over $25,000,000. But more important than the lumber trade itself is the advantage our supply of all kinds of timber affords to the manufacturers of the Province. This will be apparent when I point out that Ontario uses in her industries annually lumber and timber valued at $20,000,000, 82 per cent. of which comes from our own forests. In 1911, the date of our last census, Canada had $260,000,000 invested in her lumber and timber industries, and these industries paid annually $40,000,000 in wages to the men engaged in this work; and the Province of Ontario controls over one-third of the whole timber and lumber industry of Canada. We are taking measures to preserve this great national asset, so that it will be a source of wealth and a stimulus to industry for all time to come; and we have about 23,000 square miles in National Parks and Forest Reserves, where we do not permit settlement, and where we guard the timber carefully from fire and other forms of destruction, and protect the wild life as well, making these reserves breeding-grounds and havens for fish, game, and animals of all kinds.

The Fisheries of Canada are the most important in the world, and although this industry has only been partially developed in our waters, it yields $3,000,000 annually.

There is one important mineral that we have not yet discovered in paying quantities in Ontario—viz., coal—but a kind Providence has more than compensated us for this by the boundless quantity of *white coal*, in the shape of hydraulic power, with which it has endowed us, and that use will not exhaust. Not to speak of our great storehouse of power at Niagara and upon the other rivers in what we call Old Ontario, we have a richness of power in New Ontario that it is impossible as yet to estimate. To give you some idea of the extent of this important asset, I might point out that in the undeveloped Clay Belt of which I have spoken we have, within a hundred miles of the Transcontinental Railway, on rivers flowing into James Bay, 2,000,000 horsepower, while in the western part of the Province we have, on the rivers flowing out of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, opportunities for power development rivalling Niagara itself; and the rivers flowing south into Lakes Huron and Superior also afford splendid opportunities for power development.

The almost limitless resources of agriculture, timber, and mineral wealth, and the incalculable power with which Ontario is blessed, can surely mean only one thing—that in the days to come the Province of Ontario will be one of the great manufacturing centres of the world. But not only is Ontario making gigantic strides in agricultures, in mining, in lumbering, and in fisheries, she is making splendid progress in the industrial world as well. There was an increase of over $800,000,000 in the monies invested in our factories in the decade covered by the last census, making the total investment over $1,000,000,000; and if you will compare the census figures of Canada for the decade 1901–1911 with the census figures of the United States for the decade 1899–1909 with reference to percentage increases, you will find that in the capital employed, the wages paid, and the articles produced, the increase in Canada was from 62 per cent. to 89 per cent. greater than in the United States; and you will understand the importance of the manufacturing industry in my province when I tell you that Ontario's factories employ nearly one-half the capital and labour engaged in the factories of the whole of Canada, and produce nearly one-half of all the goods manufactured in the Dominion.

Turning to the subject of the war, Mr. Hearst pointed out that the people of Ontario had made the conflict their own. The province has under arms overseas or in training at home 170,000 men; it is raising annually by special levy $2,000,000 for war purposes, and has purchased 500 extra machine-guns for the Ontario battalions. Before the present century passed away, he believed that Canada would have a population as large as that of Great Britain. Already, before the war, the Dominion was increasing its population by means of immigration at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum —twice the rate of increase into the United States in any year of their existence. After the war, possibly a still greater flow of emigration would set in towards Canada than

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ever before. The protection and future of the Empire, as well as interest and prudence, demanded that British blood and British gold should be kept within the Empire. Mr. Hearst continued: "We in Ontario have millions upon millions of acres of rich agricultural land awaiting settlement and cultivation. We will hold out a welcome to the ex-soldier who desires to come to us, to go upon the land, and help him to make a success so far as it is reasonable and practicable for us to do so. But that cannot be done as successfully as it ought without help and co-operation from this side, and my Government is prepared to co-operate with the British Government or any proper organisation that takes the matter up, and we have been much interested by the splendid report on this subject by your special and able Commissioner, Sir Rider Haggard. As you know, this question has been the subject of consideration by a Commission appointed by my Government, and I am pleased and honoured to note that the Report of that Commission has met with the approval of the Royal Colonial Institute, particularly that part in which the organisation of an Imperial Migration Board is suggested, and I desire to extend my congratulations to the Royal Colonial Institute for the splendid lead they are giving in this important matter, and to assure them of my sympathy and hearty co-operation."

The CHAIRMAN, after testifying to the appreciation with which Mr. Hearst's address had been listened to, spoke of the very difficult task that would confront the British Empire when the war was over. Germany had given us the spectacle of a central bureaucratic autocracy, organising its people in domestic matters for business and commerce, and in international matters for diplomacy and war, and organising them with quite uncommon skill and ability. Ours was a much harder task. We had got to see that a democratic people should be able to organise itself with the same efficiency as an autocracy organises in Germany. Each of us in our own Dominions had to organise our internal affairs and our industrial relationships, so that nobody could say of us that we had gone through a great war simply in order to have our internal struggles and squabbles over again. We had to organise ourselves internally, to organise our inter-Imperial relations, and we had to do what he believed no democracy had properly done up to now—brought a real understanding and judgment to bear on international relations and international problems.

In regard to emigration three features struck him as being of almost special importance. The first was that, for emigration to be successful, there must be thorough goodwill in welcoming the men in the land to which they wish to go. He was sure, from what they had heard from Mr. Hearst, so far as he voiced the opinion of a great province of Canada, that that first pre-requisite was satisfied in abundance. Then there was another about which again there was no difficulty in Canada—that was that it was not only necessary to have a certain number of acres of land which can be placed at the disposal of the emigrant, but, obviously, the land has got to be land that can be worked, otherwise there was no business in the proposition at all. Another point worthy of consideration was the need so to acclimatise men, in Canada or elsewhere, that they might be a success. The first few months were absolutely vital in order to make sure whether they would find their feet or not. "Give them the opportunity, by training or in some other way—which is really the sort of problem to work out—give them the chance of finding their feet and picking up the necessary minimum of experience, and then you may get the type of person you want to people a country. That seems to me one of the first and most requisite essentials of all. One more requisite—ordinarily neglected but just as important—is this—that we are far too inclined to think the problem of emigration is concerned only with men, whereas the emigration of women is an equally important problem." If, Mr. Steel Maitland added, we face the future as we ought and manage to solve these problems successfully, we shall have found, out of all this miserable evil, that Providence will at least have over-ruled it for the good of us all and for the good of our children in the future.

The proceedings then terminated.

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DIARY OF THE WAR—(*continued*)

Aug. 21. Heavy counter-attacks repulsed on Western front. British forces in East Africa occupy Kidete; steady advance on Dar-es-Salaam.

,, 22. Further headway in the West. Turks retreating in the Caucasus. Italian successes in the Dolomites. British forces occupy Kilossa (E. Africa).

,, 23. Russians re-capture Mush (Caucasus), and defeat Turks near Turco-Persian frontier.

,, 24. French capture Maurepas, and advance beyond it; British advance on Thiepval, many prisoners taken. German submarine-liner *Deutschland* returns to Germany.

,, 25. Zeppelin raid on E. and S.-E. coasts and outskirts of London; 29 casualties. Bulgarians enter Kavalla.

,, 26. Five British aeroplanes lost in heavy storm at the front. Serbian progress in the Ostrovo district.

,, 27. Italy declares war on Germany. Rumania declares war on Austria-Hungary.

,, 28. Germany declares war on Rumania. Austrians bombard Rumanian towns on the Danube.

,, 29. Rumanians force Transylvanian passes; Austrians evacuate three important towns. Marshal von Hindenburg appointed Chief of the German General Staff.

,, 30. Turkey declares war on Rumania. Slight German gains on British front. Russian advance in the Carpathians. Enemy forces in East Africa retreat east and west of the Uluguru Mountains.

Sept. 1. Fierce enemy counter-attacks on Western and Russian fronts. Allied Fleet anchors off Athens; pro-Ally rising in Salonika. Bulgaria declares war on Rumania. Air-raid on Port Said.

,, 2. Combined Russian and Rumanian advance; Austrians retire across River Cerna. Allied Governments make important demands on Greece; three German vessels seized off Athens at the Piræus.

,, 3. Raid on Eastern counties and outskirts of London by thirteen enemy airships; one Zeppelin destroyed and another damaged.

,, 4. British capture Guillemont; French successes on the Somme. Occupation of Dar-es-Salaam (capital of German East Africa).

,, 6. French success at Verdun.

,, 7. Russian advance on the Dniester; Halicz bombarded. Rumanian reverse in the Dobrudja; enemy occupy Tutrakan.

,, 9. British capture Ginchy; further French advance at Verdun.

,, 10. British force at Salonika crosses the Struma; enemy driven back.

,, 11. Russian and Rumanian Armies join forces in the Carpathians; Mount Kapul and other important heights captured. Belgian force occupies Tabora (German East Africa).

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Sept. 13. Brilliant French advance; German third line pierced between Combles and Péronne.

„ 14. British advance on the Salonika front. Successful Russian air-raid on German hydroplane station (Gulf of Riga), several machines destroyed.

„ 15. Important Allied advance in the West; British occupy High Wood, most of Bouleaux Wood, and several villages. Italian advance on the Carso, many prisoners taken. Serbian advance on Monastir; enemy driven back ten miles.

„ 16. British gain more ground in the West; over 4,000 prisoners taken and Mouquet Farm captured. Russian success north of Halicz.

„ 17. Greek Army Corps in the territory occupied by Bulgarians kidnapped and interned in Germany.

„ 18. French force in Macedonia occupies Florina; Bulgarians pursued towards Monastir. News received of capture of two last remaining enemy ports in German East Africa. British capture the Quadrilateral, strongly fortified German work between Bouleaux Wood and Ginchy. "Tanks" first in action. French capture Deniécourt.

„ 19. Rumanian advance checked near Vulcan Pass (Carpathians).

„ 23–24. Air raid by twelve German airships over London and Eastern Counties. Two airships destroyed. Two French airmen drop bombs on Essen.

ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

Canada.

War Finance.—For over a year the Dominion Finance Department has borrowed from the Imperial Treasury only amounts represented by expenditures in Great Britain and at the front. All advances received from the British Government were entered in the books of the Dominion as temporary borrowings. Now an arrangement has been made for the Canadian Government to pay off, from time to time, this temporary indebtedness to the British Government by the issue to the Imperial Treasury of Dominion bonds bearing the same rate of interest and having the same maturity dates as the issues of the Imperial Government from proceeds of which the advances were made. This arrangement will greatly assist the British Government in financing the purchases of munitions and supplies for which dollar credits are necessary, while the Dominion Government will fund its temporary indebtedness without any flotation expenses.

Tobacco Growing in Ontario.—About seven million pounds of tobacco is grown annually in Ontario, and the rapid expansion during the last few years has necessitated the appointment, by the Dominion Experimental Farms Tobacco Division, of three experts from the tobacco belt of the United States. One is to take charge of the laboratory at Ottawa; a second is specially charged with the investigation of the tobacco soils of the various districts, and with problems of culture, fertilisation, and curing of the tobacco crop; and a third, with investigations regarding the varieties best suited to the Canadian climate and market, the best methods of handling the

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crop under existing conditions, and all problems connected with the production of tobacco. The assistance of these experts will be available to any farmer.

Government Railways.—The inauguration of the express service between Quebec and Winnipeg, by the Canadian Government Railways, constitutes a new chapter in the railway history of the Dominion, which would in normal times have attracted world-wide attention. This new link between the Atlantic and the Pacific is the most northerly of eight transcontinental routes, and will assist in opening up the Northern Territory added to the Province of Quebec. The connection with the Atlantic seaports is made at Quebec from Levis, until such time as the Quebec bridge is completed. It is announced that the Canadian Government Railway Department has lately ordered 2000 box cars. The new equipment is required very urgently, especially on the Transcontinental line, which has lately had to borrow largely from the Intercolonial. The original appropriation, two years ago, called for one million sterling to be spent on the Government railways, but that was cut down to the barest necessities owing to the War.

Indian Patriotism.—At a meeting of the Bay of Quinté Band of Mohawk Indians' Council at the Council House, on the Indian Reserve, it was unanimously agreed to allow the Aviation Fund the exclusive use of the "plains" for an aviation school. The plains are situated about two miles west of Deseronto, and are some 1½ mile long by ½ mile in width. A miniature Red River cart made by Otter Skin, an Indian of the File Hills Reserve, has been presented to Sir Robert Borden, accompanied by a letter setting forth the patriotic efforts of members of this band both in the direction of contributions to the Patriotic Fund and of recruiting. The members of the Reserve have contributed over £600 in money, while, out of forty men physically fit for military service, twenty have offered themselves for enlistment. The remainder do not speak English, and therefore cannot be drilled.

Practical Patriotism.—The Canadian Cartridge Co. Ltd., of Hamilton, Ontario, of which the President is Mr. F. W. Baillie, who, it is understood, practically owns the company, recently entered into a contract for 18 pdr. cartridge cases. The contract was finished well before the stipulated date, and Mr. Baillie has handed over to the Imperial Government the whole of the profits, amounting to $758,248.

Newfoundland.

The Seal Catch.—The Newfoundland seal-fishing season of 1916, which has just ended, was financially the most successful experienced for years. The catch numbered 243,000, and the value to the fishermen is returned at £200,000. In consequence of the War and the absence of men to handle the ships, the number of vessels engaged was only twelve—the smallest number employed for many years—but this was counteracted by the large catch that was secured, as well as by the high prices prevailing for the proceeds of the fishery.

Australia.

Record Prices for Wool.—Australian wool has been fetching record prices, and will probably continue to do so as long as the War lasts. In view of the fact that stocks, both in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, have been greatly depleted, producers may reasonably expect to do very well for some time to come. Merino is double the price it was before the War, and the scarcity of wool and wool products is indicated by a pressing demand from the War Office contract department for a disclosure of all stocks in Great Britain, and the subsequent prohibition of the sale of English and Irish clips. In New Zealand also another record has been made in the value of the 1915–16 wool season, and prices would have been higher still but for the embargo on export for foreign countries. Not only was the Australian 1915–16 clip cleared off the market by April, but it was disposed of four months earlier than was the 1914–15 clip, although of rather poorer quality.

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The New South Wales Loan.—The New South Wales Government has recently arranged for a further loan—the fourth in eighteen months—amounting to £2,500,000 in 5½ per cent. bonds, issued at par. The bonds, which will be convertible into stock, free of stamp duty, will be redeemable in 1920–22. The terms of the issue are thus identical with those of the four million Commonwealth Loan issued in June, and it will be the only loan of the State bearing 5½ per cent. interest. It is understood that the loan is not a funding operation, but that it involves new borrowing. In this connection it may be pointed out that New South Wales is not a party to the agreement between the Commonwealth and the States of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, by which the Commonwealth Government is to be the sole borrower for these States abroad.

New Zealand.

The Gold Reserve.—The Australian mints, which up to a few months ago supplied New Zealand and Australia with gold and silver coin, have announced that they no longer intend to make half-sovereigns, and the New Zealand banks, in common with other banking institutions, are conserving large supplies of gold and making practically all payments in silver and notes. The amount of gold coin held in reserve in New Zealand banks at the close of 1915 was approximately £6,000,000 as against £5,000,000 in 1913. There is no difficulty with regard to the minting or supply of silver in the Dominion.

Government Control of Westport Harbour.—In order to facilitate relations between the British Admiralty and the authorities controlling the New Zealand coal export, the Dominion Government has decided to abolish the Westport Harbour Board and take over the administration of the harbour. The revenue of the Westport Harbour Board is derived solely from the income from the State Railway which runs from the collieries to Westport. The harbour and all the works pertaining to it will therefore be under the administration of the Railway Department in future.

South Africa.

Growth of Trade between the Union and Rhodesia.—The following progressive figures, representing the totals of South African produce and manufactures imported into Rhodesia, indicate the rapid growth of trade between that territory and the Union:—1904, £113,139; 1908, £298,334; 1912, £292,198; 1915, £567,437. While high-water mark in respect of the total imports of South African produce to Rhodesia was reached in 1912, there is a long list of items—blasting compounds and sugar being conspicuous among them—in regard to which the imports of South African produce and manufactures showed individual increases during 1915, although the quantity or value of similar imports from oversea decreased. In these respects, there, the result of the War has been to enhance the value of the Rhodesian market from the standpoint of the Union manufacturer and producer. The Rhodesian consumer has, at the same time, been saved serious inconvenience by being enabled to draw upon the Union for his supplies, and especially for such commodities as blasting compounds and sugar.

South African Natives as Dockers.—At the request of the Imperial Government, it has been arranged for five battalions of natives, numbering 2,000 men each, to proceed to France to do dock labour there. They will form a military unit under military control, but they will not take part in the fighting. The battalions will be under the supervision of trusted officers who will see to the welfare and comfort of the natives and take such steps as may be necessary to avoid the possible ill effects of employment under strange conditions. Each battalion will have its chaplain

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and medical officers, and a fully equipped hospital will be provided for the contingent. The natives of South Africa have frequently expressed a desire to be allowed to help overseas, and the labour scheme has been welcomed with enthusiasm.

Egypt.

Trade of the Sudan.—The following figures are of interest, showing as they do the prosperity in trade for the first six months of this year, especially in exports. Compared with the first six months of the record year 1911, exports in the same period this year have increased in value by 61 per cent., and the value of imports, exports, and re-exports has increased by 24 per cent. Exports in 1911 totalled £E910,771 as compared with £E777,973 in 1915 and £E1,443,454 this year, while the import figures were £E1,234,749 in 1911, £E745,250 in 1915, and £E1,178,755 this year. Both in 1915 and 1916 the trade balance, viz. excess of exports and re-exports over imports, has been very satisfactory.

Straits Settlements.

Handsome War Contribution.—The Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements have passed a resolution undertaking to contribute from the revenues of the Colony a sum of £200,000 annually for five years from July 1, 1916, and for a further period of five years if the finances of the Colony permit, to the Imperial Government towards war expenses.

Fiji.

Gift of Aeroplane.—The natives of the Province of Rewa have offered the sum of £1500 for the purchase of an aeroplane. This patriotic offer has been gratefully accepted by Great Britain, and the thanks of the Army Council have been communicated by telegraph to the Chiefs of the Province.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands.

Capturing Enemy Trade.—Until the outbreak of war, the Jaluit Gesellschaft, established at Butaritari in the Northern Gilberts, held a high place among the trading concerns of the Protectorate. Though the part played by this firm in the importation of German and Austrian goods was preponderant, it was not exclusive. Prints, beads, beer, scents, sewing-machines, and many other articles of German or Austrian manufacture, appealing by their cheapness to the trader, or by some carefully designed appropriateness to the native, have been disseminated by British firms. The Jaluit Gesellschaft was closed down at the outbreak of war, and the sale by other traders of goods manufactured in enemy countries has ceased. At instigation from official quarters and from the Royal Colonial Institute, lists and samples of such goods have been forwarded to England, with a view to their replacement on the markets by articles of British make.

West Indies.

Severe Hurricanes.—Both Jamaica and Dominica have suffered severely from recent hurricanes. The entire banana crop of Jamaica was destroyed, and cocoa-nut trees were much damaged, the nuts being freely blown down. It is stated that cocoa has suffered up to from 30 to 60 per cent. of the crop on the trees, and that certain other food crops have been partially destroyed. Over fifty lives were lost in Dominica, and many small vessels wrecked, while the damage to crops, roads, buildings, and bridges was serious. It is reported that the sum required to repair the havoc will exceed that of last year.

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BOOK NOTICES.

(By the LIBRARIAN, R.C.I.)

Brassey's Naval Annual, 1916. Conducted by Earl Brassey. Edited by John Leyland. 8vo. Pp. xi.-324. Maps and illust. London: William Clowes. 1916. 32 oz.—10*s.* 6*d.*

The new edition of this indispensable annual contains several articles of great interest. In particular, an anonymous article on Aircraft and the War should be carefully studied; for the author most clearly and concisely describes the chief features of the Zeppelin and the means that may be taken to ward off attacks. An excellent article by the editor deals with Strategy and the War, whilst Sir Francis Piggott writes on problems of neutrality. Not the least interesting feature of the present issue is the section describing machinery progress during the War. Though it is obvious that much information is withheld, sufficient is revealed to show the enormous progress in technical science during recent years.

Hooker, W. H.—*The Handicap of British Trade with special regard to East Africa.* Post 8vo. Pp. xi-143. London: John Murray. 1916. 10 oz.—2*s.* 6*d.*

To anyone who is acquainted with the conditions of trade in East Africa this book will be of great interest. To those who are unaware of the severe handicap imposed upon British traders, owing largely to an inadequate and uncertain steamship communication—the passenger trade was left almost entirely in the hands of the Germans until the advent of the Union Castle steamers—and to inefficient departmental action, Mr. Hooker's volume will prove, it is to be hoped, a stimulating incentive to combined action. These conditions must be absolutely altered. A vigorous trade policy must be initiated. Above all, the last vestiges of German control must be swept away.

The building of the Uganda Railway gave Great Britain a clear field in East Africa, had the authorities been disposed to follow it with an efficient and active trade policy. Unfortunately opportunities were not seized and the railway policy was not pursued to its logical conclusions. For instance, at the outbreak of war, British East Africa was without any wireless station, while German Africa, on the one side, had three, and was in direct communication with Berlin; and Italian Africa, on the north, was credited with the third most powerful installation in the world. "British East Africa had no dry dock, not a pontoon or gridiron even . . . The main harbour, Kilindini, was quite unable to cope with its normal business," and "most of the business on the East African coast at the time of the outbreak of the War was in the hands of the comparatively large German houses whose head local offices were at Zanzibar." Mr. Hooker deals concisely with these matters and spares neither the British Government nor British traders, wherever criticism can be justly applied. In view of contemporary events in East Africa his book is worth careful attention on the part of merchants, shippers, and, above all, the officials of the Board o Trade.

Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, No. 1. January 1916. 8vo. Illust. Pp. 121. Bombay, "Times" Press. 1916. 3*s.*

Journal of the Punjab Historical Society: Vol. iv, part 1. 4to. Pp. 75. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. 1916.

The first of these publications, which demonstrate the growth of interest in archaeologica and historical questions in India, is not only excellently illustrated and well printed but also contains several articles of great interest. The preliminary meeting of the Society was held at the Residency on July 25, 1915, under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Pinhey. As a result of that meeting a vigorous society was formed of which the present volume is the firstfruits. The opening article reveals the scope of archaeology in the Hyderabad State. The second publication is a journal which has now reached its fourth volume and deals with a somewhat neglected branch of Indian history—that of the Punjab.

Hauser, Henri. *Le Problème Colonial.* 12mo. Pp. 111. Paris: Librairie Chapelot. 1915. 6 oz.— 1 Fr.

The War has produced a number of authoritative works dealing with colonial questions, especially by French and Italian writers. Professor Hauser in this book divides his subject into five portions, dealing respectively with the colonial question generally, the German colonial programme, the political consequences of German colonial ambition, the War in the colonies, and the colonial changes that may be expected as a result of the War. On the last point the author foresees that the relations between European and native races will be considerably modified, particularly with regard to the Mohammedan peoples of Northern Africa. The author sees no reason why any colonial dependencies should be left to Germany, and he points out the necessity of a careful revision of certain International Acts—Berlin, Brussels, Algeciras—by which international relations are regulated in Africa.

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An Empire Symposium on Important Imperial Issues, being the opinion of Representative New Zealanders in respect to (1) *Representation of the Overseas Dominions in the Councils of the Empire*; (2) *Dealing with the Conquered Colonies of the Enemy*; (3) *The Basis of Future Contribution to the Imperial Navy*; (4) *The "Policing" of the Pacific*; (5) *Future Trade Policy of the Empire.* Post 8vo. Pp. 24. Dunedin. 1916.

We should like to see published a similar symposium of representative opinions taken in every State within the British Empire. Mr. Mark Cohen, the editor of this pamphlet, is to be congratulated on the thought which prompted its publication. The matters discussed are of absorbing interest, and the opinions expressed by those who were appealed to by Mr. Cohen are extremely valuable as indicating the trend of thought upon questions of Imperial policy in one of the important States of the Empire. Of special value are the answers to the first, third, and fifth questions.

D'Egville, Howard.—*The Empire and the War: Summary of Emergency Legislation passed by the Parliaments of the Empire in consequence of the War.* 8vo. Pp. vi–101. London: Empire Parliamentary Association. 1916. 8 oz.—2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Howard D'Egville, the energetic secretary of the Empire Parliamentary Association, has performed a useful work in gathering together in a handy form, suitable for reference, a summary of the emergency legislation enacted in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland in connection with the War. For comparative purposes this compilation is of great value, and it will save the busy man, desirous of knowing what legislative action has been taken in the Dominions, much unnecessary labour in referring to the various Acts that have been the outcome of the War.

Griffin, Watson.—*Canada and the British West Indies.* 8vo. Maps and Illust. Pp. 173. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1915. 16 oz.

This is a report by the Canadian Special Trade Commissioner to the West Indies on the possibilities of trade between the Dominion and the West Indian Colonies under the Preferential Tariff Agreement. The author during his visit went into the subject thoroughly, and his report is worthy of careful and exhaustive study. In view of recent experiences and the inevitable tendency for closer commercial relationship between the West Indies and Canada, without considering the possibility, and indeed probability, of closer political ties, a systematic review such as that prepared by Mr. Griffin is of the greatest value. The author conclusively shows how the products and manufactures of Canada and the products of the tropical West Indies are supplemental to each other—a fact that was realised by the framers of the Preferential Agreement. To this Agreement, for various reasons, Jamaica, the Bahamas, British Honduras, and one or two small islands were not parties; but Mr. Griffin points out that although the arrangement did not come into effect until June 1913, Canada made a very good beginning in increasing her sales in the British West Indies, especially in the export of flour. Mr. Griffin's report is highly practical. Not only does it cover the chief economic lessons to be learned from the West Indies but it describes the islands themselves, their products, and their economic development.

Giordani, Paolo.—*L'Impero Coloniale Tedesco come nacque e come finisce.* 12mo. Pp. 195. Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1915. 10 oz.—2 lire.

In this little book, dealing with the formation, development, and conquest of the German colonies, the author covers concisely and well a number of interesting topics connected with German colonisation. Commencing with an account of former attempts at founding colonies, such as the Brandenburg Settlements in West Africa, he passes on to the formation of the present German Empire and its effect upon German colonialism. The next three chapters deal with the German colonies and their occupation by the allied forces, the capture of Kiao-Chau by the Japanese, and the construction of the Baghdad Railway, whilst the two final chapters describe German colonial administrative methods and the future of the German colonial possessions. The last chapter deals more particularly with Italian interests, and Signor Giordani points out that the position of Italy will be exceptionally strong in the event of an allied victory, and he suggests that in the rearrangement of African territory certain Italian aspirations should not be overlooked. One of these is the possession of the port of Kismayu in British East Africa. Moreover, Italian aspirations will have to be considered in Asia Minor and Syria as well as in the Adriatic.

Blayden, C. O.—*Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office.* Vol. I. The Mackenzie Collections: Part 1. The 1822 Collection and the Private Collection. 8vo. Pp. xxxii–302. Oxford: University Press. 1916. 24 oz.—10*s.* 6*d.*

This is the first portion of a catalogue which will be of the greatest service to students of Indian history. The catalogue is an able piece of work, showing great erudition on the part of

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its compiler. It contains many notes of great value on the contents of the manuscripts as well as a useful analytical index.

Conquista temporal e espiritual de Celyaõ, ordenada pelo Padre Fernaõ de Queiroz. 8vo. Pp. xxx–993. Colombo. 1916. 5½ lbs.—Rs. 21.

Fernaõ de Queiroz, the author of this important document relating to the history of the Portuguese in the East and especially in Ceylon, which has now been published in the original language through the instrumentality of Mr. P. E. Pieris, of Colombo, was born in 1617, and arrived at Cochin in 1635. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say, states Mr. Pieris, that to the student of the history of Ceylon the "Conquista" is surpassed in value only by the great Sinhalese chronicle, the "Mahawansa." The story which it narrates—the death agony of a small but cultured and attractive race, with a history of twenty centuries behind it—which was the first-fruit of the first clash of the West with the East—is of more than local interest. Mr. Pieris obtained the copy of the original manuscript from the Instituto Historico of Rio de Janeiro. The original manuscript was at one time at the Brazilian capital, but its present whereabouts is not known.

Kyriakides, A.—*English-Greek Dictionary of Idioms, Proverbs, and Phrases.* 12mo. Pp. 708. Nicosia: "The Nicosia" Printing Office. London: Williams & Norgate. 1916. 16 oz.

A useful dictionary giving the modern Greek equivalents of English words and phrases. The author has been at considerable pains to interpret the different uses of English words and to translate the common phrases in which they may be used.

Martin, Chester.—*Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada.* 8vo. Pp. 240. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is the seventh volume of the admirable Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, issued under the direction of Professors C. H. Firth and Walter Raleigh. The author, Professor Chester Martin, has written a clear and scholarly account of the work of Lord Selkirk, that much maligned idealist who, had he been permitted to carry out his ideas, would have anticipated the opening of the West by fully half-a-century. "If Selkirk's work is to be estimated by the measure of immediate and visible success," writes Professor Martin, "none would venture to claim for him a very profound influence upon the material development of Canada." Nevertheless, he exerted a real and lively pressure upon his opponents, and although his work met with little success during his lifetime, he succeeded in moulding public opinion—that is, disinterested opinion—and in sowing the seeds of future development. Selkirk's name is an honourable, and now honoured, one in the history of Canadian development. After the lapse of almost a century we can appreciate fully what he actually did towards breaking down a grinding monopoly, and realise the strength of the forces which he, almost single-handed, undertook to oppose. Professor Martin does full justice to his work in connection with the Red River Settlement. "It may be said," he writes, "that Selkirk builded better than he knew; but it would be less than just to overlook a certain gift of foresight, an aptitude for grasping discerningly the important point in almost every issue upon which he expressed an opinion." Certainly, so far as Canada is concerned, Selkirk fought well and valiantly, and we welcome Professor Martin's somewhat tardy tribute to one who, though he himself cannot be termed great, nevertheless was one of the builders of Greater Britain. An appreciation of Selkirk was contributed to UNITED EMPIRE in August 1913.

Production and Thrift: Agricultural War Book. Published by direction of Hon. Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, March, 1916. Pp. 250. Ottawa.

This is the second of the Agricultural War Books published in Canada. It is designed to stimulate the production of grain and other agricultural products in the Dominion, and contains a number of articles by different experts both on the economic and practical side of agriculture. There are in addition numerous short articles upon patriotic work in Canada, thrift, the avoidance of waste, and other cognate topics.

The Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c., for the year 1916. 8vo. Pp. lxxx–1746. Hongkong Daily Press. London: 131 Fleet Street. 30*s.*

The fifty-fourth edition of this useful work of reference, which is much more than a Directory, fully maintains the high standard of former issues. Fully half of the volume contains the various treaties and codes regulating European intercourse with the Far East, together with particulars of the tariffs, the rules of the Supreme Courts, harbour regulations, and historical and descriptive matter. There are a number of excellent maps and plans. The "Directory and Chronicle" is a book which should be in the possession of every merchant having relations with the East.

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TRADE AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE : AN IMPERIAL PATENT LAW.

Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., of Toronto, Canada, attended a meeting of the Trade and Industry Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute on September 13, and delivered an address on the subject of the establishment of an Empire Patent Law. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh has for many years past been identified with the Patent Law system of Canada and has closely studied the legislation upon the subject in various parts of the Empire. The subject is one which has been in the agenda of the Imperial Conference and has occupied the attention from time to time of various societies and public bodies, but so far nothing tangible has developed. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh stated, however, that there is no reason, if the proper authorities on the Patents Law in Great Britain and the various portions of the Empire come together, why there should not be evolved an Imperial Patent Act which will have the following advantages :—

1. The printing of patents concurrently in the Mother Country and in the several Dominions having Patent Offices, and the consequent spread of information as to industrial progress throughout the Empire—in short, each portion of the Empire will know the progress made by the other portion.

2. Uniformity of practice before the Patent Offices.

3. Uniformity in the laws and in legal procedure.

4. Uniformity of the term of all patents so that the date of expiration will be identical throughout the Empire.

5. Uniformity in connection with the working of patents and in the manufacture of the invention under the patent.

6. The consequent drawing together of the several countries of the Empire commercially, and in matters of trade and industry.

Mr. Fetherstonhaugh stated that it is well known that in the United States of America there are more patents granted than in any other country in the world, possibly fully a third more than in the whole British Empire. He submitted a series of statistical tables with the object of showing that in normal times (as in 1913) the United States issued 70,000 patents as against 40,000 issued in the Empire, exclusive of South Africa and the smaller dependencies. He contended that, when a patent is issued for the Empire, a great many more patents will be issued in the aggregate, on account of the greater extent of territory covered, so that the fees instead of decreasing should increase in each country which would form a part of the Imperial Patent Office system. He considered that Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India should all have Patent Offices capable of issuing patents for the Empire and its dependencies, and that the administration of these Patent Offices might include registration of trade marks, designs and copyrights, and so simplify the procedure by making it uniform in each country of the Empire.

He submitted that the Imperial Patent Office should be under the Board of Trade, or a Minister of Trade and Commerce, and that the examination of patents should be conducted on an approved plan as to novelty and sufficiency of specification.

The fees would be paid to the particular Patent Office from which the Patent was issued. If there should be any disproportion in fees to that now paid to the different offices this could be arranged by a proportion commensurate with the number of patents issued per year before the Imperial Act came in force, so that all the Patent Offices would have at least as great a profit as at present.

Mr. Fetherstonhaugh is of opinion that, if a uniform British Patent Law be adopted, it would serve to bring the Empire more closely together, particularly as regards its Trade and Industry. He is at present drafting an Imperial Patent Act, which he will submit for the consideration of the Trade and Industry Committee at an early date.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Openings in Borneo.—I think that a little information about employment for Europeans in the Far East, by which I mean the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and adjacent islands, may help to solve the problem of somebody who is at his wits' end to find a billet.

The widest and by no means the least attractive form of employment is to be found on plantations, of which there are many hundreds. Rubber, of course, takes the leading position. Estates are to be found everywhere, in the Federated Malay States, Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei, Sumatra, and Java. A junior assistant coming from home must not at first expect much in the way of salary. He has the language as the first barrier to pass. In Malaya he will find Tamil a necessity, but in Borneo he can get along perfectly well on Malay, a language much more easily learnt than Tamil. He will experience fairly long hours, a good deal of his own company, and not much time for amusements. Socially he will find his fellow planters men of excellent stamp, drawn from public schools, the army, navy, merchant service and other professions. He steps at once into a position of command, and has a prospect of making a name and position for himself within reasonable time. The same applies to coconut plantations, where conditions are practically the same. Far harder conditions and smaller salaries are the rule on tobacco plantations, in which, however, occasional tempting bonuses are the bait. Tobacco planters work sixteen days a month throughout the year, and their hours are practically from sunrise to sunset, but the life has many compensations and there are many people worse off than they are. Planting billets are infinitely preferable to office work in a tropical climate, but the commercial expansion of these colonies is such that new posts are always cropping up. The professions, the law, medicine, engineering, and finance are all calling for more men. For instance, in North Borneo there is at present not a single practising solicitor or barrister. A good man could come here and make his hundred pounds a month with ease. Appointments in the Imperial Civil Service cannot, of course, be obtained except through the usual channels of examination in England, but in North Borneo the civil service under the Chartered Company is in every way a most attractive life for a young man. The country is young, and much real pioneering work remains to be done; and what work can be more fascinating than that of governing a mixed population of Asiatics?

Salaries throughout this part of the East generally begin at from £15 to £20 a month, on which a man with modest tastes can live fairly comfortably. There should be many openings for young officers who are giving up the Army after the War. I shall be very glad to correspond with anyone who may want to get more information about life in this part of the world. If you will kindly publish this letter it may be the means of solving for someone the difficult question of where and how to get a "job."

I am, &c.,
G. C. Irving,
Hon. Corresponding Secretary R.C.I.

Lahad Dato, British North Borneo,
July 1916.

HOUSE AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

On the first Thursday in September the Fellows brought together by the customary Tea were enabled to hear the opinions of Dr. Benjamin Rand, formerly of Nova Scotia, but now of Harvard University, who was invited to address the gathering upon the attitude of the United States in regard to the War. Dr. Rand described

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the predominant feeling in New York, in New England, and in the North-Western parts generally as "aggressively pro-Ally." This was exemplified by the utterances of the best newspapers, the clergy, and public men generally. Naturally, where the German element was powerful the Press was influenced accordingly. In the West the people appeared to be apathetic.

Sir John Page Middleton, who presided, Captain F. Southwell Piper, Messrs. J. Saxon Mills, E. T. Scammell, A. Taylor White, and Coleman P. Hyman joined in cordially thanking Dr. Rand for his interesting address.

OBITUARY.

HON. B. R. WISE, K.C.

By the death of Mr. Bernhard Wise, which took place, with extreme suddenness, from heart-failure at his residence in London on the night of September 19, Australia loses one of her most gifted sons, and New South Wales a distinguished representative in the office of Agent-General. Their loss is all the greater at the present juncture, for Mr. Wise, had he lived to see the War ended, would undoubtedly have played a leading part in connection with the scheme of Imperial reconstruction which cannot fail to be undertaken by the Mother Country and the Dominions. Born in Sydney in 1858, he was educated at Rugby, where his contemporaries will remember him as a prominent member of the sixth form under the late Dean of Wells (Dr. Jex Blake), an excellent debater holding somewhat advanced Radical opinions, and a fine long-distance runner. He had a distinguished career at Oxford, winning the Cobden Prize in 1878, and taking a First Class in Law in 1880, in which year he was also President of the Union. The amateur mile champion of Great Britain (1879–81), he was President of the O.U.A.C. in 1880, and one of the founders, and first President, of the Amateur Athletic Association.

No sooner had he been called to the Bar in England in 1883 than he left for Australia and started practice in the Courts at Sydney. His old Rugby and Oxford friends heard with pleasure, but without surprise, that he was making rapid headway both in his profession and in politics; and when he was only 29 years of age, he filled the post of Attorney-General in Sir Henry Parkes' Ministry from 1887 to 1888 with striking ability. He held the same office in two later Cabinets (1899–1904), and acted as Premier of New South Wales during part of the last two years of his term.

Mr. Wise was one of the protagonists in the Union movement inaugurated by his old chief, Sir Henry Parkes, and finally carried into effect by the Commonwealth Act of 1900. He was a leading figure as a representative of the parent State in the National Convention of 1897. Though never elected a member of the Federal Assembly, he was deeply imbued with the spirit of federation, and he wrote the best book on the working of the new constitution which he had himself so largely helped to construct. In 1915 he became Agent-General for New South Wales in London, and had already made the mark that was expected of him both as a speaker and a man of affairs. He took the chair at a recent meeting of the Institute, when Mr. Astley Cooper read a paper on "The Spirit of Sport and the War," and in the present number of the Journal there appears a thoughtful and original speech which he made during a discussion on the Integration of the Empire. More important still was an address which he gave at the Whitehall Rooms shortly after his assumption of office, the closing passages of which were reproduced *in extenso* in *The Times*. In this he boldly advocated the summoning of a popularly elected convention from all the self-

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governing States of the Empire to thresh out the problem of closer union at the conclusion of the War.

A warm tribute has been paid to the personal charm and brilliant abilities of the late Agent-General by Mr. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, and much sympathy has been expressed for Mrs. Wise and her son, who is a member of the Indian Civil Service. The funeral at Brookwood on September 23 was largely attended by his colleagues and others, and the Institute was represented by Mr. Chamberlain, the Assistant Secretary.

H. F. W.

SIR CAVENDISH BOYLE, K.C.M.G.

The death of Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C.M.G., which occurred recently in London, has caused a notable gap in the ranks of distinguished Colonial ex-Administrators. Born in 1849, the youngest son of Captain Cavendish Spencer Boyle, 72nd Highlanders (a collateral member of the family of the Earls of Cork and Orrery), he was educated at Charterhouse and was an Associate of the Institute of Civil Engineers. His first appointment was that of District Magistrate of the Leeward Islands in 1879, and after holding various offices in Dominica, he was successively Colonial Secretary in Bermuda (1882–88) and in Gibraltar (1888–94). He was next Government Secretary of British Guiana (1894–1901), and on several occasions administered the government. He was made K.C.M.G. in 1897, and promoted to the Governorship of Newfoundland in 1901. Three years later he became Governor of Mauritius, and held that important post until his retirement in 1911. Few members of the Colonial Service have had a more varied experience of the temperate and tropical possessions of the Crown; and whether as Colonial Secretary or as Governor, Sir Cavendish Boyle enjoyed the complete confidence of a long line of Secretaries of State. Two years ago he married Louise, the daughter of Mr. Reuben Sassoon. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1889.

SIR JAMES SIVEWRIGHT, K.C.M.G.

The funeral of the late Hon. Sir James Sivewright took place on September 15 at Tulliallan, Fifeshire, where he had chiefly resided since he left South Africa. The burial-place was a knoll within the policies about a mile and a half to the north of Tulliallan Castle. Sir James was a prominent figure in the politics of Cape Colony in the nineties of last century, holding the offices of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works (1890–92) and Commissioner of Works (1896–98). His leading achievement was the construction of the line through the Orange Free State, thus linking the Transvaal with the Cape railway system, for his services in connection with which he received the K.C.M.G. He was closely associated with the late C. J. Rhodes, in his first Premiership. Since he settled in Scotland he had interested himself in the development of the coal and iron measures of Fifeshire.

SIR THOMAS REES PRICE, K.C.M.G.

South Africa loses a well-known figure with the death, at the age of 68, of Sir Thomas Price, who was taken ill while motoring in Leicester on September 26 and died before medical help could be obtained. For forty years Sir Thomas Price had been associated with the South African railway system, first on the Cape Government Railways of which he became General Manager in 1901, and afterwards as General Manager of the Central South African Railways. In the negotiations with the Transvaal in 1890 he acted as Sir James Sivewright's adviser on railway matters, and on the establishment of the Union he became a Commissioner of Railways and Harbours.

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UNITED EMPIRE

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

IF, of all the questions linked with the winning of the War, one more than another is exercising public opinion at the present time, it may be summed up in the word Leadership. Much, possibly the greater part, of the criticism heard both inside and outside Parliament is evoked, not by the burden of the demands made upon the country for the purpose of the War, but by the impression that not sufficient demands are being formulated by those in authority. The people are not merely prepared to respond to leadership; they are clamouring for it. Why is it denied them? Clearly not because the country is bankrupt of intelligence and motive power, nor because the twenty-three members of the Government fall short of the national standard in these respects. Rather, it would seem, because the political system has so cast its shackles over public life that statesmanship has come to be regarded as the art of gauging the popular will with a view to following it, instead of the science of guiding the State with wisdom and conviction which cannot fail to commend themselves to the nation as a whole. Among the things which are to be changed by the War is this to be one? Certainly, if the change is not effected during the War, there will be little chance of its happening afterwards; and in the meantime the nation, in default of leadership, must continue the struggle with one hand tied behind its back.

Leadership

THE modern world provides a striking illustration of the contrast provided by leadership and the want of it. Japan and China ar neighbouring countries with many points in comm Thanks to the leadership which their governing cl has provided, the Japanese have become withi generation a first-class Power. The Chinese, la king enlight

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leadership, have floundered in a morass of unrest and half-baked ideas of progress, and have been entirely outstripped in a race in which they started with considerable advantages. It is evident that during a war there is no time for things to right themselves as they have a tendency to do in periods of peace. Ardent worshippers of democracy would seem to have departed from the pure faith, and their goddess is gradually being stirred to administer hard raps for their apostasy. The first sign of a hurried conversion is to be seen in the proposed appointment of a Food Dictator. This is a step in the right direction, and we may hope that, whether the post achieves all that is predicated of it or not, the obvious relief with which its creation has been received will cause the principle to be extended to other spheres. But converts, it must be remembered, if still exposed to temptation, are liable to lapses from grace. There are those who, considering faith without deeds to be of little worth, will continue to suspect the genuineness of the return of politicians to the true spirit of the worship of democracy until temptation is eliminated by the transfer of the Funds of all the Political Parties to the Red Cross Society.

The War as a Whole.

A TRUE perspective of the War is still impossible, for too much is hidden from view. This much, however, is apparent from the events of the past month, that the Germans are prepared to see ground wrested from them in the West, provided they can make headway against Rumania. The realisation of this fact may give one school of military experts furiously to think. There can be little doubt that insistence upon the Western Front as the theatre where the final decision is to be fought out, has been the cause of the Salonika expedition having been for some time left out in the cold. The Germans have now shown that they value all that the alliance with Bulgaria and Turkey means to them more highly than the retention of many square miles of territory in the West, and that they dread the cutting off of Rumanian grain and il more than hundreds of thousands of casualties elsewhere. It is eless to suggest that in this matter the Germans do not know their n business best. If there were any chance of his being mistaken, as had ample time since the opening of the Battle of the Somme rrect his error. But Hindenburg continues to press forward in

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Rumania, and nothing has happened in the West to indicate that, if things remain as they are at present, a decision is likely to be reached on that front before the Germans have overrun Rumania and replenished their depleted stocks with supplies to carry them on for another two years at least. We can but hope that a full appreciation before now of the importance of the Near Eastern theatre will enable the Allies to check the Austro-German advance before Rumania is entirely overrun.

The Near East.

THE outstanding events in the Near East at the moment of writing are the capture of Monastir and the Austro-German invasion of Rumania. We should like to feel that they counterbalance one another; but it would be idle to attempt to disguise the fact that for the time being the situation in Rumania is critical. Previous experience in this War has shown that man-power without artillery, and particularly heavy artillery, is of little avail. There is no question of Rumania being short of men; but she has clearly entered upon the struggle without appreciating the demands that would be made upon her in regard to munitions. If Hindenburg should be threatening a fresh attack on the Russians, it is evident that the Rumanians cannot look to them for artillery support; and it is almost too much to hope, in view of the claims of the German press, that the recent activities of enemy submarines should have entirely spared munition ships. It has to be borne in mind, however, that if Rumania possesses the reserves with which she is credited, they can be put to much better use on the plain into which the Austro-German forces have made their way than in the narrow passes of the Carpathians. Anxiety on the subject is tinged by the reflexion that the Allied Army at Salonika has had to wait so long before it was in a position to attempt an offensive. The capture of Monastir is a satisfactory achievement, for which full credit must be given to the troops engaged; but unless there is a general advance along the whole line, it will be difficult to eradicate the opinion that the delay at Salonika has been due to the lack of co-operation between the Allies or of an understanding between the military authorities and the Governments at home. The failure to see eye to eye in regard to the extension of the War to this theatre delayed action at the outset, and would seem to have been responsible for leaving the Salonika

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force for such a long time merely to contain a certain number of Bulgarians, and unable to undertake an offensive.

Turkey in Europe.

TRADITION requires the Prime Minister, in his speech at the Guildhall Banquet on Lord Mayor's Day, to pass in review the outstanding features of home and foreign affairs. This year Mr. Asquith found nothing in domestic matters to call for reference, and devoted the greater part of his remarks to the situation in the Near East. The curious will recall that exactly thirty years ago Lord Salisbury, apologising in similar circumstances for an extended survey of the same subject, reminded his hearers that they had listened in that Hall again and again to "references made by successive Ministers to the difficulties which had baffled successive generations of politicians in the South-East of Europe." By far the most notable portion of Mr. Asquith's speech was his indictment of Turkey, in which he spoke of the Turk as a stranger and intruder, whose rule in Europe, if allowed to persist, will mean that Turkey remains merely a vassal and subservient agent of German interest and ambitions. These words, unless we are mistaken, constitute the most direct reference that any member of His Majesty's Government has so far allowed himself to the elimination of the Turks from Constantinople at the end of the War. The question is without doubt a complicated one; but even those who have been impressed most with the drawbacks of any alternative to Turkish rule in Europe will by now have come to appreciate the necessity imposed upon the Allies of keeping a permanent wedge in the middle of the proposed "Block," stretching from Berlin to Baghdad, which Germany hopes to retain after the War.

The Allies and Greece.

In speaking of Greece on the same occasion Mr. Asquith was less informative. He declared that the British Government was in hearty sympathy with that great Greek patriot, M. Venizelos. His subsequent statement, however, that it had accepted fully M. Venizelos' assurance that his efforts and his organisation had no anti-dynastic purpose implied that the Entente Powers were still resolved to continue the anomaly of recognising two mutually incompatible authorities in the same country who refused to recognise one another. The necessity of imposing a neutral zone between them only serves to emphasise the makeshift

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character of the arrangement. No doubt the Entente Powers would prefer not to interfere in Greek dynastic matters, and there is much to be said for leaving the Greeks to settle this part of their problem themselves. At the same time the maintenance of friendly relations with the Athens Government ought to entail a friendly attitude on the part of King Constantine and his Ministers. Exception is taken to a policy which leaves the King free to break each successive agreement with the Allies and to thwart the Provisional Government at Salonika even to the extent of persecuting its followers, while enjoying immunity as far as his position on the throne is concerned.

The Channel Raid.

THE Navy has been taken to task by the experts, who know everything, for its lack of success in the recent raids of German destroyers in the Channel. It is understood that the Navy, which works in salt water instead of ink, has survived these attacks without loss. The facts are simple. On a dark night, obviously specially chosen by the Germans on that account, a small fleet of German destroyers left Zeebrügge, and dashed down the Straits to a point opposite Folkestone. They sank a transport ship, which was a real success for the raiders, for they could not know it was empty. They also sank some drifters, whose numbers they exaggerated, possibly without the intention to magnify their exploit, and two British torpedo-boats. On the other hand they suffered some damage, unascertained by us, naturally unacknowledged by them. It was not a very brilliant affair on either side, but even Nelson could not win a decisive victory every day. The second outing, when some German destroyers, again at night, set out apparently to bombard Ramsgate but made off when they ran across a drifter, was still less brilliant. Unfortunately the public has been deluded by people in high places bragging of the Germans skulking in Kiel Canal, and is convinced that the moment a German vessel comes out of harbour it ought to be sunk; it is apt to forget that the North Sea is a large place, that ships cannot see so well on dark nights as on clear, and that by the conditions of war we are the target and the Germans the dart. (It is true they have scored no bull's-eyes.) A hundred years ago, a single raid in the Channel would have caused no uneasiness; we are more sensitive to-day, largely because the Navy has done its work so well that we are almost shocked at a German vessel venturing to regard the sea as anything but a *mare clausum*.

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Constitutional Reform in India.

THE presentation to the Viceroy by nineteen elected Indian members of the Legislative Council of a Memorandum asking, in effect, for the establishment of responsible government in India is not without significance, and it is to be hoped that the document will elicit a careful and comprehensive reply which will receive as much publicity as the Memorandum itself. In view of the status of the signatories the Indian Government had a right to expect to find them endowed with a sufficient sense of responsibility to realise that, although their intentions may be good, no more inopportune moment could have been chosen to promulgate these extreme demands. It is obvious that India must enter into the general scheme of reconstruction which is in store for the British Empire after the War, and it is no secret that the Executive Council has under consideration a programme of reforms. There could be, therefore, no question of sweeping changes at this juncture, even if they were not precluded until the new Viceroy had had time to form his own judgment on Indian affairs. If the Memorandum had been intended, as it professes to be, merely for Lord Chelmsford's guidance, there was no need to publish it, particularly if the formality of asking his permission was not observed. The demands contained in it can hardly fail to give encouragement to the extremist section and to prejudice any measure of reform introduced after the War. Far from being of help to the cause the signatories claim to have at heart, the document is liable to strengthen the hands of the more conservative element, which will argue that the nineteen members have shown by the promulgation of the Memorandum their unfitness for any larger powers or responsibilities than they already possess. Moreover they have exposed themselves to the pertinent challenge that the agitation is the work of a Nationalist caucus, which has belied its own claims by showing little or no interest in the agricultural life of India and by excluding from its consultations all Indian nominated members of the Legislative Council as well as the two European elected members.

Egypt and the Sudan.

THE appointment of Sir Reginald Wingate as High Commissioner of Egypt is calculated to win the liveliest approval both of the Egyptian population and of British residents in the Protectorate. In evacuating his present post, the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan has the satisfaction of knowing that his association with that country,

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covering, as it does, practically his whole career, has brought it to what should prove a notable landmark in its history. With the conquest of Darfur and the death of its Sultan the prominence that has hitherto belonged to the military side of the Governor-General's office may be expected to cease. The material prosperity of the Sudan has in the meantime been laid on sound and broad foundations, and the country is now able to reap the advantages accruing from far-sighted administration in the past. For Egypt also the immediate future holds special promise. The War has shown it the need for closer touch with the neighbouring peoples, west, south, and east, not from a desire to interfere with their affairs, but in order to satisfy them that their own interests are bound up with the maintenance of good relations with Egypt rather than with attempts to lend themselves to intrigues against the British Empire. The personal popularity of the new High Commissioner among the natives will stand him in good stead in a task which should enhance Egypt's prestige and inspire her people with a fresh sense of responsibility.

Mr. Massey at the Guildhall.

ANOTHER interesting ceremony took place at the Guildhall on November 6, when the freedom of the City of London was conferred on the Right Hon. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand. It was witnessed by an unusually large and distinguished company of guests, which included the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The City Chamberlain, in his address, recalled the fact that during the War the honour had been bestowed on the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia, Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Hughes, General Botha having already received it in earlier and happier times. He alluded also, in moving terms, to the heroic part played by the New Zealanders in Gallipoli and on the Western front—point being given to his remarks by the presence in the gallery of a strong contingent of wounded soldiers from the Dominion. Mr. Massey, after signing the Roll of Freemen and reciting the picturesque form of words which is traditional on the occasion, delivered an admirable speech, full of fire and energy, delighting his audience by his outspoken language on the subject of German brutality. "We are all anxious that this cruel war should come to an end, but we must hang on with stedfast determination until it has been made impossible for a repetition of the horrors of the last two years to take place." He also referred, in a striking passage, to the fact that the City of London, at the outbreak of

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the War between Great Britain and the American Colonies, had advocated a more liberal treatment of our fellow-subjects across the Atlantic. "It was to be hoped that on this occasion the opinions and advice of London that the Dominions should have representation in the councils of the Empire would receive the consideration to which they were entitled."

Politics in Australia.

AUSTRALIA, as a result of a Referendum, has vetoed the proposal that the deficiency in the numbers of the volunteers for the Expeditionary Force should be made up by the institution of compulsory service. This adverse vote does not imply any slackening of Australia's determination to maintain her divisions at full strength and to put forth her best effort towards winning the War. The view of the majority, rather, would seem to have been that in the special circumstances of the Commonwealth compulsory service might introduce hardships which would be avoided by the retention of the voluntary system, with a judicious speeding-up to meet actual requirements. The problem is essentially one for Australian opinion alone to solve. The immediate effect of the Referendum is to split the Labour Party. A considerable number of Mr. Hughes' followers have seceded from him, and have formed a third political group under the title of the Official Labour Party. The Prime Minister, who has had to reconstruct his cabinet, was to meet Parliament at the end of November. These political developments in Australia come unfortunately at a time when whole-hearted co-operation for the State ought to still the voice of party dissension. It can only be hoped that the new session will serve to clear the air.

The United States Election.

AFTER a campaign whose outcome puzzled all the political prophets, Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate, was defeated, and President Wilson was elected by a not very large majority for a second term of office as President of the United States. It has been alleged that Mr. Hughes was handicapped by the German propaganda on his behalf, and also that the split of four years ago in the Republican party still weakened its late representative. Of these things it is impossible to judge at a distance, but it is clear from the reports that the voting was not on strict party lines. States that have been Republican since the Civil War voted for Mr. Wilson, and others where the Democrats normally

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expect a majority were pro-Hughes. The women's vote, in spite of its having been offered *en bloc* to the candidate fulfilling conditions to which Mr. Hughes gave an eleventh-hour pledge to subscribe, was split, so that no reliance could be placed on it by party managers; it is suggested, too, that at the last moment the hyphenate element became doubtful whether Mr. Hughes was really their man, owing to a rumour that he might appoint Mr. Roosevelt his Secretary of State, and some are believed to have abstained from voting altogether. But in the main it was the West that carried Mr. Wilson back into power, and for this reason, that the West has prospered enormously out of the War, and entirely approved Mr. Wilson's dictum that "you cannot worship God on an empty stomach"—a statement which would have been received with mild surprise in biblical times. It was made quite clear that Mr. Wilson stood, and will still stand for peace, and on that basis he was elected. It is said that he now intends to pursue a stronger policy with European belligerents; but a statesman whose mottoes have been "watchful waiting" and "neutrality even of thought" is hardly likely to push matters to an extreme, unless compelled, particularly when his past policy has been endorsed by the people.

Submarines and Ton-for-Ton.

MEANWHILE there have been no developments in the situation at Washington concerning the rights of German submarines to sink British and neutral vessels off the American coast; the American Government has lodged no protest at Berlin, and we may expect to see a repetition of this outrage in due course. The German promise to America to restrict the use of submarines has been conveniently forgotten at Berlin; a P. & O. liner is sunk in the Mediterranean without warning, and British and neutral merchant vessels are torpedoed wherever they are found. It is quite clear that neutral protests avail nothing against the determination of Germany, and Bethmann-Hollweg's assumption of moderation is sheer hypocrisy. The submarine menace is more active than ever before, and there are only two ways of dealing with it. The first is to destroy every German submarine—a task which must be left to the Navy to perform with its usual silent efficiency; the second is to adopt the ton-for-ton policy, and to declare that every ton of British merchant shipping sunk by submarines will be compensated by the seizure of the equivalent German tonnage. There can be no doubt that the German shipping magnates wish to

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reduce the amount of competing shipping which they will have to face after the War, while their own vessels remain safe in harbour. A declaration of reprisals might moderate their cupidity.

German Banks.

THERE has been a revival of the agitation against the continuance of the German banks in London; and not unnaturally, seeing that the Government is pledged to close them, and they still remain open after two and a quarter years of war. Mr. McKenna has been apologetic and reassuring, though his most fervent admirers would hardly accuse him of having shown any more enthusiasm for closing these banks than he did for interning alien enemies when he was Home Secretary; but the public, which is now fully awake to Teutonic methods, understands perfectly well that the German banks in every country have been a focus of German intrigue, and is determined to see them shut down. In some quarters, which apparently are reluctant to close any German businesses at all, a certain coyness has been noticeable on this bank question, but most practical men are agreed that the whole question of the banking privileges accorded to foreign firms will have to be reconsidered after the War. In the meantime sensible people cannot understand why German bank clerks and managers are permitted to attend the offices of these German banks every day. It is obviously not to the interest of these people to hasten the process of closing. To judge by a resolution of the Court of Common Council, the City is impatient at these dilatory tactics.

War Finance.

THE new War Loan, which has been prophesied by every newspaper for months past, has not yet made its appearance, and the delay has naturally led to some criticism of the Government's financial policy. In the meantime the sale of short-dated Treasury Bills continues, the sales apparently averaging fifty millions sterling a week, the amounts paid off week by week a few millions less, and the total indebtedness of that class well over a thousand millions sterling. It is highly improbable that any War Loan, however successful, will suffice to pay off this huge sum —the last War Loan only reached a fraction over half that amount— and we may therefore expect the main burden of financing the War henceforth to be by Treasury Bill. One difficulty in the way of a new loan is clearly the extensive conversion rights that will have to be granted, if the Treasury is to keep faith with the public; but this difficulty will have to be fairly faced some day. Meantime the French,

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more bold than ourselves, have issued another War Loan with considerable success, a total of £454,400,000 having been subscribed. The amount includes a sum, the precise amount unknown, subscribed in London.

The Imperial Pacific Cable.

No little interest attaches to the Report of the Pacific Cable Board for the financial year 1915–16, recently issued by the Treasury. Readers of UNITED EMPIRE will recall an exhaustive article on the history and prospects of this Imperial undertaking published in 1913, at a time when wireless telegraphy threatened to supersede submarine cables. The cable was brought into being by the Pacific Cable Act of 1901, which was almost entirely the work of the late Joseph Chamberlain, when Secretary of State for the Colonies. This year's Report confirms in a striking manner the expectations of supporters of the experiment in the period from 1901 to 1914, who, in spite of the slow financial progress then being made, clung to the belief that the cable must prove an important auxiliary of the Empire. For the first time in the history of the cable the Board can show a balance on the right side. That balance, amounting to £17,924, accrues after the sinking fund annuities are paid in terms of the 1901 Act. Thus, while Imperial Federation is being eagerly discussed, the Empire has in this undertaking a practical illustration of Imperial co-partnership, now permanently operating, we may hope, on a financially successful basis. The cable, moreover, has been of the greatest service to the Australia and New Zealand contingents, as it has carried free of charge to relatives in the Commonwealth and the Dominion messages from wounded soldiers and information regarding casualties.

After-war Public School Problems.

A DISCUSSION of great interest took place at a specially summoned meeting in the Library of the Institute on November 10, when Major Belcher of the New Zealand forces, formerly Headmaster of Christ's College in that Dominion, read an able and stimulating paper on the subject of "Some Public School Problems after the War at home and overseas." The chair was taken by Sir Frederick Kenyon, who is closely identified with the movement for harmonising the claims of the humanistic and scientific elements in education; and a number of well-known schoolmasters and educational experts took part in the proceedings, while many others, unable to be present, such as the

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Bishop of Southwark, the Headmasters of Rugby and Mill Hill Schools, the Rev. William Temple, Dr. Parkin, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University) sent sympathetic messages of regret. Considerations of space prevent us this month from giving a full report in UNITED EMPIRE; but in January we propose to publish a special supplement dealing with the whole subject in the way that its exceptional importance deserves. Meanwhile a committee has been appointed to carry out certain investigations, and frame a report, based on the valuable suggestions made by Major Belcher in his address, and on the six resolutions unanimously passed at the conclusion of the meeting. This committee will work independently of the Institute, but will be in touch with it and may use its machinery for collecting information from overseas.

Canadian Munitions.

A LUNCHEON was given by the Institute at the Hotel Cecil on November 23 in honour of Mr. J. W. Flavelle, Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board of Canada. Though the entertainment had to be arranged at short notice, owing to Mr. Flavelle's impending return to the Dominion, it proved highly successful, a large and representative company assembling to show their appreciation of his efforts. Mr. Montagu, Minister of Munitions, occupied the Chair. Many of the leading officials of the Munitions Department, both military and civil, were present as guests of the Institute, and among them were Lord Moulton and Mr. C. Addison, M.P. (the Parliamentary Secretary), while Sir John Bradbury represented the Treasury. Mr. Montagu, in proposing the toast of the day, paid an effective tribute to the work accomplished by the Munitions Board in Canada under Mr. Flavelle's leadership—"a business" (as he reminded his audience) "becoming every day more vital to the conduct of the War, over an area of about 4,000 miles in length." Mr. Flavelle, after returning thanks for the compliment paid to the Board in his person, gave an intensely interesting account of the methods adopted by them in developing their colossal industry, until it had almost rivalled the operations of the Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Company of the U.S.A.; and at the close of his speech touched upon the problems of political and commercial reconstruction which would have to be faced by the Mother Country and the Dominions when the War is over. A complete report of the proceedings will be found in the next issue of UNITED EMPIRE.

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THE BACK OF BEYOND IN RHODESIA.

When the pioneer force marched up to Mashonaland and the British flag was unfurled at Mount Hampden, in September 1890, a small detachment, of whom the leader was Archibald Colquhoun, future first Administrator of the new territory, had made its way eastwards to Manicaland, where the chief, M'tasa, was induced to sign a concession in favour of the new Company in the teeth of pressure put on him by the Portuguese. As a fact, however, it was not the Governments of Britain and Portugal which came into collision, but two trading companies, both perfectly aware that their respective countries would not thank them, if they got involved in serious war—might even disown them. The humorous side of the situation lay in the fact, little known to the public, that the Moçambique Company, which stood for Portuguese rights, has a very considerable proportion of shareholders in London! There is no doubt that a filibustering expedition to Beira was a possibility which presented itself to some leaders of the Chartered Company, encouraged by the ease with which their small forces disposed of the Moçambique Company's agents in Manicaland, but Archibald Colquhoun judged this to be impracticable, and the sequel showed him right, for when the Portuguese nation became really agitated over the deportation of two Portuguese officials (one of whom had very powerful connections, and could pull strings in high quarters) Lord Salisbury intervened, and ultimately some years later the rival claims of the two Companies were settled by a boundary commission. Incidentally some of the farmers already established in our district found themselves on the wrong side of the boundary, and had to have other farms allotted to them.

But these things are matters of history, and are only introduced here to explain the peculiar conditions found in this beautiful part of Africa. Obviously the watchword for the Company was "occupy," and as fast as possible! This was not difficult in Mashonaland, "mineralised from end to end," as Rhodes believed it to be, and as it is, though not with the abundance of high paying ore he had expected. But south of Manica, extending roughly from the river Sabi to the sea, lay Gasaland, also claimed by the Portuguese, whose mineral possibilities were still problematical. As a matter of fact, recent authoritative reports are to the effect that no valuable mineral finds may be expected in Gasaland—a not unexpected conclusion, for the country has none of the ancient workings found elsewhere, and experience has shown that these pre-historic miners did not miss much that was worth having.

Very little was known, however, about this region. The natural approach to it, before the Beira-Mashonaland railway opened out a route to the sea on the north-east, was from the low-lying coast belts, or by certain trading roads from Matabeleland which wound into the malarious valleys. By the latter came the Jesuit fathers sent from "Gobulawayo," the kraal of the great chief Lobengula, who was by no means inimical to missionary enterprise. The story of this mission is told in a little book published in Brussels about 1876,

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"Les pères Jesuits dans le pays d'Umzila." Umzila's country is to the south of this district, and to reach it the missionaries evidently came through what is now the Victoria district, and along the valleys alluded to, thus getting a very erroneous idea of the climatic conditions. Moreover they were robbed and deserted by their servants; one died on the road, the other reached Umzila's kraal, where he lived some time in a state of semi-captivity, where also he was found by a relief party, but too late to save his life. One of the relief party also perished; another succeeded in reaching the coast, but he reported very unfavourably on the missionary prospects in Gasaland. In a footnote he remarks that the Associated Board of American Missions was (at the time of going to print) making enquiries as to missionary openings in this region, but obviously he did not expect them to succeed where the devoted and resolute Jesuits had failed. They have succeeded, as the flourishing settlement of Mt. Selinda shows, but it was some twenty years later, and after careful preparation, and also with the consent and protection of the B.S.A. Company. They did not come in as the ill-fated fathers did, with no knowledge of the country or the language, but with every equipment that could be thought of, and to-day their settlement (which looks rather like a new residential suburb outside London or New York, with houses in every variety of the "Modernized Cottage" style) is a sort of Mecca. We all go there when we want to feel civilized again! Incidentally also we go when we are ill, for the mission doctors accept the duty of acting as medical officers to the district, and a small hospital with a trained nurse is maintained with wards for white as well as coloured patients.

The only other book which I have been able to trace with any account of Gasaland is Parker Gilmore's "Through Gasaland, and the Scene of the Portuguese Aggression." There is no date on my copy, but the sub-title and a reference to the "new South African Company" suggest the end of the 'eighties, just before the Pioneer expedition. Mr. Gilmore is a sportsman, and went into Gasaland in search of ivory. He appears to have traversed the country from south to north, but his topography is so vague and his map so inaccurate that it is difficult to trace his route. Naturally the larger game he was after would not be found on the high plateau, at any rate in such abundance, and it is rather late in the book that he tells us that, having reached the high veld, he recants the bad opinion he had formed of the climate, which, indeed, had cost the life of one of his companions. The variety of game, both large and small, shot by this hunter within a comparatively small area shows Gasaland to have been a sportsman's paradise in the 'eighties. Elephant, lion, leopard, buffalo, rhinoceros, zebra, hartebeeste, eland, sable-antelope, and every variety of small buck fell to his gun. To-day the extermination of the larger animals has led to an increase of the smaller ones, and in the Melsetter district, which is all high veld (and only forms part of Gasaland), no fewer than eight kinds of small buck can be shot: reed-buck, bush-buck, impala, inyala, oribi, duiker, and grys-buck and stem-buck in a few parts only. Sable-antelope, eland, hippo, rhinoceros and buffalo—the last in the Sabi valley—are still found, and

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lions and tigers are regarded as vermin—they steal calves out of the kraal, donkeys from the outspans, and rob hen-roosts. On this farm we shoot only for the pot, but on the last four occasions that I have reported an empty larder, it has been filled with one shot and within a mile of the house. If one is handy with a shot-gun he can, within a short walk, get a lot of guinea-fowl, pheasants (small brown birds) korhaan or pauw—all excellent eating.

To go back, however, to the steps necessary to secure any part of Gasaland to the British,—to establish claim by occupation. As I have said already, there was not the attraction of mining to bring men here. Rhodes, therefore, offered land on nominal terms to the Boers of the northern Transvaal, and a good number of them trekked up, beginning with the Moodie trek in 1893. Once established on the best land in the district they sent for their relations, a process which continues to this day, so that the population of the district is preponderantly Dutch and becoming more so. This is not the place for discussion of the racial question, but it must be confessed that the type of early settler has had, and still has, a somewhat unfortunate effect on the development of the district. Men without capital, and not in touch with modern methods of farming, or stock-breeding, may occupy a country like this, may succeed in making a fair living ; chiefly by transport riding some have even saved money, but it goes into a stocking, or into more land. Moreover a State which, like Rhodesia, imposes no direct taxation, but relies on customs for its income, must find this class of settler rather unprofitable.

It is not often, outside the desert island of our youthful dreams, that we find a country which, in these days of over-civilisation, produces everything its inhabitants need, but Gasaland actually does that ! A Dutch farmer lives in a house which is home-made, except for doors and windows, and even these are now to be had from the mission. His clothes are home-made, though not homespun, but he gets wool from his sheep and could make cloth, if necessary ; his boots may be made from home-cured leather—his wife is tailor and boot-maker. He eats mealie porridge, bread made from home-grown wheat or native grain, and meat which he shoots. Like the Germans he has discovered a substitute for coffee (when he cannot grow it) in beans, and he uses native honey instead of sugar. His pigs provide him with lard for soap and candles. He may get a good vegetable garden for nothing by the simple means of borrowing seeds from his more extravagant neighbours. He can even get a gun and cartridges for nothing by joining the local defence force or rifle corps ! In justice to the Dutch population I must say that some, if not all, of these economies may be, and often are, willy-nilly, practised by the English and Colonial settlers, for very few are capitalists or remittance men, and the one thing that is scarce in Gasaland is coin of the realm ! This is more than ever the case now, because we have had African Coast Fever for the last two years, and that means that no cattle can be moved, so the majority have their capital locked up. Still the British born or Colonial settler has certain needs which must be supplied. He will try to educate his children, for one thing ; but in this district more than half the children of school age are not being educated, despite liberal grants

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from Government. One singular contrast must be mentioned. The most flourishing Englishmen or Colonials ride donkeys or mules: but the Dutch, whatever else they go without, will have horses!

At the present time the traveller who desires to enter Gasaland does so via Umtali; but I may say at once that no one ever comes here, unless they have some definite object, or cannot help themselves!

Leaving beautiful little Umtali in a post cart (unless one decides to make the whole journey in the leisurely donkey wagon) one drives for twelve hours, with brief outspans, covering first forty miles of stony, desert country. Then mountains and valleys of surpassing beauty begin to unroll themselves, and the first night is spent in a rest-hut, where native mission women will boil water or provide coffee. Another twelve hours, begun by starlight, bring us to Melsetter, our capital, where there are two stores, a court-house, a police camp, a school, a Dutch predikant (but not an English one; we are in the parish of Umtali and can only "make our souls" about once a year), a lawyer—in fact all the appurtenances of civilisation! Melsetter is perched up among mountains, and enjoys at its height of 5000 odd feet above sea level a bracing climate. It was mid-summer when we arrived there, but by no means warm driving.

Another night's rest, and the traveller takes the road, on horse, donkey or mule back, his luggage carried on the heads of boys. Starting late in the day, on account of rain, we camped the first night some twelve miles out, in a tent lent by the Native Commissioner. The next day we covered nearly twenty miles—slow going, but it was wet and slippery, which donkeys detest. J., who walked the whole way, could have gone much faster. A night at a hospitable farm-house, and a late start next morning, with two calls on farms that had to be passed, brought us here on Thursday, after leaving Umtali on Sunday at dawn. The rain at Melsetter and our visits en route lost us one day, so that we may reckon we are really not more than four days' journey from the railway! With a horse it can be done in three, and in a donkey wagon it takes about ten days, being in all some 165 miles.

I have read somewhere that no one ever really reads descriptions of scenery, but the first month that I was here I spent most of my time in trying to reduce to words the impression made on me in those five days' travel—no! to be honest I must confess that, by the time the fifth dawned, the edge of my æsthetic perceptions was hopelessly dulled, chiefly by counter irritation elsewhere. No one who has driven in a post cart for two days and sat on a donkey's back for two more will blame me. Every newcomer to Mashonaland is struck by its park-like appearance, and Manicaland is usually compared to Scotland or Wales. Dwellers in the British Isles invariably make these comparisons with every mountainous land they see; but if one is a painter, even in an amateur way, and cares at all for the atmospheric effects which are the soul of landscape, one must be aware that Africa, as a rule, has a very superficial resemblance to any part of our rain-drenched islands. The geological formations too are distinctive. I have sheaves of quick sketches of mountain outlines, in all the different states of the Union, not one of which could be mistaken for a bit of

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Scotland or Wales. Those flat-topped tables, those serrated ridges, those fantastic piles of giant stones—they have something weird about them, not the grandeur of the Alps, the Andes, or the unsurpassable Himalayas, but a curious, silent, watchful beauty of their own. The clearness of the atmosphere, making every outline sharp, is also characteristic, and is the despair of the painter, just as it is the delight of the photographer.

But Gasaland is different. Here we have rain almost every month in the year—between forty and sixty inches per annum—and our atmosphere is, at times, charged with moisture. Even in this district there is a difference, and here on the eastern border we get the fullest share and are green all the year round. We have rivers like the Busi, which flows full and dark between its green, rush-fringed banks, and hundreds of little trickling rills which splash over tiny waterfalls and often plunge underground to reappear in mossy marshes. How different from the typical African river—a deep cut stony channel with a thin trickle of water, except for the brief stormy moment when it comes down in spate and carries everything before it.

As we rode along the Inyahodi valley a fine rain was falling. The bridle path runs along the ravine, at the bottom of which a broad, turbulent stream rolls and foams yellow round huge brown stones. There are dark peat-brown pools where one instinctively looks for trout! Beyond, on the other bank, big rocks stand out against a tangled mass of foliage, and little more can be seen through the driving mist, until, suddenly, a ray of sunshine strikes on the bosom of a mountain high up beyond, and as it broadens a whole range is revealed, climbing higher and higher, green and purple and gold in the sunlight. It is not Scotland, but no Scotsman can feel a stranger here! Bracken at his feet, grey mist about him, a watery sun above and the melancholy cry of the curlew in his ear!

Leaving the river valley and gorges one comes by degrees to a country even more sympathetic to me, with rolling grass-covered hills, broad, moor-like vistas and distant blue and purple ranges. This is not my beloved borderland, but there are dalesmen in Cumberland and Westmorland who would feel at home here. They would miss, however, the closely nibbled velvet turf, and the woolly flocks, for, though some farmers keep sheep, this is not the best part of the district for them. I think they would admire, however, the sleek and shining herds that graze along these hills. Every few miles one sees the belt of tall Australian eucalyptus, known as "blue-gums," which surround every homestead. This is a wonderful tree which grows to a height of twenty or thirty feet in two or three years, and provides valuable timber. These groups of tall and graceful trees are grateful sights in a country which is sparsely timbered except for light small bushes and scrub. We have a real forest here, however, the remains of the original forest which once covered the country and has been gradually destroyed by fires and cultivation. It is a place of beauty and mystery—its green depths infinitely soothing after the heat of an African sky—but of this wonderful forest I must write another time.

The farm-houses nestling among their trees are built in bungalow style,

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with thatched roofs and verandahs. The exigencies of roof-building with local timber conditions their size, which is also affected by the cost of making bricks and kindred considerations of expense. I may say here that anyone expecting to find in Africa the airy, spacious bungalows of India, South America or the East or West Indies, or the large old-time ranche-houses of Australia, is doomed to disappointment, and it is only where Indian servants can be had, as for instance in Natal or in the large towns elsewhere, where they can only be got for high wages, that one can hope for proper service. Here, at the back of beyond, one takes a raw Kaffir from his kraal and is thankful if he acquires an elementary knowledge of the simpler forms of cleaning pots and preparing food. The girls appear to be very teachable, but except at the mission, where they sever their family ties to a certain extent, they never stay long enough to become really efficient. My housemaid, aged eleven, would give any "tweeny" of my recollection a good start and win easily.

We get our post once a week. Telegrams come with the post from Melsetter or Chipinga (where there is a telephone)—we have no telegraph or telephone within twenty miles. Thus, on a day in early June two of our neighbours, one living in proximity to Mount Selinda, the other in Chipinga, both at the end of telephones, had occasion to send over boys with notes. They both said "Isn't it tragic about Lord Kitchener?" forgetting that we should not get the news for another week! We should like to have a telephone (but few of our neighbours share the desire sufficiently to put up the small sum necessary), but I am far from desiring a daily post! It would deprive us of two agreeable sensations that are weekly renewed—anticipation and realisation. One could not work those up more than once a week. The excellent Rhodesian papers give us a full service of the week's telegrams, and we get a rather cynical amusement out of the five-weeks-old papers from home. We feel so much wiser (in the light of subsequent events) than the writers who dogmatise in them! We are also spared the disappointment of rejoicing over advances which turn out to be strategic retreats, and the agony of naval defeats—which, in the long run, prove to be crowning mercies. We have, in short, great advantages over the population of Berlin—and we do not even, in some ways, envy London.

And so here we are—leading the simple life! There is a doggerel rhyme describing (I think) the old-time British farmer; how he drinks his own beer, eats his own fat beef and prime mutton, and so forth. Well, that is US—the dwellers in Gasaland, the land flowing with milk and honey, the fairest spot in Africa. Our fruit trees are laden with oranges, lemons, guavas, grenadillas, plums and bananas; we scratch the earth and grow mealies; we fatten our pigs on native grain, pumpkins and skim-milk, and we make bacon, ham, brawn and sausages. We buy native fowls for fourpence apiece, and they increase and multiply without our intervention, and also give us many eggs. We have milk and butter in abundance. The pine-apple grows here and many tropical and sub-tropical fruits, but we have frosty nights in winter, and are glad to gather round the blaze of a log fire. The enterprising farmer may yet make something out of tobacco here, and when we get a coffee tree that can resist

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the leaf disease (whch has ruined our plantations) there will be another profitable crop.

But we have the mountain passes and the forty miles of bad-lands to the north (only a rather rash promise of Cecil Rhodes got the present road across these, and it cost £60,000), the Sabi river and its malarious valleys to the west, and Portuguese territory to the east. When shall we get that railway? Never, I say, if we sit here quietly, waiting for our cows to calve (which is called "farming" in Gasaland). But as the newest comer in the whole district I am the least qualified to form an opinion! And as a country in which to loaf and invite your soul, I should say to anyone—try Gasaland!

E. (Colquhoun) Jollie.

"OUR GUERDON."

England! We do not ask thee for thy tears
To dew the far-set places where we rest;
We died that thou may'st live, and thro' the years
Keep thy fair fame—among all nations blest.

England! We do not look for earthly prize
As guerdon for our youth laid down for thee,
We, who with shattered limbs and sightless eyes
Have suffered that thy children may be free.

England! We smiling died in full content:
Or bear our meed of suffering and pain.
For Honour's sake it was our blood was spent;
That Justice still on earth and Ruth should reign.

Gordon le S. des Fresnes, Capt. A.S.C.

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BRITAIN'S WORK IN THE FAR EAST.

THE idea of establishing a University in Hongkong was first suggested in 1905, but it was two years later before the matter took definite shape. In a speech made in December 1907 the Governor of the Colony, Sir Frederick Lugard, who had already acquired no mean fame as an Empire-builder by his work in Northern Nigeria, advocated the formation of a University. The late Sir Hormusjee Mody (then Mr. Mody) at once offered to erect the necessary buildings at a cost of $150,000 and to give $30,000 towards an endowment fund. At the time this offer was made there was already on foot a project for enlarging the scope of the Hongkong College of Medicine. This institution had been founded in 1887, under the style of the College of Medicine for Chinese, for the training of Chinese students in Western medicine, and after twenty years of patient work it was incorporated by local Ordinance in 1907 under the new name. Up to this time (1907) one hundred students had been enrolled, and of these thirty-one had passed as Licentiates. The College had no building of its own, students lived in their own houses or in lodgings, and the lectures were delivered by permission at various hospitals and institutions. Stimulated by a bequest of $10,000 from Mr. Tang Chuk-kai, and of $50,000 from the late Mr. Ng Li-hing, and by the grant of a small site by Government, the Court of the College made an appeal in 1908 for further funds to erect College buildings and to engage a small permanent staff. A representative Committee was convened by the Governor on March 18, 1908, to consider the project of establishing a University, and at its first meeting a Sub-Committee was appointed to draw up an estimate of the cost of the necessary building and equipment. The Sub-Committee, of which Sir Paul Chater (who, with his partner, the late Sir Hormusjee Mody, is one of the oldest pioneers of Hongkong) was chairman, presented a report on September 25, 1908. The report, with its enclosures and estimate, was very lengthy, but the gist of it was that it would be impossible to erect buildings, adequate for the purpose in view, at a cost covered by the amount promised by the late Sir Hormusjee Mody. On the presentation of the report it was proposed to accept the offer to erect a building at a cost of $150,000, in which the Hongkong College of Medicine and Technical Institute should be located, and to incorporate a University under Ordinance. Objections were raised to this proposal on the grounds that the cost of adequate buildings and equipment had been underestimated, and that before any steps were taken for establishing a University an endowment of not less than £100,000 and an equipment fund of not less than £10,000 should be secured; and it was suggested as a way out of the difficulty that, if a larger sum were not available, a building should be erected at a cost of $150,000, in which the Hongkong College of Medicine and the Technical Institute might be accommodated, in order to form a nucleus of the proposed University pending the collection of an adequate endowment fund upon which to establish the University. This scheme was approved by the Hongkong College of Medicine and by the Committee, but it did not fulfil the condition

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under which Sir H. Mody had made his offer, viz. that the University should be incorporated so soon as the building was erected. The difficulty as to the cost of the buildings was overcome by the generosity of Sir H. Mody, who undertook to erect them whatever the expense, but would not be responsible for furnishing or equipment, or for any donation to the endowment fund, if the cost of the buildings should exceed $180,000. At this juncture, Messrs. Butterfield and Swire and allied firms came forward on the initiative of Mr. J. H. Scott, senior partner of J. Swire and Sons, with a donation of £40,000, which, joined to the generous subscriptions of the Chinese of Hongkong and the neighbouring city of Canton, made the ultimate success of the project practically certain. The Secretary of State notified his consent to the grant of the proposed site and cordially approved the project, which the China Association also warmly supported. The Viceroy of Canton (H. E. Chang Jen-chung), who exhibited great enthusiasm for the scheme, issued an official manifesto inviting subscriptions towards it, and setting out the grounds upon which he considered it to be a benefit to China. The late Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, wrote in commendation of the scheme, as also did the Governor of the Straits Settlements, the Governor of Macao and the Municipal Council of Shanghai. The Government of China made a grant to the fund, while the work of a Chinese Committee, consisting of the late Dr. Ho Kai, Mr. Wei Yuk, C.M.G., Mr. Lau Chu-pak, and a hundred representative Chinese gentlemen, in collecting subscriptions was so successful that the Chinese communities of Canton, Macao, Saigon, Newchwang, Amoy, Penang, Waichow, and Australia added their subscriptions to those of the Hongkong Chinese. Finally the British Government intimated that the Imperial Exchequer would provide £300 per annum for scholarships for British subjects, and that the late King Edward had been graciously pleased to direct that the holders should be called "King Edward VII. Scholars" as a token of his personal interest. Before the end of the year 1909 the endowment and equipment fund had reached the sum of $1,279,164. Sir H. Mody's gift was now accepted unconditionally, and the erection of the building was begun. The University was incorporated under local Ordinance, and came into existence on March 30, 1911. The foundation stone was laid on March 16, 1910, and in the course of the ceremony the Governor read a telegram from the Secretary of State to the effect that His Majesty had created Mr. H. N. Mody a Knight Bachelor. Delegates of the Viceroys of Canton and Nanking, the seats of government of two of the most important provinces of China, were present and spoke at the ceremony. By March, 1912, the main building was practically completed, and on the 11th of the month the University was formally opened by the Governor, Sir Frederick Lugard, who received the buildings from Mr. N. H. Mody, son of the late Sir Hormusjee Mody. One of the leading Chinese citizens of Hongkong, the late Dr. Ho Kai, was created a Knight Bachelor. Sir Charles Eliot, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, was appointed Principal and Vice-Chancellor, and arrived in June, and the necessary nucleus of the staff having been brought together, the three Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, and Arts were working

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in October. The success of the University was assured from the first opening of its Registers, for all the available hostel accommodation was quickly taken up, and the Church Missionary Society Hostel (St. John's Hall) had to be enlarged. The fact that previous provision had been made to have the degrees of the Hongkong University recognised as being equivalent to those conferred by British Universities, and that Chinese students had access to a University course at their own doors at a cost considerably lower than Universities in Europe and America, with the additional advantage of not being denationalised by protracted residence abroad, thereby losing touch with their own motherland, were, of course, the two strongest factors in making the success of the University a foregone conclusion.

After this historical sketch of the origin of the Hongkong University, which, in a sense, has been rendered necessary in order to show how vital cogs can be added to the vast and intricate mechanism of Empire without the rest of the Empire being very much aware of it, reference may be made to the manner in which the Hongkong University is intimately identifying itself with Imperial work. Some indication has already been given of the share that belongs to Sir Frederick Lugard in the establishing of the Hongkong University. It was characteristic of the Governor that he persevered where others would have felt discouraged by a variety of obstacles. He was responsible for much of the spadework while the University was in that inchoate state when it was no more than an idea. It was largely due to his untiring energy and his zeal for Imperial tasks, no less than to the munificence and generosity of those who readily loosened their purse-strings, that the idea was translated into a reality. Sir Frederick Lugard knew, of course—and this is a fact that may not perhaps be generally known—that Germany was seriously contemplating the establishment of a University at Tsingtao, whereby she hoped, not without reason, to acquire political and commercial influence in China by disseminating German thought and imparting German technical education to Chinese students, who would in due course become the rulers of China. Sir Frederick Lugard forestalled that project by hastening the establishment of a University at Hongkong, and thus stole a march on Germany. There was no procrastination. The scheme materialised almost as soon as it was broached. It would have been an irreparable loss to British influence and prestige in the Far East had Germany been allowed to take the initiative; but for once British patriotism, common sense, and judgment outwitted Teutonic astuteness, and Englishmen, now more than ever before, will feel glad that there was then a man of the calibre of Sir Frederick Lugard at the helm of affairs at the time in the British Crown Colony. The public, perhaps, did not fully appreciate the Imperial aspect of the Hongkong University at the time of its inception, but they realise its meaning and purport now when they see the work of German propagandists in the Far East and other neutral countries—a system of propaganda whose ramifications are unexcelled by any country in the world, save, perhaps, by Japan.

The breadth of vision of the man whose energy and patriotism gave birth

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to this important educational centre in the Far East is manifested at the present time—six years after the foundation stone was laid of a structure emblematic of British liberality no less than the benevolent Imperialism of British rule. At that ceremony Sir Frederick Lugard declared that just as the foundation stone was but a small item of the great structure which would arise upon and around it, so the beginnings of that University which they were inaugurating were, he was convinced, but the nucleus of what would some day be a great and beneficent institution whose proportion would transcend and exceed their scheme of that hour as much as the completed building would transcend and exceed that small and comparatively insignificant block of granite. In the Hongkong University a link has been forged in the chain which binds Britons in friendship and good-will with the great Republic on whose confines the British Colony of Hongkong is situated. We are endeavouring not only to afford the highest educational facilities to the citizens of Hongkong, but to hold out the hand of friendship and to assist China to educate her sons without exposing them to long exile and the risk of denationalisation by sending them to Europe and America. Shall we by so doing create skilled rivals to compete against ourselves? I refuse to believe that men of British race have come to be afraid of fair and honest competition, or that we are so short-sighted as to think that our own interests may be prejudiced by leading the way in the development which is bound in any case to take place in China. The justification of the British Empire lies in its results. If the British Colony of Hongkong becomes, as there is every prospect of its becoming, the centre of educational progress in China, we shall have achieved a nobler extension of the principles which underlie the British Empire than any which accompany territorial expansion. The staff of the University consists not only of men of the highest qualifications, but they are men actuated by enthusiasm, men like those who have carried through a similar undertaking at Khartoum, founded in memory of Gordon, where, on the very scene of the cruelties of slave-traders and the oppression and misery of ages, a centre of British education stands like a beacon on the threshold of the desert and trains its students to carry light and healing into the darkest places of Africa. No true and loyal Englishman can see the noble form of the building, and the spirit of benevolence and liberality of which it is the emblem, without feelings of pride—a feeling that it is a privilege to belong to a breed of men whose motto is "Fair-play" to the meanest and humblest of his fellow-men, be he black, brown, or yellow. The graduates of this University, its doctors of medicine, its scientific engineers, and its trained administrators will exert an influence which will be unmeasurable in the future among the 400 millions of China's population. They will be missionaries in the highest sense—sent out to spread the benefits and blessings which practical education confers; not, we may hope, with distorted conceptions and theories of government antagonistic to the established order of their country, but imbued with that genuine patriotism whose only aim is to make their country better and greater, and to share with others the benefits they have themselves received.

RICHARD I. HOPE.

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AFRICAN ATROCITIES.

SINCE the word "atrocities" was introduced years ago for Bulgaria's special brand of Turkish cruelties, it has become a formula to convey battle, murder, and sudden death, when inflicted by a stronger Power upon a weaker community or nation. The Blue Book lately published on the military operations in Africa* is an instance—perhaps the latest instance—of this formula, and throws a lurid light on the methods of German colonists and troops in war time with reference to their treatment of the native tribes, within their spheres of interest and under their control. To those who have served in our African colonies and have studied the different systems of the colonising Powers, there is little new in the general aspect of this attitude of the Germans toward their so-called African subjects. Their main idea of colonising was the military occupation of a conquered territory, of which we have had examples in the present War in Belgium and Serbia. The tribes that meekly accepted the position were practically enslaved, while the more warlike tribes that resisted were beaten into submission, and in some cases were exterminated by the slaughter of men, women, and children—as in the case of the Hereros in South-West Africa. None of the other Powers dared to raise a word of protest against these atrocities, nor could they have done so without provoking a quarrel, for Germany was powerful and ready for war. Yet there was little to choose between these methods and those of the Congo Free State under Leopold II, except that the latter were stained by the hunger for gold, obtained by forced labour and cruelty, even to the extreme of all earthly measures—the taking of life.

The Blue Book quoted above deals chiefly with West Africa, and the sister pamphlet on German East Africa is not yet in print; but a traveller and observer has contributed to *Land and Water*, under date of September 7, an article entited, "The end of German Power in Africa." Mr. Freeman writes of 1912—the date of his travels in German South and East Africa: "Practically all news from Germany's African colonies underwent a censorship scarcely less strict than that which is now in force in England at the present moment. From what I saw and was told, I learned that the treatment of the natives in certain regions of East and South-West Africa, transcended, on the score of brutality, anything that went on in Belgian territory, and yet—thanks to the freedom with which a certain band of sentimentalists were allowed to gather data in the latter region, while no chance was given for similar investigation in the former—the world heard much of Congo "Atrocities" and nothing whatever of the indescribable inhumanities practised by the Germans. Even the details of Germany's unspeakable campaign against the Hereros did not find their way to the outside world, until Botha discovered archives bearing on them, when he captured Windhuk, and the worst revealed here is said not to have been published yet. But even had these latter data never come to light, Von Trotha's terrible

* *Papers relating to the German Atrocities and Breaches of the Rules of War in Africa* (*Cd.* 8306), *July* 1916.

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proclamation against the Hereros, which somehow managed to escape the censorship, would brand the nation that was responsible for it with infamy to the end of time. "Within German borders," read this manifesto of the precursor of Von Bissing, "every Herero, with or without rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will take no more women or children, I will drive them back or have them fired on."

"The total lack of friction between British authorities and the natives in occupied regions of German South-West and East Africa—details of most abhorrent atrocities during German rule in the latter colony have been prevented from reaching the outer world by the censorship—is the best evidence of where the true responsibility for these troubles should be placed."

Mr. Freeman draws the following conclusions: "As to the future of what were once the German African colonies, every consideration, both of humanity and expediency, would seem to dictate their retention by the Powers that have conquered them. The state of the native in the British and French colonies, on the one hand, contrasted with that of those in the once German colonies, on the other, is sufficient to weigh down the humanity scale. As for expediency—no one, after seeing what German will do with her submarines, if given the chance, can seriously believe that it would do to allow that nation to establish a strong naval base at a point dominating the trade routes to South-East Africa, Australia, or even India."

With these conclusions every friend of the natives will agree and, moreover, will uphold their rightful claim to just and equitable government by those Powers who have claimed sovereignty over their lands under a promise of protection from foreign aggression, and from the continuance of their own tribal wars.

If those were the conditions of the African races under Germany's rule in time of peace, it can be well imagined what their sad lot must be when she is fighting a losing war, and practically destroying both man power and food supplies in her retreat before our forces, in order to leave devastation for the conqueror. The Blue Book above-mentioned, which is well worth studying, in order to obtain a clear view of the conditions and the horrors that have overtaken the natives in a quarrel which is none of theirs (their only gain from their own point of view is a change of masters), also gives a statement made by a German officer of high rank to a British officer in South-West Africa. "War in the colonies is uncivilised, and does not come under the Hague Convention." If one may assume that war in Belgium and Serbia does come under the Hague Convention and applies the obvious deduction, the German conception of what is permissible under the name of war in Africa must be a sample of "material hell," and the official inquiry into their brutalities confirms the deduction.

The late colonies of Germany in Africa embrace an area of 1,035,086 square miles, the whole of which area has been in a state of war for over a year. In German East Africa war is still in progress, over an area of 385,000 square miles, containing an estimated population of between seven and eight millions. This immense territory, with the homes and lands of the native owners, has been made the field of conflict between the jarring nations of Europe—Great

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Britain, Belgium, and Portugal against Germany—quarrelling over the possession of the regions that ethically belong to none of them, but to those whom the Powers have undertaken to protect from the exact condition now existing, and from which they are now suffering at the hands of their protectors. A flash of lurid light is thrown on their sufferings by an officer serving in German East Africa. "On the present occasion the column camped for the night in a ruined village—a mere clearing in the bush—through which the Huns had passed two days before, leaving the *usual relics* of 'Kultur' in the shape of the bodies of three of the local inhabitants, festering by the path, and that of the unfortunate chief himself hanging to a cotton-tree in the middle of the village, under which he and his elders had been wont to sit and administer justice" (*Land and Water*, August 31, 1916).

The official report on German East Africa will probably await the end of the War; but there are not wanting similar evidences, more than sufficient, to show that the restoration of these territories to Germany is unthinkable. The evidence adduced is sufficient to justify the Powers that are fighting for the sanctity of international treaties and for the protection of the world's peoples against a malign Power, whose ideals of colonisation are military oppression and slavery, to proclaim at once to the Africans that never again shall their country or their people be ruled by Germany.

Although no reports as to the general state of the people are yet available, those that have experienced the derangement of the normal social life which results from even a small tribal conflict can realise the general upheaval and mental distress that has now overtaken them as a result of the "white man's war palaver." Even in their own intertribal conflicts the combatants were more merciful than cruel, nor did they destroy either life or property that might be of profit in the future, either as slaves or loot. But now, large armies, composed of aliens, both white and black, have swept over their towns, commandeering the men as soldiers or carriers, their live stock and crops as food; leaving behind them women and children in a state of famine, with their towns unprotected from camp-followers or raiders, to whom the disturbed state of the country forms an opportunity to gather loot and annex the women and children for slaves, or ransom in the future. In these circumstances the planting in due season is neglected, the local industries dislocated or stopped entirely, and the whole population lives in a state of dejected anticipation as to where the next blow will fall, not caring to undertake any work for the future, or even to-morrow, when at any moment they may be fleeing to the high woods for their lives with those chattels only that can be headed, and cumbered with a child or children. It is more than probable, taking the German colony as a whole, after two years of warfare, that the food crops, if planted at all, must have decreased to much below the normal quantity necessary for food or trade or for other necessaries of life, and it is more than probable also that many of the people are now living upon wild products—fruits, roots, leaves, and other astringent foods. These are quite capable of sustaining adult life, but are more or less, according to age, fatal to children of tender years.

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As the leader of the Allies in war, it is for Great Britain to lead in peace, and Africa cannot wait for the final victory. Her wants are immediate, for food and pacification, restoration of confidence in the white man, by showing the difference between a German and a Human; and by controverting that idea, which in spite of a century of contact, still exists in the subconscious mind of the black man, owing to the fact that the different national ideals are beyond his grasp. This idea is sometimes expressed in the words, "All dem white man be debbil."

If the noble and generous work of the resuscitation of these suffering peoples fail to appeal to our nation on the ground that we should, as far as is possible, repair the ravages of war in Africa in common with those in Belgium and Serbia, another argument in the direction of expediency may turn the scale. It has been recognised that the stumbling-block to industrial enterprise, as apart from commercial, has ever been the want of ample free labour. This difficulty has been recognised by other nations in Africa and generally met by various methods of forced labour. The preservation of life and the smoothing down of these peoples throughout these troublous times mean prosperity to these regions in the future. Failing that help, with a population reduced by war and slaughter, hardship and famine, imbued with the spirit of revenge against the "white man" for all their wrongs, the fruitful valleys of East Africa might as well be the sands of the Sahara for two or three generations to come as far as any immediate prospect of successful industrial enterprises by Europeans may be concerned. On all these grounds, but mainly upon that of our conscientious duty towards these millions whom our quarrels have injured, we should take action at once to make what reparation we can, and thus pave the way for peaceful civil administration in German East Africa.

We are said to be spending five millions a day on war: let us therefore spend a few thousands in advance on peace.

HENRY FENWICK REEVE.

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EMPIRE LAND SETTLEMENT *

By Sir RIDER HAGGARD

THE opening Meeting of the Forty-ninth Session was held in the Grand Hall of the Hotel Cecil on November 14, 1916. The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., President of the Institute, was in the Chair, and there was a large attendance of Fellows and Associates and their friends.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is my privilege on behalf of the Institute to make a presentation to Sir Rider Haggard in recognition of his public services in responding to the appeal of the Institute to make a tour of the self-governing Dominions, with the object of impressing on the Governments and peoples the importance of making instant preparations for the settling of ex-Service men on the land. I will ask the Secretary to read the address by the Council.

The Secretary (Sir Harry Wilson) read the Address, which was in the following terms, and it was then presented to Sir Rider Haggard.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, on behalf of the Council, Fellows, Affiliated Members and Associates of the Royal Colonial Institute, which was founded in the year 1868 for the purpose of extending a knowledge of the Overseas Dominions and ensuring the consolidation of the Empire, desire to convey to you our cordial thanks for the great service which you have rendered to the Institute by undertaking, on behalf of the Empire Land Settlement Committee, a mission to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada to ascertain the possibilities which exist for the Settlement of ex-Service men in those Dominions after the War.

The Council deeply appreciate the fact that you placed at their disposal no less than six months of your valuable time, and entered upon this enterprise at a moment when travelling by sea was fraught with serious inconvenience and no inconsiderable risk: and they desire to express their admiration of the tact and ability with which difficult and delicate negotiations were brought to a successful issue.

The Council are using, and intend to use, their utmost endeavours to carry forward the good work which you have inaugurated; and they trust that, through the concerted action of the Home and Dominion Governments, it will result in the adoption of well-matured measures for placing on the land all such ex-Service men as are desirous of adopting an agricultural career, whether in the United Kingdom or in the Dominions beyond the Seas, and thus promoting the prosperity and stability of a United Empire.

AND WHEREAS the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute are empowered to appoint as Honorary Fellows Persons who have rendered conspicuous service to the British Empire, and whose continued association with the Institute may be considered advantageous, the Council do hereby appoint you, Sir Rider Haggard, to be an Honorary Life Fellow of the Institute, and trust that you may be long spared to enjoy the privileges so conferred.

GIVEN under the Common Seal of the Royal Colonial Institute this 7th day of November, 1916.

* *Address given at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held on November* 14, 1916, *the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., President of the Council, in the Chair.*

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THE CHAIRMAN: On an occasion such as the present, when so many have assembled to listen to Sir Rider Haggard's address on the all-important subject of land settlement at home and overseas, and when so many distinguished speakers are present, it would ill become me to occupy your time for more than a very few moments. It is, however, customary for the Chairman at the first meeting of the Winter Session to make a short statement with regard to the position and work of the Institute. I do not propose to enumerate the many Imperial activities of the Institute, or to dwell on the steadily increasing number of our Fellowship, or the splendidly efficient manner in which Sir Charles Lucas, the distinguished Chairman of our Council, Sir Harry Wilson, our most indefatigable Secretary, and others are forwarding and promoting every movement which aims at increasing the strength and security of the Empire. It will suffice to say that "the utmost for the highest" is the motto of the Institute, just as the evidence of the last two years has shown it to be the motto and the ideal of all parts of the Empire. The Institute will recognise that two great requirements of the Empire are, first, the establishment of an imperial organisation for the purpose of helping ex-Service men who desire to settle on the land both at home and in the unoccupied portions of the overseas Empire, and secondly, the establishment of an Imperial organisation for the conservation and development of our Imperial resources. Deputations, influential and highly representative, from the Institute have waited upon the Government with the object of impressing on them the importance of dealing with both these questions. Possessing, as we do, one-quarter of the land of the Globe, being, as we are, the greatest raw material Power in the world, we do not sufficiently recognise that, if we concentrate the labour and capital of the Empire on the development of our latent undeveloped and immeasurable resources, if we direct our surplus population to those countries under our own flag which require them most, if we concentrate all our available surplus capital for the development of British and not of foreign countries, we shall be able, in a comparatively short time, to create sufficient wealth to liquidate a large part of the huge war indebtedness the Empire will have to carry after the war. In creating a public opinion favourable to the attainment of their objects, in organising a systematic and constant pressure on the Government, our Institute is giving a useful and honourable lead. Among many patriotic institutions, there is none which has so great a claim on the support of every patriotic citizen as the Institute to which we have the privilege to belong. We have increased our membership during the year by another thousand, bringing the total to upwards of twelve thousand. It only requires a little systematic organisation to increase our membership, as I have before urged, from the present number to at least a hundred thousand, and I hope that every member of the Institute will appreciate that there is a duty on him to add at least one member every year in his life to the membership of the Institute. If this is done, we shall soon possess an income which will enable us to render services of ever increasing value to the Empire—services which by tending to promote the strength, cohesion and well being of the Empire, will call for the natural and spontaneous co-operation of every

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Imperially-minded Briton. I informed the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Bonar Law, that I was to have the honour of presiding at this meeting, and I have just received from him this letter.

DEAR GREY,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th of November asking for a message for the meeting to-morrow when Sir Rider Haggard will deliver an address on the question of Land Settlement for ex-Service men in the Dominions.

I am afraid that I cannot say more than that I am in communication with the Dominions upon the subject, and that I hope very shortly to be able to take some practical step in setting up a Central Body which will co-ordinate the policy of His Majesty's Government and that of the self-governing Dominions.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) A. BONAR LAW.

It is satisfactory to know that that policy to which the Colonial Secretary has given his adhesion is a policy which two successive deputations have pressed with all the force at their command on the acceptance of the Government. I will now call upon Sir Rider Haggard, and I am sure you will give him an enthusiastic welcome for the services which, without grudging his comfort and convenience, he has rendered to the Empire.

SIR RIDER HAGGARD: Scarcely do I know where to begin, but I think it is first incumbent on me to thank the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute for the great compliment it has been so good as to pay to me, and for the Honorary Fellowship for "conspicuous service to the British Empire" it has conferred on me. I can assure you that the Address which you have handed to me will be a valued possession not only to myself but also to those who may come after me. You, my Lord, are so good as to speak of the work I have done on behalf of the Institute. I tell you I consider it a great honour to have been allowed to do that work. I was under no delusions as to its difficulties or as to its dangers in this time of war. At the time of starting I put the latter at about 30 or 40 per cent. risk. Yet I was very glad to face this in the hope that I might be able to carry the business through to the best of my ability, for my life-long studies had shown me its enormous importance. I would like to add that I am proud to become an honorary Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute, because the aims and objects of the Institute have been my aims and objects during all the period of my adult life, and because I consider that the Institute is doing a great work for the British Empire. I am not going to read a paper—I have observed that papers sometimes have a somnolent effect on an audience—so I will trust to the spoken word. Also my function here is humble. It is to open a discussion, and that I think I can best do informally, by word of mouth. Perhaps you would like briefly to hear what were my experiences in the Dominions. I am not going through them all, for are they not written in my Report? They were of an encouraging and cordial character—unimaginably so almost, though I must tell you that, as I realised from the first, there were many difficulties ahead. There were difficulties in South Africa resulting from the political situation; difficulties in Australia resulting from the fact that already a Conference had been held at which practically the case of the British

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ex-Service man had been left out of account. These difficulties had to be overcome, for the most part by the exercise of argument and diplomacy, also of personal influence. Indeed, throughout the Empire there were many obstacles, and I confess to you that only when I came to face them and to realise that I must match my single strength and ability, as honorary representative of the Institute, against all this sea of troubles, there were moments when I could have wished I had not boldly undertaken so arduous a task. Yet I am proud to be able to tell you that on the whole, the Institute has won a signal success—that everywhere now, I may say, there is an open door for the ex-Service men of the King throughout all his vast Empire.

I ask you to give your attention to a general proposition; the necessity of land settlement to the welfare of the race. You know the tendency of to-day—it is a tendency towards cities. Everybody rushes to the cities for reasons which it would be quite easy to explain, and I grieve to say I see at present very little sign that that tendency is being lessened, and I think I know well, as all thinking men know, that in it lie the seeds of the decay of the race. Thus it was that Rome and other countries fell. It is most important, therefore, and ought to be the aim of true statesmanship, to try to keep a large proportion of the population upon the land. The cities devour men. It is the land that creates them, and yet everywhere we find a rush to the cities—mind you, not only in our own country, but all over the white man's world. Still, if our race is to be preserved and increased, we are confronted by the absolute necessity of keeping a due number of our population upon the land. I take two points. There is the question of food supply. During past years in this country, that matter has been thrust aside with carelessness—I might almost say with mockery, and those of us who, to the best of our ability, have urged upon the attention of the Government its supreme importance, have been laughed at. Nothing has been done. I am a farmer and I have known wheat down to 24*s.* a quarter and had to sell it at that, and when we tried to point out that it could not be grown at the money, we were met with something not unlike jeers. Now, when owing to the movements of the world markets and the dangers of transport, wheat is 74*s.* a quarter and rising, a very different song is sung. Now it is the wicked farmer who is the war profiteer and so forth. These things are not as they should be. It is necessary for these islands that as much food as possible should be grown in them. I do not want to say anything extreme, but it is advanced or seems to be in certain newspapers, in a somewhat loose way, that you only have to wave a wand and Great Britain will produce all the corn she wants. Take it from me as an old farmer that this is nonsense. You cannot do it.

But more can be produced—a good deal more, though not this year. Ask a big farmer like my friend on the platform (Mr. Christopher Turnor), how much more wheat we are likely to get in between now and the time when it will be too late to sow. Little or none in this wet season. What has been done during the past year? Not much. It is a painful fact that, if you want to plough land and to sow wheat, you must have sufficient labour. They tell you to go to the young lady next door, but whatever the picture papers may show, she is scarcely fit to handle a plough team on

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heavy land. In fact she might do herself a good deal of harm—and the horses too. I am sorry to hurt the feelings of enthusiasts, but sometimes I admit that a desire to speak the truth triumphs.

To come to the main point—if you want increased food supplies in this country, you must set to work in a proper and organised way. It is no good taking the matter up by fits and starts whenever wheat or potatoes rise. But it is very hard to get Governments in this country to look forward. As I am on this branch of the subject, mainly with the object of eliciting the views of gentlemen behind me, I may make one remark. For years I have been of opinion that there ought to be food storage in Great Britain. I can never see why that should not be done, and I have always wished my name had been Joseph, so that I might have had the opportunity of doing it. Why cannot, I will not say six months', but at any rate three months' supply of corn be stored in this country, as they used to do in Malta and other places in the old days? I do not know, I cannot understand, but I am sure we should all feel a little more comfortable to-night, if we knew it existed. It is also quite possible, I think, that with facilities for cold storage, the same policy might be extended in some degree to the case of meat. That is the first great reason why I hold land settlement to be so important—because of this question of food supply. I wish we were not in the middle of a great war, so that I could speak my whole mind about it; but now that is not expedient.

The second main spring of the importance of land settlement is that involved in a very fundamental matter—the question of population. If, my Lord, you have ever taken the trouble to notice me at all, you may have observed that I am not a Bishop. I will also add that I am not even a bachelor, and therefore, lacking these qualifications, with your leave I will not plunge into the recesses of these questions which are now agitating the Press so much, and even I believe at once delighting and instructing those who frequent the places in which amusement is mingled with graver matters—I refer to the halls devoted to the art of cinemaphotography. But I will make one general comment—that unless we change our manners in this matter, within two or three—certainly three generations—Great Britain will have become one of the Little Peoples, and perhaps you have observed in the present war what is the lot of the Little Peoples. So I need say no more upon that subject. Now I have learned this—that it is only on the land, speaking generally and with exceptions, that large families are reared to-day. Don't run away with the idea that this is because I think there is any particular virtue attaching to the land, or that there children arise spontaneously. The explanation is that land-dwelling parents, especially if they are owners or have some permanent interest in their farms, have a very real, if unexpressed, desire for cheap labour. I have noticed again and again that in the nests of small holdings are found the children, but go where these are not and you find but few children. That is one of the great reasons why a country should make every sacrifice and do everything it possibly can to encourage settlement on the land, because children in adequate numbers are necessary to the welfare and safety of all countries.

You will have gathered that I am strongly in favour of a Land Settlement policy here in Great Britain. Have not I spent half my life in preaching it? With what

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result ? I can only hope that the younger men here, such as Mr. Christopher Turnor, will have better fortune. You know that pioneers very rarely succeed, or perhaps I should say, rarely appear to succeed. I do not want to blow my own trumpet, but I hope that future generations, if they look at the works which I have written on Rural England and Rural Denmark, will admit that at least I have done my best. But let us suppose that these gentlemen succeed to a full extent. There are still limitations to what can be done in this country. You cannot, by incantation, produce enough wheat to feed all your people, or if you do, then you will not produce the meat. You cannot have it both ways. If you are going to grow all or most of the wheat you need, then other produce must suffer. But a great deal can be done. The general output can be increased, more food can be produced, and with the assistance of a proper system of storage, the people of this country might sleep easier in their beds.

Some years ago I sat on a Commission which had to do with afforestation. We showed that by the time the tree crop came into full bearing this country would reap an enormous and perpetual income, because the felling would be so managed that each year's growth would replace that which was taken away. I said it was a Royal Commission, therefore you will scarcely need to be told that its recommendations were turned down. It involved a loan. I think the loan would have amounted to about half of one day's cost of this war—and that to put these millions of more or less waste acres under forest. There would be no immediate return, only outlay, and those in authority are not very much interested in what their successors may pocket forty or eighty years hence. Now, the only reason I mention this afforestation scheme is because of its connection with the matter of returned soldiers. It would have given an enormous amount of employment, and I do want to suggest to you expert gentlemen present to consider whether you could not bring home to the Government even now that something might still be done in that direction. I know that spasmodic attempts are being made to plant small areas, but whether something bigger could not be done, and used as a means of employment for a great number of ex-soldiers, is really a practical problem well worthy of consideration.

I pass from the home side of the question, to that of land settlement in the Dominions. Here the vista is too vast, too endless to be appreciated at a glance. Everywhere I go throughout the Empire, I find unmeasured territory only waiting to be peopled, thirsting for population, lands able and willing—"the willing earth" is, I think, an ancient phrase—to support thousands and tens of thousands and millions and even tens of millions of human beings. There they all lie idle, scarcely scratched. What is more, through the goodness of the Governments I have approached, the gate is open. There is hardly a land under our flag where your ex-Service soldiers and sailors, or indeed your emigrants, will not be welcome. There is the gate and there within it are riches greater than those of Golconda and all the mines of all the earth through all the ages put together, only waiting to be taken. I will not set up one country against the other, and talk of the relative wealth of Canada or Australasia or South Africa. Each has its great possibilities and is ready to welcome your folk and put all these possibilities at their disposal. And yet I hear

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that in this country there is a bitter anti-emigration party. Indeed I know it, because I have to argue with them and because they write me abusive letters—I who all my life have done the best I could for the Homeland. There is gratitude for you. How foolish it is, because what do we want to do—what does the Royal Colonial Institute want to do? Does it want to take the people of this country and drive them out to our Dominions? No. What it says is, "If the people want to go and will go, then let them go, but for God's sake let them go to where our own flag flies."

That is what I say too. I would rather see people, or most of them, stay at home if they will, but you know very well that after every great war of this sort, there is an exodus. It is in human nature. That being so, I pray you see that they go within our own Empire and not to the United States or the Argentine Republic. If we had said "Thou shalt not" to our own people, who have gone to the United States during the last fifty years, instead of there being something under sixty millions of white people throughout the Empire, we should have over eighty millions. You know what that means, when nations are flying at each other's throats.

I am afraid that amongst other happenings at the end of the War, every transport left to us will be occupied, perhaps for a year or two, in taking back troops to the respective Dominions, and that on them will be no room for people who want to emigrate. But we are not the only nation in the world, and I do not know whether you have observed that neutral nations, full of good feeling though they may be, still like to make money. Suppose they go into the business and say "We will not take you to your own shores. But we will take you to ours where you will be very welcome." If we lose people in that way it will be a great shame, and more, a crime. I will go further. I would even advocate that our passport regulations should be extended so that no British citizen is allowed to leave this country at the end of the War except for some place where His Majesty's writ has power.

But I must stop. What a place this Empire might become, if only it were developed with sense, foresight and energy, and with the idea of keeping our own for our own Imperial purposes. If, instead of our sixty millions, you could have a couple of hundred millions of white people in this Empire, then indeed we might laugh at perils. This is no dream. It might well happen, if you will give your minds and the weight of your authority to the matter. Here I am going to say something which may horrify half the platform. If these things are to be brought about and that population is to be reared in the future, there is one thing necessary, that throughout the Empire agriculture should be made more profitable than it is to-day. It is the least paying of all industries. A man in the town earns more money; the labourer on the farm does not earn so much as the labourer in the city, because there are better openings in the city. I do not enter into the ways and means or any suggestion about protection, but it ought to be the aim of every statesman to make agriculture a really payable pursuit so that people will settle on the land. What is the sum of all this? Let us work for our own Empire, treat it as a whole, have done with provincialism and mere talk of Empire, and work for the Empire as a great entity. I wish to add how delighted I was to hear the letter from the Colonial Secretary read by our Chairman,

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because I gather that in it there is a more or less definite promise that something will be done to take advantage of the offers which the Royal Colonial Institute has been able to collect. I hope in the future it will be made impossible that our citizens should ever again be allowed to drift away to the States and elsewhere; that on the contrary they shall be directed towards our own territories. Ought our efforts to be allowed to run to waste—efforts which, if properly directed, can be used to the general advantage of the glorious Empire of the King? I say no. I think we have learnt our lesson. I think we see a new age at hand with new ideals and new attainments; I think that we shall in many ways be wiser in the future than we have been in the past. I think you will all agree that this war in which every household has paid its toll, should not be allowed to have fallen in vain upon the body politic of the Empire—that Empire to which some in this country grudge our manhood. And yet, have they not left their manhood lying by the thousand in the graves of Gallipoli and Flanders, dead in one common cause? Are we then to stand by and see our people spirited away to strengthen other States. You will, I am sure, agree we should learn wisdom in this day of trial; that we should not allow all our sufferings and sacrifices to go for nothing. Not only in this matter but in others on which I have not touched, do not, I pray you, my friends, permit those sacrifices and those untold sufferings to have been endured in vain.

Mr. Christopher Turnor: You have heard from Sir Rider Haggard an eloquent speech. I am glad to hear from him of the deep interest he takes in land settlement in this country. He has journeyed far to further the interests of land settlement in the Dominions, but yet he is interested in land settlement here, and I can assure you that the Royal Colonial Institute, though it has so much to do with our Dominions, is also deeply interested in land settlement in this country, and for this reason—we realise that if the heart of the Empire is to remain sound, we must have a strong agricultural population. We realise that if we are to send to our Dominions the one type of population which they require and ask for—cultivators of the soil—we must have an overflowing agricultural population at home. It is for that reason we have urged the Government in season and out to formulate great schemes for land settlement in this country. The Chairman has referred to the fact that we have something like one-quarter of the land surface of the Globe within the Empire. The total white agricultural population amounts to 13,400,000, including all men, women and children living on and by the land. When you think that in the comparatively small area of France there are 18,500,000 engaged in agriculture, and in European Germany over 20,000,000, you will see that the one great and crying need of the Empire is for cultivating the soil. If we are to maintain our Empire, maintain the Empire as British, we must concentrate on that one great objective, bend all our energies to taking wise measures to organise our education—all with the view of inducing a larger proportion of the rising generation to go in for a career on the land.

Sir Rider Haggard spoke of the inclination to the town as existing in all countries. In no country has that inclination existed to the same extent as here. In no other country has the agricultural population declined absolutely. It may have declined relatively, but in actual numbers in every other country it has increased. We have 1,000,000 less cultivators to-day than fifty or sixty years ago. Our rich land—the richest land in Europe—only carries about half the number of workers per thousand acres that are carried on the Continent. Here we have the key to the situation—we must have more workers on the soil, and that is why it behoves us to create such

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conditions of settlement as will be attractive to our ex-Service men. I believe large numbers will want to settle in this country. Sir Rider Haggard has mentioned the historical fact that after all wars emigration has been greater than in normal times. I think that in the case of Great Britain that has been, because we have never given proper facilities for settling in this country. We are now face to face with the problem of thousands of men who will want to settle on the land, and because of that neglect of the land, we have no data to guide us. Our leaders know practically nothing about land settlement and all they can do is to make experiments. What we want is not experiment now. Our day for experiments has gone by. We shall have to take risks, but let us take them as wisely as possible, let us study the underlying principles of settlement in every country in the world, and then let us apply them here as promptly and on as large a scale as possible. A Departmental Committee was appointed to consider the question of settlement. They evolved a splendid scheme that embraced all the fundamental principles, save one, that underlie successful settlement in other countries, and yet when that scheme was handed in to the Government, all they did was to attempt a small experiment—the placing of 300 men on the land. We shall have to do something larger. If we are to recuperate after the war, we must have a big land policy, and we cannot have a land policy without a sound and big scheme of land settlement. On that we must concentrate and all who can influence the Government ought to urge them to concentrate upon it.

Sir Theodore Cook: To-night we are trying to drive home, I understand, those principles on which the Empire of the future is to depend—not merely that part which we call home, but all those outlying quarters of the Empire which have come so nobly to our help in the present war. No one who remembers what has been done by our colonists during this war will ever look on the question of colonisation in the same way as before. I suppose there is no more important question in the future than colonisation. It is one of the most magnificent historical developments that has ever occurred to our Empire in the whole of its history. We do, indeed, realise that there has been created throughout the Empire a brotherhood of bravery—a comradeship of courage—such as has never existed before. We feel that we are glad to have been alive at a time when from every corner of the Empire more than three millions of men of our blood came forth voluntarily to fight for the principles of honesty and honour. The days we are living in are history. Great empires at this very moment are reeling from dominion and splendour to catastrophe and we have to take pains that when the time comes, we shall be ready to fulfil our promises, not only mentally but physically too. The sun is rising above those mists that Prussianism has spread over the world so long, and then will come the fulfilment of the promise we are all making not only to each other, but to our dead, who have sacrificed their all in the faith that we shall keep it. What is our pledge? Think but for one moment of the horrors of war—not merely the horrors of fair fighting but of those black tragedies that are depicted in the Bryce Report. From these things we ourselves have been saved by the man-power of Empire and by nothing else. That is why our promise to Sir Rider Haggard and the Royal Colonial Institute is fraught to-night with so much more meaning than before. If vigilance is the price of liberty, man-power is the guarantee of Empire. We have to give back men to all those Dominions who have so freely poured out their blood for our safety. Remember the one thing we have to work for—that the man-power of the Empire is essential not to our immediate future only but to the whole Empire that is coming and of which our sons will be inheritors. Prussia is striking out in her fierce death agony, and the time is coming when we must organise for that peaceful future which is nearer to us than perhaps we think. To-morrow it will be too late. We cannot delay. We must make our preparations instantly. Be ready then; follow the lead which the Institute will give you. Do as Lord Grey tells you: let every one of

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you give to the Institute but one new Member every year and he will be of real use to this country and to the Empire. Then, after the night of war, we shall come out into the sunrise; and our work will ride upon the horses of the Dawn.

Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Cecil (South African Colonisation Society): I am glad to make a few remarks on this interesting subject, because the Society I represent has worked at this question of emigration for the last fifteen years and has achieved I think some degree of success. The present is a time when women are taking up their part, perhaps a little more seriously than before, in the cause of Empire. We have heard a great deal about the man-power of the Empire. The woman-power should be considered too. In colonisation the great unit must be the family, and women must go out to the far parts of the Empire to make homes, if there is to be a great home-land throughout the Empire united in one cause. The Society I represent has experienced great difficulty, for there is perhaps no question quite so difficult as this one of emigration. There is a good deal to contend with at home. We have done our best to keep the interests of intending emigrants in view, but we have tried perhaps first of all, to consider the needs of the Dominions and only to send out those who are most likely to adapt themselves to new circumstances. Over 6000 women have gone out to South Africa under our auspices. We have a complete system by which we have tried to test their suitability before they left these shores, and to show we have been successful even in our early days when we had not so much experience, we calculate that our failures never exceeded 4½ per cent., and for years have averaged less—not more in fact than 2½ per cent. In all these questions we must go cautiously, although in a large and moderate spirit. I would plead that those Societies which have been working for many years and have given thought and care to organising and testing questions of emigration should be utilised in the future. They have the machinery ready and we hope it will be used. I speak not only for this Society but for others: The British Women's Emigration Association and Colonial Intelligence League. We cover most parts of the Globe and shall be glad to put our experience at the command of the Institute in any scheme they may bring forward. I think the the employment of women on the land at home may be beneficial in promoting land settlement in the Dominions. In conclusion I would once more impress upon you the importance of the idea of the family as a unit.

Mr. A. T. Ozanne, M.P. (Australian Commonwealth Parliament): In travelling around Britain I find there are many people who have no conception of the enormous extent of Australia—an area almost as big as the whole of Europe and yet with a population of only 5½ millions. It is ridiculous to think that 5½ millions of people can hold that enormous territory. If we were attacked we should, of course, do our best, and in Gallipoli and elsewhere we have shown what we can do, but the first essential of defence is population. You are seeking to settle people on the land—a very wise policy, but unfortunately in the past many people have been sent to Australia who are totally unfit for the land and who have come into the city simply to swell the labour market when there was no room, because the land had not been opened up. Our policy in Australia is to open up the land. In the centre of the Electorate I represent there were at one time three or four squatters holding the whole of the land between Geelong and Melbourne. That enormous tract of country was too valuable to be left in the hands of a few men as a sheep-run. The Legislature enacted that the land should be purchased compulsorily, with a result that to-day we have hundreds of farmers, hundreds of homes and thousands of people settled there. What can be done in one centre can be done elsewhere. It is no use sending out any sort of people. They should be fitted for the work. The whole system in this respect wants thoroughly organising. I may say I have been right through Australia. It is absolutely one of the finest countries in the world. Its resources are immeasurable. Yet we have only 5½ millions of people. I have no hesitation in saying we could do with a population of 100,000,000 in Australia, which is only one part of the

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Empire, and I am pleased to be able to give my support to the undertaking this Institute has in hand.

The Rt. Hon. Henry Hobhouse: Visitors to this meeting ought to congratulate the Institute most heartily on the wisdom with which they selected their envoy to the Colonies, and to congratulate Sir Rider Haggard himself on the persuasiveness, tact and discretion he showed in carrying out his great mission, which I am sure will bear good fruit. My object in rising is to make one or two practical remarks on the present position of land settlement of ex-Service men in this country, and I do so because I know the Institute takes great interest in settlement at home as well as settlement in other parts of the Empire. It lies indeed at the very root of the whole question. When Sir Rider Haggard left these shores nine months ago he took with him the report of the Committee presided over by Sir Harry Verney, containing a scheme for the land settlement of ex-Service men in this country. He must be rather surprised I think to find that so little progress has been made with that scheme in the interval. In that report we recommended not a gigantic, but a substantial scheme of land settlement. We impressed on the Government and the country the great urgency of the question—the unique opportunity which would be offered by the disbandment of our vast army, and the great importance of the question in connection with the food supply and the health of the population. We suggested that a considerable sum of money, £2,000,000, should be appropriated to this purpose, and that an immediate beginning should be made with some pioneer colonies. The £2,000,000 was calculated to settle some 5000 families on the land. What has happened? During the last nine months for one reason or another comparatively little progress has been made. It was stated in the papers a few days ago that the Government had just appointed a manager of the first colony. That colony will take a good many months to develop. So far I have not heard of any further progress. That is not all. When the Board of Agriculture came to Parliament for powers to take land they limited themselves to a very small number of acres, 6000, and Parliament decided that of these one-third should be appropriated to the comparatively small country of Wales. So that without further legislation the Government cannot take for this purpose more than enough land to support a second colony. As to the local authorities they are in this position—from the beginning of the War they have been practically prohibited from purchasing any land at all for small-holdings or equipping any land they lease, as the result of their not being allowed by the Government to raise any loan. Thus neither the central nor the local authorities are in a position at the moment to make any adequate provision for ex-soldiers. That surely is a most unpromising outlook. Meanwhile disabled men, many of them perfectly capable of doing light work on the land, are being discharged every week and month in hundreds and thousands. At the end of the war we shall have an immediate rush of many thousands of able-bodied ex-soldiers who, for one reason or another, will wish to settle either at home or in the colonies. We shall not be prepared to settle them unless speedy action is taken, and I think we may fairly press the Government to take up this matter much more seriously than they have done hitherto. It does the Royal Colonial Institute great credit, I think, that they have done so much in the past, and I sincerely hope you will not relax your efforts in the future.

Mr. J. A. Seddon (past-President of the Trades Union Congress): I was delighted to hear Sir Rider Haggard. In my boyhood he fired my imagination with those impossible stories I never could carry out. In the next place when I heard his human voice it was in his own neighbourhood, where he was trying to do something for his country in the question of saving our money to pay for the war, and this time he is trying to save the country now and in the days that are to come. As one who speaks for organised industrial labour, I look upon this question as the greatest problem next to winning the war that faces us as a nation and as an Empire. I am sorry there are not more leaders of the urban industrial workers present, because

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they want just as much education as the rural workers themselves. This problem embodies the pride and perpetuity of our race, and the progress of our Empire and people as a whole. It seemed to me before the war, if I understand the philosophy of this country, that we stood for the principle that we must all stand together each for himself. The lesson of this war is to teach me, at any rate, that what Lord Macaulay applied to ancient Rome must be the salvation of our race;

"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the State."

As regards the colonies, we have a heritage of which we may all be proud. If you are going to develop the colonies I am convinced you must develop the home-bred population, and I hope the result of this meeting will be that agriculture shall not be considered a Cinderella in the future as in the past. I believe agriculture has got to take a first position so far as this country and Empire are concerned. When you have got that into the minds of politicians and Boards of Agriculture, agriculture will make rapid strides, and will provide healthy men and women, who will help to populate the uttermost parts of the Empire. Only consider what would be the power and might of this Empire had our people domiciled themselves in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, instead of going into neutral countries that now are standing by making profits while Europe is bleeding white. We want to say "never again," and for that reason I am proud to be here and to express the hope that agriculture will be in the forefront of our industries, because, as I believe, it is still true—

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Sir Sydney Olivier, K.C.M.G. (Permanent Secretary of the Board of Agriculture): After Mr. Seddon's speech you will see that I am in an even more unfortunate position than I should be under ordinary circumstances. You have heard what has been said with regard to the misdeeds or omissions of the Board of Agriculture and of Governments in relation to agriculture in years past. I am not a responsible Minister, but am unfortunately Secretary of the Board and therefore I am traditionally and officially the guardian of the secret of "how not to do it" in agriculture. Consequently all the odium is rightly and properly attributed to myself and my permanent colleagues. They may or may not be really the guilty parties. Perhaps I have not been long enough in office to do very much mischief. With regard to the question of afforestation: I happened to look into that particular matter some years ago and pointed out to my official chiefs what required to be done. It was, I was told, parliamentarily impossible. The reason why the Board, with regard to whose internal spirit Mr. Seddon appears to be misinformed, does not make the progress in such a matter that some would desire is because of Parliamentary politics in this country and the impediments placed from one quarter or another in the path of any kind of reform which at all affects the question of land or vested interests. I think this Institute deserves the thanks of the Board and of all progressive bodies with regard to land settlement for sending out Sir Rider Haggard to sound the Dominion Governments, for we have been shown that in all the Dominions offers are made to men on their discharge from the Army which will tempt them to go and make a settlement abroad. As has been said, we have in this country a strong anti-emigration party. We want our own men to till our own land, and in order that they may settle on our land they must have such conditions as will induce them to do so. The conditions are first of all that when men come back from the front you will have to offer them hope. What hope has been offered to the agricultural labourer, according to his experience? Again, you will have to offer personal independence. What prospect of personal independence have the institutions of this country offered to the agricultural labourer according to his

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experience in the past? You have to offer him the assurance of a remunerative livelihood, and what assurance of remunerative livelihood have cultivators of land had during living memory? These things are what the Dominions offer, and therefore the bid this country has to make, if it wants to retain the labourers, has been enhanced by the work of Sir Rider Haggard, and I hope the country will note and take this to heart. If they do so, they will first of all have to interfere with what are understood to be the rights and privileges of property, to impose responsibility on the taxpayers for financing agriculture to a much greater extent, and they will have to take measures to insure that the production of food in this country shall be a paying and not a losing and disastrous business.

Mr. Victor Fisher (Hon. Sec. British Workers' National League and Editor of the "British Citizen"): Mr. Seddon has expressed the wish that more Trade Union leaders were represented at this gathering and I wish that this admirable institution might be introduced to the whole body of Labour not only in this country but throughout the Empire, for I cannot conceive that there is any future for the hope of a united Empire if it is not based on democratic ideas and democratic institutions. It is indeed strange that men like ourselves who have been engaged most of our lives in advanced politics have had so little opportunity of knowing more about the Royal Colonial Institute. It is not too much to say that the words "Imperialism" and "Empire" have been somewhat suspect in the minds of the working class, and with great respect I would suggest that the waving of flags and the expression of a mere pride in the enormous territory painted red on the map will never realise Empire in the full sense of the term. In regard to the problem of population, I would point out that here at home the problem might half be solved, if we dealt at once and drastically with that other problem of infantile mortality. In these and other matters Imperialists have allowed a large part of their stock-in-trade to be collared by the "Little Englanders." In this tragic period cannot we agree to learn from each other? Cannot we learn that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link and that at bottom the Empire is strong by virtue of the mental power and virility of the great masses of the people at the heart of the Empire. The fact is that the whole idea of individualism and *laissez faire*, the doctrine of trusting to the blessed gospel of the laws of supply and demand, have landed us in a pretty mess. This war, like all great wars, is a great curse, but amidst its horrors some blessings may be reaped. I firmly believe that, had the German barbarians been wiser and waited another ten years, this country would have been conquered by peaceful penetration, by superior German education, by far superior German organisation, and—though this is perhaps not a very popular thing to say—I also firmly believe that the mere repetition of pleasant things, the mere saying that this war has been a sort of re-birth and that everything is going to be different (with the mental reservation that we do not individually pay too high a price), all this is not going to bring us salvation, national or Imperial. We have to recognise that men's intellect and co-operative power must be used in all these things. I do not pretend that the methods of the bureaucrat will be the salvation of a great nation, though I venture to say that so far the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture has made by far and away the strongest speech to-night, because he has reminded us of some very real and basic things. I want to see this Empire grow stronger, as we all do, but I believe the basis of such a growth is that it must grow strongly and healthily at home. You must have a rational and just landed and industrial system; convince the men who have sacrificed so much that they are not going to be the subjects of party chicane or fraud, but that as they have fought for a great heritage that heritage shall be theirs. Grapple the mass of the people to your hearts with such bonds and the world in arms will not conquer you. But until and unless the great millions of the working classes are convinced that the Empire does not stand merely for gambling and for cosmopolitan finance, for things which they regard as unjust, inequitable and untrue, and as challenging their class and social

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progress, you will not get them with you. We know that the Empire does not stand for these mean and base things that the masses dread. As Louis XIV said "I am the State," so it is for us to convince these patriotic masses that their importance is recognised, that the Empire is theirs and that they are the Empire.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS (Chairman of the Council): I ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Rider Haggard. I only want to enforce what Mrs. Evelyn Cecil has said. We have all read a certain book called "She." I think she will have to have the first place in any scheme for Empire settlement; if she is not settled on the land she will unsettle us. It is a high compliment to have Sir Rider Haggard associated with us in this matter and we look to our efforts to produce fruitful results.

The proceedings then terminated.

CROWN COLONY DEVELOPMENT.

A DEPUTATION from the Trade and Industry Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute and Societies in London representing Crown Colonies and Colonies not possessing responsible government was received by the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, on November 3, for the purpose of urging upon His Majesty's Government the necessity for the appointment of a special Committee or Commission to inquire into the conditions of trade, the development of natural resources, and the improvement of labour supply, transportation and intercommunication services of such Colonies, with a view to making the Empire more self-supporting. The deputation was introduced by Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., M.P., and the speakers were the following:—Mr. Ben. H. Morgan (Chairman, Trade and Industry Committee, Royal Colonial Institute), Sir Ernest Birch, K.C.M.G. (Straits Settlements), Mr. E. R. Davson (West India Committee), Sir Edward Rosling (Mauritius), Sir Stanley Bois (Ceylon Association in London), Mr. C. Sandbach Parker, Mr. Joseph Rippon (Halifax and Bermuda Cable Company), and Mr. James Gardiner (Nigerian Chamber of Mines). In addition to the speakers there were also present the following: Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., the Hon. J. G. Jenkins, Mr. Harry Brittain, Mr. A. S. Bull, Mr. A. R. Canning, Mr. W. J. Eales, Mr. Robert Littlejohn, Mr. P. H. Lockhart, Mr. C. H. Harley Moseley, C.M.G., Mr. F. Norie-Miller, J.P., Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., Colonel Duncan Pitcher, Mr. W. C. Shettle, Mr. Edmund Walker, Mr. Evelyn Wrench, Sir Harry Wilson, K.C.M.G. (Secretary of the Institute), and Mr. James R. Boosé, C.M.G. (Acting Secretary of the Trade and Industry Committee).

SIR OWEN PHILIPPS, K.C.M.G., M.P.: I have been asked to introduce this important deputation to you, consisting of representatives of what may be fairly described as all the societies or associations closely connected with the British Crown Colonies and Colonies not possessing responsible government, including the West India Committee, the Ceylon Association in London, the Nigerian Chamber of Mines, the Rubber Growers' Association, the Malay States Development Agency, and representatives of the Straits Settlements and the Royal Colonial Institute.

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The present deputation had its origin in a series of resolutions passed by a meeting in British Guiana, which is one of the largest of the Crown Colonies, whose development—except for the coastal area—has been slower than that of some of the other Crown Colonies. The opening-up to trade and commerce of the vast natural resources of all these Colonies is calculated to be of immense benefit, not only to the British communities dwelling within their borders, but to the Mother Country as well, by supplying the raw materials for important industries here.

In introducing the deputation, I will confine myself to mentioning that there is sufficient suitable land within the British Crown Colonies to produce practically all the sugar which, before the War, we purchased from enemy countries, whilst there is almost unlimited scope for the development of very many other tropical and semi-tropical products in these Colonies. The good work which the Dominions Royal Commission is doing by means of its investigation into the resources of the self-governing States of the Empire is recognised by everyone, and it is felt that an inquiry such as will be suggested for your consideration by the members of this deputation would be most helpful in promoting the welfare and interests of the Crown Colonies, by drawing attention to the resources of these distant parts of the Empire, which have suffered in the past through figuring so little in the public eye in comparison with the great self-governing Dominions. The extent to which such an investigation may be effective in promoting Colonial and Imperial interests has been illustrated recently in the case of the Edible Nuts Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Steel-Maitland, through which many persons have become interested for the first time in the British Colonies on the West Coast of Africa; while the principal item to export from these Colonies, the palm kernel, formerly dependent for an outlet upon the German market, is now imported into this country in large quantities as the raw material for a rapidly-growing industry, hitherto practically non-existent here.

The deputation wishes to place before you the reasons which, in its opinion, make it very desirable, in Imperial interests, to institute an inquiry into the resources of the British Crown Colonies, with a view to suggesting such practical measures as may lead to their development on right lines, and to their freedom from dependence, for the future, upon foreign markets for the disposal of their produce. The deputation believes that, should you see your way to grant their request, the wish of the Government to make the Empire more self-supporting will be substantially furthered.

Mr. Ben H. Morgan (Chairman of the Trade and Industry Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute): I have been deputed to make a short statement in the nature of a general survey of the general economic conditions prevailing in the Crown Colonies, not with a view to suggesting remedies, but to showing the necessity for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry on whose recommendations action might follow.

The conditions are to-day, of course, abnormal, and I will confine my observations to those prevailing before 1914. It is no exaggeration to say that the trading interests of our Crown Colonies, excluding the West Indies, were largely dominated by German influence before the War. The unscrupulousness of these

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people, combined with great capacity for detail and organisation, made them successful traders in the Tropics. They had gained control of the insurance market; in a few years, I think, they might have passed us in shipping; their export trade grew enormously; and how they monopolised tropical products, minerals, and raw materials of industry is only too vividly being brought to our notice by the numerous public sales of German interests that are now being conducted. Our Crown Colonies were rapidly becoming feeders for German industries; we were depleting the natural wealth of our possessions, and Germany was exchanging shoddy manufactured goods and square-face gin for invaluable raw materials. She realised what this country apparently has never realised—that the more industrial development takes place in the countries lying in the temperate zones, the more valuable will become the exchange of commodities with tropical countries, the one offering raw materials and products in exchange for manufactured articles. I am not going to take up your time to any extent with figures, but I should like to give a few to show how German and Austrian trade has increased in the last twenty years.

In 1893 enemy countries bought and sold in the West Indies to the extent of £202,000 (I will only give round figures), and this increased to £701,000 in 1913. The trades of these Colonies are, as you know, largely dominated by the United States. Enemy trade with Ceylon grew from £197,000 in 1893 to £2,081,000 in 1913; Straits Settlements, £977,000 in 1893 to £3,786,000 in 1913; West African Colonies, £550,000 in 1893 and £6,394,000 in 1913; East Africa, £76,000 in 1903 and £375,000 in 1913.

The enormous growth of foreign shipping to our Crown Colonies in the ten years prior to the War I will illustrate in a very few figures. In 1903 foreign shipping entering Ceylon totalled 3,206,717 tons, and increased in 1913 to 5,829,709 tons. This increase in carrying trade was principally to the Far East, and not Australia. In the East African and South African trades foreign countries increased their tonnage from 2,465,853 to 3,961,868 tons. In West Africa the increase is very striking —1,634,007 tons in 1903 to 3,031,881 tons in 1913. Foreign shipping with the West Indies grew from 3,385,305 to 6,853,460 tons, or nearly double in ten years. Excepting the West Indies, these figures mostly relate to German and Austrian progress.

I realise that these figures cannot be taken by themselves, as British shipping in the same trades showed quite striking increases, but the proportion of increase to the total shows an enormously bigger advantage by foreign countries than by ourselves, and, after all, it is proportional increase that we have to consider. In my opinion these figures by themselves show a real necessity for a strong Committee of Inquiry to discover what is wrong with British Imperial policy at the back of Crown Colony and British trade development. I venture the opinion that it is no use at this time talking about high freight rates, rebate systems, and such matters; we must go deeper, if we are going to find the real reason for the prodigious growth of foreign shipping (meaning principally German and Austrian shipping) to our Crown Colonies of recent years. If I may be allowed, I should like to express in a word my view how Germany (for she is the principal factor), arrived at her shipping and industrial position. She did it by having behind her a national shipping and industrial policy as opposed to our

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purely trading policy. She aimed at industrial and shipping domination and was rapidly gaining it. Her subsidised ships would carry West African produce at rates and from ports and places that British ships would not or could not compete with. She built up industries at home that absorbed those products, and gradually but surely a paying proposition developed. What has been our position? Within my time we have never had an industrial policy, or indeed a co-ordinated Imperial policy of any kind. You will probably remember, Sir, a Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference agitation at home and what came of it.

MR. BONAR LAW: I have heard of it.

MR. BEN MORGAN: In these forty-five Crown Colonies there are an equal number of tariffs, all built up separately, with no guiding principle behind them, not favouring local or United Kingdom industries or even British trade; indeed in some cases the tariffs actually penalise, or have in the past penalised, British trade. Here, in this question of Crown Colony tariffs, we have an instrument which, with an Imperial industrial policy at the back of it, would help us to develop these great and valuable territories in the interests of the people of the Empire. I venture to think that that great principle of preference must be generally adopted in these tariffs. The great factors of shipping and railway development should also be controlled by a similar policy. Apart from the main shipping routes, the shipping services with the Crown Colonies must be made to serve the purposes of Imperial industrial development, not be left merely to the exploitation of purely shipping interests. These Crown Colonies, like British Guiana, need railways to open up their vast territories, and the Empire needs the products of these territories for her industries. It can not be expected that those railways could be quickly and properly developed by private enterprise alone on any basis of immediate profit, neither could the goods be collected from these small territories by ships depending in the first place on immediate returns. There must be a policy of Imperial development behind the shipping and railway services with and in the Crown Colonies. The establishment of any such policy will need to be preceded by an inquiry into the surrounding conditions and the many complex and diverse interests, and we think that this should be conducted by a strong Committee, which we respectfully urge you to appoint without delay.

SIR ERNEST BIRCH, K.C.M.G. (Straits Settlements): In the first place I wish to make it quite clear that I am not here either as a representative of the Straits Settlements or of the Federated Malay States. I was invited by the Committee who organised this deputation to come here to see you, and, having been in the Civil Service in the Colony and in the Federated Malay States, I accepted the offer, because I venture to think I know something of the conditions which exist out there.

You know there is probably no place under the sun in which so many persons of so many nations and tribes congregate as in Singapore, and there are very few ports in the world which have a greater volume of carrying trade than Singapore. The peculiarity of British colonisation seems to be that we go into countries, build towns of great importance in trade and commerce, construct railways and roads throughout the country, erect fortifications and establish great docks and harbour works, and

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then the Government is content to sit down and see foreigners of every nationality come into the country and trade in it without restriction, with practically no taxation and with little or no control. And this privilege which is granted to them is known by the name of Free Trade! In Singapore, amongst a certain part of the population, especially the Press, Free Trade has become a fetish, and the worship of Free Trade is, of course, encouraged by all the aliens who live in the place. After this War we hope that you will use your influence with the Cabinet and the Government of the day to put a stop to this state of things. In a Colony of that importance, which ranks with Ceylon and Hongkong, on the direct route to the great Asiatic nations of India and China, it seems to me that some measures should be taken in the future to see that British trade is fostered in the place and that foreign trade remains in the place by permission. I myself, if it were possible, would go so far as to advocate that all foreign firms should only trade under a licence renewable annually. But I certainly think that it is of the greatest importance that no foreign shipping firms should be registered in the Colony, and that no foreign banking corporations should be allowed in the Colony.

If you knew—as I know, having been resident there for many years, and having seen exactly what has taken place under our eyes—how the Dutch banks have been supported very largely by German money and how German shipping has come into the Colony and out into our trade, you would realise that the matter is serious. When I was a young man in Singapore there was an enormous jungle produce trade there. The jungle produce was collected from all the neighbouring islands, and there are a great many as you know, extending through what are now the American colonies of the Philippines, and the Netherlands Indian colonies. That trade goes entirely past us now; it is all collected in Java, and was shipped home by German firms. I would suggest that Crown Colonies are freely permitted to impose import and export duties on certain articles. I would instance how, as I daresay you know, the Americans came in and bought up a good deal of property in the Malay States in order to carry away all the tin ore to America to be treated there. A prohibitive export duty on tin ore was imposed, and it is smelted by British companies. I would also point out that when continual complaints of the drunkenness of the coolies on rubber plantations were made, and when we looked into it, it was found that there was no restriction on the licensees and that German liquors were being sold, principally port wine, at 15 cents a bottle. A stop was put to that.

In conclusion I would ask you to remember that one of the most wonderful results of this War is that at the present moment, in all Asiatic ports all over the world, the subject of most frequent comment amongst the natives is that, whereas those ports used to be filled with ships flying the German flag, there has not been a German flag or a German ship seen for over two years. If you appreciate how many million people talk about this thing and what a vast place it occupies in their minds, I am sure the British Government will see to it that when this War is over those people shall realise that, even if the German flag is allowed to return, it is not going to be allowed to monopolise.

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MR. E. R. DAVSON (West Indian Committee): I have been asked to speak on behalf of the West Indies in support of this proposal. It may be said that Committees of Inquiry have been appointed referring to the West Indies in recent times, and I may mention the Royal Commission under Lord Balfour of Burleigh, as the result of which we obtained our reciprocity arrangement with Canada. Nevertheless there are problems of great importance which are filling the minds of West Indians at the present time, and which I think will fill them even to a greater extent at the conclusion of the War. First, in regard to trade, I think that the minds of the West Indian Colonies are fully made up as to what they require in this respect, and that is they think that the time has come when they should receive some reciprocity for the preferential treatment which they have now given for several years to the Mother Country. At the same time there is a great deal to be done in deciding how this can be brought about, and we think that a Committee would be of great service in investigating the resources and the products of these Colonies, and in bringing before the public at home the extent to which West Indian produce could take the place of the foreign products which, until now, have been brought into this country. Then, again, there is the question of trading with enemy countries. As you may know, in the past a portion of the products of the West Indies have gone to the Central Powers, and through them to the neutral and also to the allied nations. And although the West Indies in the future have no wish to deal with our present enemies, yet it would be a very serious thing for them, if they were cut off from supplying neutral markets and allied markets, such as Russia. The matter is quite beyond the West Indies themselves to deal with, but they hope that something may be done to preserve their trade in that direction, and also to develop it. Then there is the question of steamship intercommunication and transport. As you know, the Royal Mail Company had to give up its contract with the West Indies because of the War, and it is hoped that when the War is over more normal conditions will return. Nevertheless, as this coincides with the opening of the Panama Canal, and also with the desire of the West Indians that they should not admit enemy shipping into their ports on the same terms as British shipping, it is thought that this is a very good time to consider the whole question of shipping within the West Indies, because there is a certain amount of overlapping, and new trade routes will be developed, and we hope that we may find some much more economical system to adopt in the future than in the past

There is the question of population and labour that I should like to touch on. I know at the present time that the question of Indian emigration is being considered by your Office, and also by the India Office, and we are content to leave it there; but in addition to that there is the question of settling population on the undeveloped lands of the West Indies, and also the possibility of exchange of population between those islands which have a surplus and those which have a deficiency, and also the attempt to prevent the exodus of labourers from the West Indies, which in some parts is taking place to an unnecessary extent.

I would also add one word in conclusion regarding the development of the resources of the West Indies. Of course we look forward, with the possibly improved conditions,

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to developing our industries, and the first of our industries we look to is that of sugar. Mr. Sandbach Parker is going to address you on that point, and so I will not touch upon it. There is, however, the question of oil, which we know by this War is one of great importance, and I certainly think that a Committee which could inquire into the oil resources of the Empire, and which could make us less dependent in the future on supplies from foreign countries, would be of vast benefit. Finally there is the question of the developmnt of British Guiana, which has been a problem for many years past, and which seems to be no nearer to solution than it was at the beginning. One does not propose that the Committee should go into this in detail and produce estimates of building railways and so forth; but we think that a Committee which could view the development of the hinterland of British Guiana in a broad sense, and which could compare that with the development of other Crown Colonies which have the same problem before them, would be of great benefit. It is sometimes the case that the British Government gives grants or loans of money to various Crown Colonies for their development, and a Committee which could collate the development of the different colonies and decide how such moneys might be expended would, I think, be of great service.

Sir Edward Rosling (Maurítius): As an instance of a small unit of the Empire suffering from the want of a proper co-ordination of the whole, I would mention Mauritius. Owing to the Indian Government not allowing that Colony to recruit indentured labour from India there is not sufficient labour for their requirements, and in certain instances I am informed that land has gone out of cultivation. Not only is the production reduced, but India, unwittingly, has on at least one occasion penalised our sugar imported into Bombay by putting on a protective duty in favour of Java. Normally, Java sugar is worth some 3*d*. a cwt. more than Mauritius, but in one year, owing to our having marketed our sugar rather better than Java, the following year we were penalised by an increased duty. I mention these merely as instances or evidence in favour of appointing a Committee such as we suggest. If our tropical Colonies are to be thoroughly developed they must depend very largely on the assistance of Indian labour, and I think in the past India has not altogether appreciated her position in relation to the Empire, and to the different units, but has rather stood aloof, looking at Imperial questions from a too bureaucratic point of view. After the War, trade and inter-colonial commerce is likely to assume even a greater importance than it has done in the past, and it is there that a central body which can show how each Colony can best fit in with its neighbour and the Empire at large should be of great value. In trade and communications, our Crown Colonies in relation to the rest of the Empire are not altogether unlike a jigsaw puzzle waiting to be fitted together. It is on these broad general grounds that we are asking for a Commission or a Committee, framed possibly on the lines of the self-governing Dominions Commission, in order to arrive at some policy which would tend to co-ordinate all the different units of the Empire.

Sir Stanley Bois (Ceylon): Owing to the geographical position of Ceylon, and the fact that its government has been administered by a succession of very able

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Governors, I need not detain you long in what I have to say on the subject. My presence here is mainly to affirm a general principle—that I should like to see more co-ordination between the interests and in the administration of the various Colonies of the British Empire. It will be within your memory that at the outbreak of the War one problem, taking one example alone out of the many, was how to dispose of our coconut produce. We then discovered that the bulk was going to the Continent, and that in England there were no presses existing for expressing the oil. That was a trade that has had to be entirely reorganised, and finds itself under quite different conditions since the War commenced. We have many communications with India in the carrying on of our estates in Ceylon. As you are aware, our labour on the estates comes entirely from the South of India—and generally speaking I would plead that an outside inquiry and an outside survey of the various requirements of our Colonies, and their relations each to the other and communications each with the other, would be of the greatest importance to the British Empire. I understand that Sir John Anderson has recently appointed a Committee of Inquiry in Ceylon as to possible developments, and with a view of co-ordinating such inquiries I think a Commission of the nature that has been indicated by previous speakers would be of the greatest value.

Sir Owen Philipps: I will next call upon Mr. Sandbach Parker, who is an authority on colonial sugar, and who represents the British Empire Produce Association.

Mr. Sandbach Parker: As I am asked to speak here as the Chairman of the British Empire Producers' Organisation it will be unnecessary for me to enter into the question of sugar again, as I had the privilege recently of doing so, when laying before you, in a deputation led by Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, the proposals of the British Empire Producers' Organisation for development of the industry within the Empire. I should like to emphasise the fact that before the war we imported 90 per cent. of our requirements in this country from foreign countries, 66 per cent. of which, or 1,300,000 tons, came from enemy countries. We desire to see that produced in the British Empire, and if a Commission such as is proposed is appointed to consider the development of the resources of the Crown Colonies, naturally a question of this kind would be one of the most important questions that they would have to consider, because of the large proportion of sugar which can be produced in these Crown Colonies.

In supporting the idea of a Commission of this kind I venture to suggest that one of its functions should be not only to inquire into the resources and the development of the resources of the Crown Colonies, so as to bring about some co-ordinated policy among them, but also to exercise a wise discretion as to the development of those resources, and to recommend prudent and wise procedure in that respect. Because whenever a great change, such as will come about after this war, takes place, there is a natural proclivity to branch out very much into fresh enterprises and possibly without sufficient consideration. Therefore if a strong Commission of this kind could be appointed which could deal with the requirements and with the available resources,

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and the resources which there are to be developed in the Crown Colonies, I venture to think that it would very materially assist the interests not only of the Crown Colonies in co-ordinating their policy, but also of the Empire.

Mr. Joseph Rippon, in dealing with telegraph communications, stated briefly on behalf of the Committee that since recommendations had been made for the creation of lines of communications over British territory some defects in the chain had been repaired, by the reduction of rates to the West Indies, as a result of the Conference at Ottawa in 1912, and in various other ways. There were, however, two or three deficiencies which, if steps were taken to overcome them, would prove of great utility and make the chain fairly complete.

Mr. James Gardiner (Nigerian Chamber of Mines): As representing the Nigerian Chamber of Mines on this Committee I strongly support the appeal now being made. While it is gratifying to note the action which is being taken by the Government for the elimination of enemy interests in the Colonies, I trust that it will be followed by much more drastic action on behalf of British traders. The schedule of alien properties advertised for sale brings home to all of us the large hold which the Germans have had upon our trade in Nigeria. I would particularly draw attention to the mining operations of, and to the leases taken up by, a German firm who have largely—if not absolutely—controlled the markets for base metals not only in this country but in our Colonies for years past.

As pioneers of a new industry in Nigeria, the members of the Nigerian Chamber of Mines have felt acutely the heavy charges they have had to bear, apart from the actual cost of production, before the tin they have won could be put upon the market; but I am glad to be able to say that in all the negotiations between the Colonial Office, the Governor-General, and the Council of the Chamber we have received not only sympathetic consideration but also some much needed relief. A large amount of capital has been invested in the tin-fields, and in many cases no adequate return has yet been received. I venture to hope that the representations submitted to-day will be regarded as an earnest of the desire of those interested in British Colonies generally that their development should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible, and that their resources, in many cases latent, may be developed for the benefit of the Empire as a whole.

Mr. Bonar Law (in reply).—Sir Owen Philipps and Gentlemen: When I was asked to receive this deputation I was very glad indeed to do so. I know that there has sometimes been the view held in Government Departments that, if they are not favourable to any proposal that is put before them on the face of it, that is in itself a sufficient reason for not receiving a deputation such as I have now the pleasure of seeing before me. Well, I do not take that view. I am always glad, so far as it is possible for me from the point of view of time, to see any people who represent such large interests as you do, and at all events to have the knowledge of what your views are, whatever action I may afterwards think it right to take.

Now, gentlemen, I have listened to-day to all these speeches with great interest, but there are two distinct points of view in them all. One is, how are these Colonies

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to be best developed in the interests not only of the Colonies but of the British Empire—that is a point on which we all agree—and the other is recommending a Commission, something, I presume, in the nature of the Dominions Royal Commission, with the hope that that would further the objects we have in view.

Now, as regards the first, I listened, for instance, to the speech of Mr. Morgan with interest and with agreement; it was very similar to the kind of speech which, if I had had the ability and the knowledge of the facts which he has, I should myself have made at the time to which he referred when a controversy, that we all know about, was taking place.

Gentlemen, you all know that I am a member of a Government which contains people of very different views on that subject before the War broke out. I certainly have not changed my views on any of these questions; on the contrary, I think the lesson of the War has confirmed my opinions very much, and has strengthened the arguments which I used then. But I never forget for a moment that we are a very long way from the end of the struggle in which we are engaged, and to me the first consideration is not even the development of the British Empire; it is the preservation of the British Empire. And while that is so, I have no doubt whatever that it is my duty—and I hope that you, who evidently all share the views which I expressed, will agree with me—our first duty is to consider the effect of anything we do or say upon the object which we have in view, which is winning the war, and keeping the Empire for ourselves in future.

Now, having said that, I wish to say, about the general subject which has been put before me, that my hope is that the lessons of the War have made a great difference in the views of those who held different opinions from me before the war took place; and it is my sincere hope that there is a strong feeling throughout the whole of Great Britain on two subjects, first that our German enemies will never be allowed to use our resources against ourselves in the future in the way that they have done in the past; and, secondly, a feeling that the help we have got from the Empire has changed the whole aspect of the question of preference, and has made everybody in this country ready to consider it not merely from the purely paying point of view, not merely from the profit and loss point of view, but from the higher consideration of what the different parts of the Empire owe to each other, and how much the strength of the Empire, as a whole, may be increased.

But the real point which we are considering to-day is whether or not such a Commission as you suggest will effect these objects. Well, I have listened to what you have said, and I can only say now to you that I will carefully consider the suggestions you have made. But I would like to say this. While I was still in Opposition and before I joined this Government, I remember on more than one occasion saying as a criticism against it, "Whenever you have any difficulty you appoint a Committee," and I was not very much in favour of that course, though I am quite sure that the same thing could be said now just as truly as when I said it when I was in Opposition. I think there is a tendency among all of us, if we want something done, to think the way to get it is to appoint some Commission to inquire into it and tell us how to do it.

That is not always the most effective way. Take, for instance, the Dominions

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Royal Commission, which has done very useful work, the value of which I am sure will be found later. I forget how long it was at work before the War broke out; I think it was either two or three years. Its deliberations are not finished yet, and I venture to say this, that with the particular object you have in view, that is of getting a trade policy for the Empire as a whole, if we appoint a Commission which is going into every one of these Colonies and examining exhaustively (as obviously they must do if they are to help us in the problem you put before us) the conditions of all these Colonies, then, unless the War lasts until a great many of us are more grey-headed than we hope to be, the Commission will not help us in the problem of how trade relations are to be settled when the War ends. I wish you clearly to have that in view.

I wish also to say that the subject has not been left out of sight till now. I quite realise that, though the War is the first consideration, we have got to prepare as well as we can, as well as the time allows, for the end of the War. I have already sent out inquiries to every one of the Colonies asking them themselves to look into these very questions which you have put before me to-day, in order that we may have their views upon them.

All that I will say to you now is that you must not go away with the idea that I am satisfied that this method which you suggest is the best one for getting what we want done. I see many advantages in it. I see, for instance, that one of the things that the people of this country do not at all realise is the enormous extent and importance of the Colonies other than the self-governing Colonies, and if such a Commission were to issue a report which would be studied by and brought home to the people of this country it would be of immense value. I see that quite well.

All that I can say to you, therefore, is that I will consider your suggestion, but that you may be sure that we have in this Office clearly in view the necessity of some definite policy on all these subjects when the War ends, in order that we may, if possible, run the British Empire as one concern.

Sir Owen Philipps: I should like to express our appreciation to you, Sir, for the sympathetic and kind way in which you have listened to all the speeches, and for the speech you have made in response. We are sure that these important matters can safely be left in your hands. We thank you very much for so kindly receiving the deputation.

TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION.

In the House of Commons, on November 29, Sir J. Lonsdale asked whether the Prime Minister was aware that the Prime Minister of New Zealand had publicly stated his view that the time had come for the establishment of an Imperial Council; and whether any expressions of opinion to a similar effect had been received from responsible statesmen in other Dominions.

Replying for the Prime Minister, Mr. A. Bonar Law said:

'The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The Prime Minister and I have discussed the question with regard to the general principle involved, and as to the best method of procedure, not only with Mr. Massey, but with the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia, but it is not possible to make any statement on the subject.'

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DIARY OF THE WAR—(*continued*).

Oct. 26. German naval raid in the English Channel, British transport service attacked by 10 destroyers; 2 enemy destroyers disabled and the rest driven off; 1 British destroyer lost, 1 disabled, 1 empty transport sunk.

„ 27. French closing in on Vaux Fort. Rumanian retreat in the Dobrudja continues.

„ 29. British gain ground N.E. of Lesboeufs. Rumanian success in the Transylvanian Passes.

„ 30. French advance towards Sailly-Saillisel. German success south of the Somme; French line pierced. In E. Africa, enemy defeated east of Lupembe.

„ 31. Fierce fighting in Galicia; Russians forced back at one point.

Nov. 1. Allied advance on the Somme; ground gained near St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Germans evacuate Vaux Fort. Rumanians continue to pursue enemy in Vulcan Pass. British force in Macedonia captures three villages on the Struma front. Italian successes; enemy driven from heights east of Gorizia; further advance on the Carso plateau, over 4,700 prisoners taken. Successful Italian naval air-raid on Austrian base at Pola.

„ 3. Italian gains extended on the Carso plateau.

„ 5. Further Allied advance on the Somme; British capture high ground near the Butte de Warlencourt; French occupy Damloup. Two German battleships torpedoed in North Sea; damage unknown.

„ 6. Fierce German counter-attacks on the Somme; British forced to relinquish ground in region of Butte de Warlencourt. P. & O. liner *Arabia* torpedoed in Mediterranean. Conquest of Darfur completed; ex-Sultan being killed and his following dispersed.

„ 7. French advance towards Chaulnes; two villages captured and over 500 prisoners. Russian success in the Carpathians.

„ 8. Allied rally in the Dobrudja; Harsova recaptured. Enemy reinforced in the Vulcan Pass.

„ 10. Big air battle on Western front, enemy squadron dispersed; seven British machines lost. British naval air-raid on harbour and submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge. Serbian advance on Monastir; Chuke Heights stormed and Polog captured. German destroyers enter Gulf of Finland and shell Baltic Port; Russians sink several destroyers.

„ 12. French recapture Saillisel. American steamer *Columbian* torpedoed.

„ 13. Battle of the Ancre; British advance on front of nearly five miles, Beaumont Hamel and St. Pierre Divion captured; over 3,300 prisoners taken. Bulgarians evacuate Iven, fifteen miles east of Monastir. Rumanians fall back south of Roter Turm and Vulcan Passes.

„ 14. British capture Beaucourt; nearly 6000 prisoners taken.

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Nov. 15. French lines heavily attacked on the Somme; Germans regain ground at Pressoir and Saillisel.

„ 16. French retrieve losses on the Somme. Bulgarians defeated near Kenali; Allies nearing Monastir.

„ 17. French airman drops bombs on Munich.

„ 18. Further British advance N. and S. of the Ancre; outskirts of Grandcourt reached. Ostend and Zeebrugge heavily bombarded by British naval aeroplanes. Zeppelin destroyed on Russian front. Allied successes on Salonika front.

„ 19. Monastir captured by Allies. Germans claim success in battle of Tirgu Jiu and to have reached Orsova-Craiova railway. Further British advance; outskirts of Grandcourt reached. French Admiral invites Ministers of Central Powers and their Allies in Athens to leave by the 22nd.

„ 21. Death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Austro-German forces occupy Craiova (Rumania). British hospital ship *Britannic* (48,000 tons) sunk by enemy submarine off the south coast of Attica.

„ 22. Zeebrugge raided by British naval aeroplanes.

„ 24. Hospital ship *Braemar Castle*, on her way from Salonika to Malta, torpedoed in Ægean Sea. Further invasion of Rumania. Mackensen crosses the Danube; Austro-German forces make further progress east of Craiova. M. Trepoff succeeds M. Stürmer as Russian Prime Minister.

ROUND THE EMPIRE NOTES.

The Colonial Bank.—At the half-yearly general meeting of the Colonial Bank, Sir William Maxwell Aitken stated that it was the intention of the Directors to develop the business in every available direction, and that it was not necessary to wait until the end of the War to put this progressive policy into practice. As a preliminary to wider extensions, the Bank is opening branches at Lagos and Kano in Nigeria, and at Accra in the Gold Coast Colony. The compulsory winding-up of German businesses in West Africa and the acquisition by Great Britain of the Cameroon and Togoland, will undoubtedly afford openings for British enterprise and capital. According to the "West India Committee Circular," the Bank's business with the West Indies is steadily increasing in volume, and the new branches at Port Antonio, Falmouth, Montego Bay, Morant Bay, Port Maria, and St. Ann's Bay have already proved their value to northern Jamaica. The enterprise which the Colonial Bank is now showing should be amply justified after the War is over, when overseas trade generally, and especially that of the tropical colonies, will be greatly affected, owing to the demand for food-stuffs and those raw materials which only the tropics can produce.

Overseas Contributions to "Our Day."—The following are among the generous gifts which have been received from overseas towards the "Our Day" collection for the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The Australian Branch has subscribed £31,000; the Toronto and Ottawa City Councils £15,000 and

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£2,000 respectively; the people of the Bombay Presidency £5,000; New Zealand (Canterbury Centre) £3,850; Tasmania £1,250; and British residents and visitors in Wei-hai-Wei £191. The first instalment of Egypt's contribution amounts to £60,000, and a recent cablegram from Alexandria states that more money is coming in. The sum already received does not include the fine gift of £8,400 from the Sudan. The Province of Nova Scotia has contributed £10,000, with a promise of more to follow. £5,000 has also been received from the people of Hongkong.

The Imperial Challenge Shield Competition.—The annual contest for the Imperial Challenge Shield presented by that well-known South African, Mr R. W. Schumacher, was held this year for the seventh time, under the auspices of the National Rifle Association, the winners being No. 24 Company (New Plymouth Boys' High School), Senior Cadets, New Zealand (A. Team). The object of this Competition is to encourage boys throughout the British Empire to become efficient in the use of the rifle. This year some 5,000 boys entered for the competition, and although the number of competitors was considerably greater than for any previous year, it is hoped that the contest will become still more popular as its existence becomes more widely known. The Shield may be shot for on any day, Sundays excepted, between April 1 and June 30, and on any range, open or covered, in any part of the British Empire.

Canada.

Increased Demand for Aluminium and Asbestos.—Early in 1915 the Canadian Government put an embargo on aluminium shipments to countries other than British, although shipments were permitted to be sent to a few American firms working on war contracts. There was also exported to the United States from Quebec 17,000 tons more asbestos in 1915 than in 1914, at an increased valuation of £121,626. The industry was unfavourably affected by the outbreak of war, as Germany and Austria were then the principal markets for the higher grades of asbestos. There has been lately an increased demand for this article, however, from the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, due in a large measure to military and naval requirements, and this demand has greatly revived the industry, while there is every reason to anticipate still wider markets after the War.

Orders from the Allied Governments.—An order for 500,000 shirts for the Italian Army has been distributed among Canadian knitting mills by the Dominion Department of Trade and Commerce. It is understood that this is the first of a number of large orders for underwear and blankets that will be placed in the Dominion by the French and Italian Governments. Large orders have been given from time to time on behalf of the Mother Country and Russia, and many of the Canadian factories are now engaged chiefly on war orders.

Newfoundland.

Copper Mining.—A valuable copper "strike" is reported from Little Bay, a small settlement situated on Notre Dame Bay, about 200 miles north of St. John's. The site of the new find is Sleepy Hollow, where a vein estimated at 2,000 feet long has been uncovered. Assays made on the ground are reported to show rich veins from 1 foot to 2 feet wide, running as high as 29½ per cent. Several tons have already been taken out, and more machinery for development work is being secured. Little Bay, which is about fifteen miles to the south-west of Tilt Cove where copper mining was carried on from 1864 up to a recent date, was itself a large mining settlement from 1878 to the late nineties. For the past few years, however, the Tilt Cove district has been dormant, and only a very little ore has been exported.

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AUSTRALIA.

National Expenditure.—It is stated that the Commonwealth expenditure for 1916–17 is expected to reach nearly £128,000,000, and when the expenditure of the States is added to this, something like £180,000,000 will be spent on public purposes in the year. A very large proportion of this expenditure is due to the War, which has cost the Commonwealth over £41,000,000 in the current year, and will probably cost over £85,000,000 in 1916–17. Of this amount, less than 6½ millions comes out of revenue, the balance being provided by means of local and British loans. General expenditure is increasing—£750,000 will be required to meet the increase in the Old-Age Pensions; over £2,000,000 will be spent on the Commonwealth line of steamers; £2,270,000 is allowed for public works, which include the Transcontinental Railway and a Northern Territory line. This analysis does not include an additional £150,000 to be spent on the Federal capital.

The Coal Strike.—The coalminers' strike has assumed very serious proportions. Many of the largest factories in the State capitals are closing down, thereby throwing thousands of men out of work, whilst food supplies are being curtailed and prices are rising rapidly. Other industries are, of necessity, becoming badly involved. The failure of shipping is closing up the sugar industry, and wool sales have been suspended because freight cannot be obtained. Wool valued at £750,000 awaiting shipment to Great Britain, France, and Japan, is now being held up, and according to the most recent reports, further wool sales are impossible until additional ships arrive from overseas. The Federal Government has requisitioned the coal and coke of the Sydney ferries, causing the services to be greatly curtailed.

Exempted Trades.—The Commonwealth Government has issued a further list of workers granted partial or total exemption from military service. Dairy workers, other than milkmen, have been released until the end of the year, and workers in woollen and knitted goods have been exempted until the end of January, pending an inquiry into the number of eligibles employed and the number of applications for exemption. Chief hands in the following industries have been granted absolute exemption: explosive factories, calico and hessian bag factories, pottery and earthenware factories, tanneries, and metallurgical works. Workers in the Lithgow and Newcastle iron-works have been granted six months' exemption.

NEW ZEALAND.

Support for War Relief Funds.—The High Commissioner for the Dominion continues to record a steady flow of subscriptions from all sources for the relief of distress amongst the people of the Mother Country and her Allies. During the past few months further sums have been received for this purpose, amounting to no less than £150,253. The total amount received from New Zealand up to date has reached £719,711. Gifts in kind continue to come forward too, a total of 189 separate shipments having been received and distributed.

Trade with Japan.—From a statement in the *Board of Trade Journal*, it appears that in order to meet the requirements of the increased trade between Japan and New Zealand, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha have inaugurated a steamship service between the two countries. The first vessel left Yokohama for Wellington on August 24, making direct for Sydney, which voyage was expected to occupy about twenty days, and the vessel was also to call at Melbourne and other Australian ports.

SOUTH AFRICA.

South African Mining.—The report of the Government Mining Engineer on the Union of South Africa for the year 1915 has been published recently, and the total

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mineral output for the year is estimated at £43,531,000, a decrease of approximately £1,800,000 compared with 1914. This drop is more than accounted for by the falling off of over £5,000,000 in the value of diamonds mined, as a result of the War. The gold output increased by nearly three millions, whilst the value of the output of copper, tin, and asbestos, rose by approximately £400,000. With regard to labour, some 300,000 persons were employed in mines and "allied concerns," of which nearly 30,000 were Europeans. For the first time on record in the history of the Witwatersrand Gold Fields, there has been more native labour than was required.

Meat Trade of the Union.—The future of the South African meat export trade formed the subject of an important discussion at the recent Agricultural Congress, and a series of resolutions was passed, including a suggestion that Government should send a commission of farmers to the principal exporting countries, as a preliminary to the establishment of a suitable organisation for dealing with the meat trade in the Union. The production of beef cattle in South Africa is making great strides. In 1915 the country exported £116,000 worth of beef, while between April and September of this year the value of the export reached a quarter of a million. The total head of cattle in the Union to-day is estimated at over eight millions, and the rapid increase of stocks makes an outlet overseas imperative.

Native Volunteers.—The first batch of native volunteers for the overseas native labour contingent left Matatiele, Basutoland, on October 13. They numbered about thirty, and among them was a son of Chief Sibi. No fewer than six sons of the late Chief George Moshesh—brothers of the present Chief in the Matatiele district—have joined the native labour contingent for service overseas, and it is expected that their example will be widely followed by the Basutos.

Enhanced Value of Leather.—As a result of the increased protection given to the leather industry in 1914, the value of leather manufactured in the Union has increased to well over half a million pounds sterling. The output in that year was estimated at a value of over £260,000, and it is a significant fact that leather to-day is cheaper in South Africa than in any of the world's markets. There are about twenty tanneries throughout the Union at the present time, of which two-thirds belong to the Cape Province. A start has been made with the export of leather. Three small lots of Army Upper Leather, of the value of £2,500, and one lot of Sole Leather valued at £1,000 have been sold on the English market during the present year. Side by side with the expansion of the tanning industry, there has been a big increase in the manufacture of boots and shoes. The demand for boots is steadily increasing, owing largely to the fact that the natives in various parts of the Union are more generally adopting footwear. Leather was imported into the Union in 1913 to the value of £200,000, whereas during the first five months of this year only £46,000 worth has been imported. The importation of the manufactured article has also decreased.

Egypt.

Kitchener Memorial for the Sudan.—An appeal has been issued by Sir F. Reginald Wingate, Governor-General of the Sudan, who will succeed Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner of Egypt, to found a permanent memorial to the late Lord Kitchener in Khartoum. Although the National Memorial Committee rightly determined to dedicate all funds collected exclusively for the benefit of those disabled in the War, it is nevertheless fitting that Lord Kitchener's association with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan should be commemorated locally. It has been decided that the memorial shall take the form of a school of medicine, to be affiliated to the Wellcome tropical research laboratories, and thus become part of the Gordon Memorial College.

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SOUTH AMERICAN NOTES.

The Call of the Blood.

The response of the British residents in the Argentine to the call of the Mother Country has been in all respects admirable. Over 8,000, or something like 20 per cent. of the total, have journeyed more than 7,000 miles, at their own expense, to join up. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of the population of men of military age (British or Anglo-Argentine) have thus offered their services, among them being a good percentage of men between the ages of forty and forty-eight. Nearly all those coming from South America may be classed as "fighting men," since all who came over and found only occupation of a sedentary nature offered to them promptly returned. But a very small proportion have joined either the A.S.C. or the R.A.M.C. It may further be pointed out that a considerable number of the men, being born of English parents, are liable to be—and, indeed, have been—conscripted to serve in the Argentine Army. This in no way damped their ardour, or affected their resolution to offer to the Mother Country the best services still at their command. Neither distance from the nearest port nor difficulties of travel seem to have altered the decision of the men to present themselves. The call of the Motherland was heard alike by the "lonely settler on the shore of the far-away Lake Nahuel-Huapi, hidden away in the Southern Andes, by the shepherd of the wind-swept Patagonian uplands," and by the employees of the several sugar estates in the tropical Provinces of Tucumán, Jujuy, and Corrientes. Those who took ship at the earliest opportunity included railway managers, engineers, cattle-ranchers, and bank-clerks, both of British birth and Argentine origin.

Comforts.

The idea of collecting small sums for the purpose of sending out to members of the River Plate Contingent packets of cigarettes—a suggestion which emanated from the Royal Colonial Institute—has proved very successful; judging from the appreciative letters received from the men distributed in Egypt, France, Belgium, and other scenes of the War, their receipt has been most timely. Messrs. Houlder Brothers and Co., Ltd., have very generously undertaken to carry the consignments of cigarettes free of charge, and in the majority of cases the presents have been duly delivered.

Chile and Peru.

Where the River Plate led, Chile and Peru, both of which States contain an appreciable number of British residents, have not been long in following. Indeed, it is claimed that some offers of services came from the Land of the Incas before those of any of the other South American Republics. The British Patriotic League of Lima had, moreover, subscribed up to the middle of last September £P5,165 odd. Several young Peruvian-born men, the sons of British settlers or of temporary residents, have already laid down their lives on the altar of their homeland, while still others have gained distinction in the field.

RESULT OF THE EMPIRE ESSAY COMPETITION FOR 1916.

With a view to encouraging the rising generation to "think Imperially," and in the process acquire a better knowledge and appreciation of the British Empire, the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute decided three years ago to offer Prizes to young people undergoing education at Universities and Schools for Essays on subjects of Imperial concern. The subject selected for this (the fourth year's competition) was, "In what ways has Scientific Invention affected the British Empire?" The competition this year, on account of the War, was limited to the section for Schools, and two Prizes of £10 and £5 respectively were offered to pupils of both sexes in any school in the British Empire, not exceeding the age of nineteen years.

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The result of the competition is that Mr. James Macfarlane Laing, of Southland Boys' High School, Invercargill, New Zealand, and Mr. Guy Charles Parsloe, of the Stationers Company's School, Hornsey, N., have been bracketed together for the first and second prizes, receiving £7 10s. each. Mr. James M. Laing won the second prize in last year's competition. To the Prize Winners and to the following four other competitors, First Class Certificates have been awarded, and in addition to the Certificate Miss Marjorie D. Witney, of Tiffin Girls' School, Kingston-on-Thames, gets an "Honourable Mention" as being next to the Prize Winners.

Edward S. Edmiston, Boys' Grammar School, Brisbane. William Gaunt, Hull Grammar School. George T. Millward, Kendal Grammar School. Henry K. Prescot, St. Edward's School, Oxford.

The following have been awarded second-class certificates:—

Zellica B. Bonnington, Ashburton High School, New Zealand, Linda L. Brown, Westwood High School, Jamaica, James S. Church, Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru, New Zealand, Adrian M. Crabbe, Newton College, Devon, Allen S. Goss, Sedbergh School, Yorks, John W. Jenkin, Cornwall County School, St. Austell, George I. McGregor, Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru, New Zealand, Dorothy Millar, Adelaide High School, South Australia, Travice H. Pickstone, Manchester Grammar School, Katie Robinson, Tiffin Girls' School, Kingston-on-Thames, William C. V. Rosney, Liverpool Institute, Alexander J. Simpson, Dingwall Academy, Ross-shire, Gordon S. Troup, Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru, New Zealand, Godfrey R. Walters, Ashburton High School, New Zealand, John M. Walters, Ashburton High School, Ashburton, New Zealand.

The Council are disappointed at the somewhat poor response, as the notices announcing the competition were much more widely circulated throughout the British Empire this year than formerly, and it was hoped that a considerably larger number of Essays would have been received. Only thirty-six Essays were sent in, twenty from Overseas and sixteen from the United Kingdom, against fifty-five last year.

The adjudicator of the prizes was Professor H. E. Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History, Oxford.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE.

The Trade and Industry Committee of the Institute has during the past quarter continued its work of encouraging and promoting trade relations within the Empire, as well as bringing commercial houses overseas into touch with manufacturers and others in the United Kingdom. With a very limited staff the Committee has dealt with a large amount of correspondence with all parts of the world, necessitating considerable investigation and expenditure of time, and has also assisted in furthering the aims and objects for which the Institute was founded. There have recently been three conferences, of which the last had important results.

1. Import Trade of Australia.

One of the principal objects of the Committee is to encourage and facilitate Empire trade and industry by arranging for the delivery of addresses on trade subjects by men of affairs from all parts of the Empire, in order to discuss questions of common interest. With this object in view the Committee invited Mr. G. T. Milne, Trade Commissioner in Australia, to address them on the subject of "The Import Trade of Australia" at a meeting which was held on July 18. The address was widely circulated, and many applications for copies have been received.

2. Empire Patent Law.

On September 13 Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh attended a meeting of the Committee and delivered an address on the subject of the establishment of an Empire Patent Law, which, in his opinion, would serve to bring the Empire more closely together,

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particularly as regards its trade and industry. At the request of the Committee he has consented to prepare a Paper upon the subject for publication in the "Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation."

3. Meeting of Crown Colony Societies.

On September 20, at the instigation of the Trade and Industry Committee, a Conference at which Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., M.P., presided, was held of various Societies representative in London of the Crown Colonies and Colonies not possessing responsible government, for the purpose of discussing the question of a deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to urge the appointment of a Commission or a Committee to inquire into the conditions of trade, the development of natural resources and the improvement of labour supply, transportation and intercommunication services of such Colonies, with a view to making the Empire more self-supporting. The subject originated with the British Guiana Branch of the Institute, which submitted a series of resolutions that were referred by the Council to the Trade and Industry Committee. The Committee reported to the Council that owing to the fact that the products of the Crown Colonies have hitherto been largely sent to foreign countries, and in view of the necessity of improving railway and shipping services, the attention of the Imperial Government should be called to the necessity of inquiring into these affairs, not only in British Guiana, but in the Crown Colonies generally. Believing that combined action on the part of the principal Societies dealing with Crown Colony affairs would be more effective, the Committee recommended for the approval of the Council that the Trade and Industry Committee should organise a Conference, and the following Societies accepted the Committee's invitation: the West India Committee; the Ceylon Association in London; the Malay States Development Agency; the Nigerian Chamber of Mines, and the Rubber-growers' Association. Other Societies, including the British Cotton-growing Association and the British Empire Producers' Association, while unable to be represented, wrote expressing their sympathy with the objects of the Conference.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

1. "That this joint meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute and Societies representing Crown Colonies and Colonies not possessing responsible Government is unanimously of opinion that the War has emphasised the necessity for a Special Committee being appointed to inquire into the conditions of trade, the development of natural resources and the improvement of labour supply, transportation and intercommunication services of such Colonies, with a view to making the Empire more self-supporting."

2. "That the Secretary of State for the Colonies be requested to receive a deputation from the Royal Colonial Institute and Societies representative in London of the Crown Colonies and Colonies not possessing responsible government, for the purpose of laying before him the views embodied in the above resolution."

A deputation,* which was introduced by Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., M.P., was received by the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P. (Secretary of State for the Colonies), on Friday, November 3, when he made a sympathetic reply to the various speakers. He promised to consider carefully the request for a Committee, but pointed out that there might be other means than those which had been laid before him of arriving at the result desired.

Export Trade.

A Memorandum regarding export trade, prepared by the Chairman of the Committee, has been forwarded to the Board of Trade, drawing attention to the necessity of facilitating export trade and encouraging production for export both during the War and in order that export trade might be immediately continued after the War. Mr. Morgan suggested that there should be a department created in the Board of Trade

* A full report of the proceedings of this deputation appears elsewhere in our columns.

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with sufficient authority to secure representation on the various Government Committees and to take immediate steps to insure that there should be a proper allocation of raw materials, labour, and railway and shipping facilities to export production and trade; that priority certificates for export production should receive more favourable consideration; and that export business generally should be given preference in all these respects over non-essential home trade that is now being carried on. The matters to which the statement called attention are receiving the consideration of the Board of Trade.

The attention of the Committee was called by a correspondent to the need for a parcel post between Cuba and Great Britain, and a correspondence upon the subject took place with the Postmaster-General, who replied that negotiations with the Cuban authorities for a system of a direct exchange of parcels between the United Kingdom and Cuba have been proceeding for many years and are still being pursued. The Postmaster-General, however, was unable to hold out any hope of an early establishment of a direct parcel post with the Republic.

With the approval of the Council, the Committee submitted the following Resolution to the Governments of the Dominions and Colonial Governments having power to legislate, as well as to Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, &c., in all parts of the Empire:

"That with a view to encouraging the establishment of new industries in the British Empire and giving a measure of confidence and security to capital to be embarked therein, as well as assisting the expansion of existing industries, the Governments of the Empire be urged to make it obligatory on all Government Departments, Municipalities, Railways, Dock and Harbour Boards, Gas, Water, and Electric Light Corporations, and all such bodies spending public moneys, or enjoying charters from Government or other public authorities, to purchase Empire-made goods and to place all contracts with British firms, exceptions to be made, by special permission of proper authority, only in cases where such a course is considered to be at variance with public interests."

In forwarding the resolution it was pointed out that it was unnecessary to emphasise that, if it is made compulsory in each part of the Empire that Government Departments and Municipal and other Public Bodies place contracts only with British firms, it would prove a very strong factor in stimulating the establishment of new and the growth of existing industries, as well as consolidating Inter-Empire trade. In the case of the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, it was pointed out that it would be to our mutual interests, if their organisations would co-operate in bringing before their Governments the necessity of passing the required legislation to give effect to the principle embodied in the resolution.

Replies have already been received from the Governments of the Dominion of Canada and the Provinces of New Brunswick, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan and Ontario; from South and Western Australia, Newfoundland, Hongkong, Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, Bermuda, British Honduras, Gambia, Seychelles, the Nyasaland Protectorate; from the Chambers of Commerce of Sydney, Newcastle (N.S.W.), Hobart, Melbourne, Cape Town, British East Africa, Ceylon, Burma, Bombay, Napier (New Zealand), Johannesburg, Woodstock (Canada), Bengal, Montreal, Trinidad, Barbados, and from the Boards of Trade of Toronto, Montreal, and Regina. These replies are all sympathetic in character, and the suggestion that steps should be taken to give effect to the principle embodied in the resolution is, in most cases, favourably entertained.

Appreciation of the Committee's Work.

Many letters have been received acknowledging the assistance which has been rendered by the Committee from time to time, and speaking in favourable terms of the work which is being done in answering trade inquiries and supplying reliable information as to commercial questions generally.

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The following are a few extracts:—

"Anyone having a trade difficulty can always depend upon getting it solved as nearly as is humanly possible by inquiring from the Trade and Industry Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute."

"There is no doubt that we shall make great strides in the expansion of our trade by reason of the propaganda that your Committee is initiating."

"Your Trade and Industry Committee Information Bureau has been taking a very kindly and active interest in a couple of questions I submitted to it. The next letter I shall write will be in reply to a long one received from Derbyshire on the burning of calcite, in response to inquiries from the Institute. I have had other letters. This is just what one wants, and is most useful."

"We are obliged to you for your letter of the 12th ulto., accompanied by names of manufacturers of asbestos walling and roofing slates. We thank you for the trouble you have taken in communicating with these firms, and we expect to hear from them by an early mail. We appreciate very much the aims and objects of your Committee, and we wish you every success."

The co-operation of the Press has enabled the Committee to publish from time to time extracts from reports received from correspondents in various parts of the Empire and neutral countries. The information has been widely circulated, and has assisted manufacturers and others in the United Kingdom in getting into touch with overseas buyers and opening up new trade connexions. The Press, both in the United Kingdom and overseas, has, on numerous occasions, contained appreciative references to the value of the work of the Committee.

A book of newspaper cuttings is on view in the office of the Committee.

New Industries.

Inquiries have been received from Trinidad regarding the uses of a fine silky fibre produced by the Funtumia rubber tree, and as to whether it is of any commercial use in the production of textiles, &c.

Another inquiry from Trinidad as to the products of the cashew tree—whether the market for the nut is a large or a limited one; the uses to which the nut is put, and whether any machinery is in existence for the rapid removal of the nut from the shell and the seed-skin. Also whether any investigation has been made as to the uses and value of the essential oil in the nutshell, which is well known to be one of the most powerful vegetable blisters in existence.

We have received a request that the Committee should use its influence with the Government to facilitate the importation of wattle bark in this country from Natal for the tanning trade.

A lengthy report has been received as to the extension of British trade in the Argentine. The correspondent deals especially with Manchester goods, and states that, owing to the expense of shipping and to the few Manchester houses represented in the Argentine, a very large portion of the trade is passing into American hands. Some time ago he visited many of the leading shops, big wholesale warehouses, &c., and found them short of goods and the prices raised; on going again he found them well stocked with goods from America, owing to difficulties in connexion with the delivery of British goods. Our correspondent goes on to say: "What a pity to let the market slip, when it should be so easy for the Government to guarantee the shipment of British-manufactured goods. If the British producer is helped in his trading by the British Government, the Government is repaid by the extra taxation he can afford in consequence of his success."

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Trade Inquiries.

The following are a few examples of inquiries received :—

A correspondent from Gambia (West Africa) wishes to hear of British buyers of palm kernels, ground-nuts, hides, and gum.

An inquirer from New York wishes to be put in touch with high-class manufacturers of machinery for preparing coconut fibre, and for making door-mats from that fibre. A friend of our correspondent has in use certain German-made machines for the preparation of coconut fibre and for making door-mats, and wishes to replace the German-made machines by those of British manufacture.

A correspondent in British Columbia asks us to put him in touch with some reliable firms specialising in mining supplies, as he is interested in a large copper-mining company and wishes to get this business handled by the British manufacturer instead of the American.

A firm in Nicosia (Cyprus) desires to be put in touch with leading and reliable firms dealing in sweetened condensed milk, lamps, chimneys, tumblers, safety matches, jute bags and gunny bags, with a view to doing business either at the present time or at the cessation of hostilities.

An inquiry has been received from the Argentine as to the possibilities of British trade in the following articles previously handled by Germany: Stationery, note paper (all kinds), drugs, perfumes, sewing cotton for saddlery, string for bookbinding, boxes, jewellers' cases and travellers' trunks, wallpaper, &c.

A London correspondent has requested us to put him in touch with buyers of hematite crystals. He has several tons at his disposal, made by the West Indies Chemical Company, guaranteed alligator brand.

A firm in Scotland is anxious to get into touch with buyers of the following goods in the U.S.A., South America, or only Spain, Italy, and Russia: Dry-spun flax and tow yarns, wet-spun flax and dry-spun Italian hemp yarns, jute and cotton yarns.

November 15, 1916.

Ben. H. Morgan,
Chairman, Trade and Industry Committee,
Royal Colonial Institute.

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BRISTOL BRANCH.

The Bristol Branch of our Institute, we are pleased to state, continues to make steady progress, and its influence is strongly exercised in advocating the interests of Greater Britain in Bristol. Large numbers of Colonials, stationed in that city, make free use of the privileges granted them by the Council, and have expressed much gratitude at the welcome so cordially extended to them.

The present session was opened with a patriotic meeting, held in the salon of the Institute, on the second anniversary of the opening of the War, when the Chairman of Council, Mr. T. J. Lennard, J.P., made a strong patriotic speech on "The Sacred Cause of the Allies."

On September 15 Mr. William le Queux gave a lecture on "The German Secret Service," at which not only was the hall filled to its utmost capacity, but numbers were unable to obtain admission. Dr. Ernest Cook, J.P., ably filled the post of chairman.

On October 2 Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., M.A., D.C.L., delivered a most impressive and eloquent address on "The Present Outlook of the Empire." The Lord Mayor of Bristol presided.

The evening of November 6 was retained for Mr. W. Basil Worsfold, M.A., on "The Coming Imperial Convention." The speaker dealt exhaustively with the great—

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No. of Passengers Carried	Lower Upper	Luggage in Kgs.	Earning Cash		Earning Recoverable		TOTAL		Earning per Kilometer on Earning K. meterage
			By Luggage Rs. P.	By Passengers Rs. P.	By Luggage Rs. P.	By Passengers Rs. P.	Rs. P.		Rs. P.

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Signature of D.V.E. Clerk

Signature

Serial No.

C. S. R. No.

Duty Slip No.

Buses No.

Name of Route

From

To

KILOMETERAGE

Earning

Dead

Relief

Deptt.

Total

No. of Single Trip

Consumption

M. Oil

D. Oil

Petrol

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